

General Editors

PATRICK GEARY, GERHARD JARITZ, GÁBOR KLANICZAY, PAVLÍNA RYCHTEROVÁ

**Legenda Vetus,
Acta Processus Canonizationis
et Miracula Sanctae Margaritae
de Hungaria**

EDITED BY
ILDIKÓ CSEPREGI, GÁBOR KLANICZAY,
AND BENCE PÉTERFI

**The Oldest Legend,
Acts of the Canonization Process,
and Miracles of Saint Margaret
of Hungary**

TRANSLATED BY
ILDIKÓ CSEPREGI, CLIFFORD FLANIGAN,
AND LOUIS PERRAUD



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LEGENDA VETUS,
ACTA PROCESSUS CANONIZATIONIS
ET MIRACULA SANCTAE MARGARITAE
DE HUNGARIA



THE OLDEST LEGEND,
ACTS OF THE CANONIZATION PROCESS,
AND MIRACLES OF SAINT MARGARET
OF HUNGARY

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ET MIRACULA SANCTAE
MARGARITAE DE HUNGARIA



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GENERAL EDITORS' PREFACE

CEMT does not need to be introduced any more, after the publication of six volumes, all of which were received positively by medievalists. Interest in the history of the region and the need for bilingual editions of its narrative sources are not less present today as they were sixteen years ago, when the series started. After having concentrated in the first five volumes upon chronicles, the last volume inaugurated a series of three volumes dedicated to another important narrative genre: hagiography. Volume VI published six legends from the tenth and the eleventh centuries: those of saintly bishops, hermits, and a holy prince—saints of the Christianization age. Volume VII, still in the making, will publish ten more legends, from the eleventh to the thirteenth centuries, with more saintly bishops, a holy abbot, and three Hungarian royal saints. The present volume VIII publishes the most important hagiographical corpus of medieval Hungarian history that of Saint Margaret, daughter of King Béla IV, who lived her life as a Dominican nun. Besides publishing the Latin text and the English translation of her oldest legend and the acts of her canonization investigation on the basis of existing source editions, we have also added here a series of recently discovered documents on her fifteenth-century miracles, edited here for the first time.

Financial help for the research and the publication in the framework of the project “Symbols that Break and Bind Communities—Communicating Sainthood—Constituting Regions and Nations in East-Central Europe, Tenth–Sixteenth Centuries,” funded by the Hungarian Research Fund (OTKA, No. 81446), is gratefully acknowledged.

With the present volume, the CEMT series continues with a different group of General Editors than the previous ones. With the last volume, three editors from the previous group, János M. Bak, the initiator of the series, Urszula Borkowska, and Giles Constable were bidding farewell to the readers and have handed over their place to younger colleagues. Since then, in 2015, Urszula Borkowska regrettably passed away. The new group of General Editors pledges to continue the work of our three respected senior colleagues and strive to maintain their exemplary standards.

PATRICK GEARY, GERHARD JARITZ,
GÁBOR KLANICZAY, PAVLÍNA RYCHTEROVÁ

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The history of this translation goes back to the early 1980s, when I was working at the Institute for Historical Research of the Hungarian Academy of Sciences as a junior researcher. The director of the Institute, György Ránki, and the Head of the Medieval Department, Jenő Szűcs, concluded an agreement with Professor Denis Sinor, Head of the Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies at the University of Indiana, Bloomington, to publish jointly a series of translations of medieval Hungarian sources. The first volume of this series was the *Chronicle of the Hungarians* by János Thuróczy, with a foreword and commentary by Pál Engel (Bloomington: Indiana University, Research Institute for Inner Asian Studies, 1991). The oldest legend (*Vita*) and the records of the canonization process of Margaret of Hungary, published by Kornél Bőle (1937) and Vilmos Fraknói (1896) respectively, was due to be a second volume in this series, where I had the task to provide the introduction and the commentary. The translation, however, took longer to complete, and before finishing his work, the translator, my colleague Clifford Flanigan, an excellent medievalist, passed away. The director of the project, Emanuel Mickel, invested much energy in finding new translators to finish the rest of the work, this is how Louis Perraud got involved. However, by the time a rough version of the text was ready, in the mid-nineties, other projects and administrative responsibilities prevented me from finalizing the apparatus. After I had postponed the task for more than a decade, a research grant from the Hungarian Research Fund OTKA (no. 81446), in cooperation with the EuroCORE-CODE project, *Symbols that Bind and Break Communities: Saints' Cults as Stimuli and Expressions of Local, Regional, National and Universalist Identities*, allowed me to involve in this enterprise my colleague Ildikó Csepregi, who checked and supplemented the

translation and contributed to the finalization of the apparatus. By a fortunate coincidence, a PhD student at Eötvös Loránd University, Bence Péterfi, discovered in 2011, in the Orsini Archives in Rome, a group of hitherto unknown documents relating to Saint Margaret's canonization, among them a series of fifteenth-century miracle accounts that were registered at Margaret's tomb and registered before the Buda chapter. Given the opportunity provided by this almost finished volume, we included his new findings, which are published in this volume for the first time, with a commentary by him. Finally, we owe thanks to Ilona M. Nagy, who gave us precious textual suggestions based on her research project on the Hungarian Legend of Margaret, and to Attila Zsoldos, who shared with us his knowledge on thirteenth-century Hungarian society.

Gábor Klaniczay

I

INTRODUCTION

SAINT MARGARET: ROYAL AND FEMALE SANCTITY

GÁBOR KLANICZAY

Two documents fill the largest part of this volume: the oldest *Vita* of Saint Margaret of Hungary, written between 1272 and 1275 and first edited by Kornél Bóle, and the acts of the 110 testimonies of the second papal investigation concerning her sainthood, recorded between 23 July and 20 October 1276 and edited by Vilmos Fraknói. Besides their common subject, namely the events of Margaret's saintly life, they constitute together the most valuable set of documents pertaining to religious beliefs in thirteenth-century Hungary. Both are replete with colorful descriptions of everyday life in the cloister, the royal court, and the towns and villages. Moreover, their interest is not confined to medieval Hungarian history or to hagiography; they are also among the most important documents bearing witness to an especially interesting thirteenth-century current of European Christianity: the emerging popularity of female sainthood.

We decided to supplement the publication of these two sources by a recent discovery. Bence Péterfi discovered a group of charters in a Roman archive, which included the copy of the first papal mandate for starting the canonization investigation, a somewhat later petition by the bishop of Várad (Oradea) to promote the cause and the notarial records of a new set of miracles that occurred at the grave of Margaret in the second half of the fifteenth century, collected with a view to having the canonization procedures reopened.

Finally, we decided to add a few more minor documents relating to these medieval attempts to get Margaret canonized, edited by Vilmos Fraknói and Otfried Krafft.

The purpose of this introduction is to provide the reader with a historical framework to help these documents reveal their

proper significance in the context of both Hungarian and European religious history.

HUNGARY IN MARGARET'S TIMES

Margaret's life (1242–1270) covers an important period of Hungarian history, that of the country's reconstruction after the devastating invasion by the armies of the Mongol Empire in 1241–1242. Her life and vocation are in fact even more directly related to this event. After the terrible defeat of the Hungarian troops near the river Sajó on 11 April 1241,¹ King Béla IV (1206–1270, reigning since 1235) fled with his family to Dalmatia, the southwestern corner of the country. It was here, in Klis, on 27 January 1242, that his eighth daughter was born, named Margaret after one of her elder sisters who died during the flight from the Tartars, who by then had control of nearly the whole territory of the Hungarian Kingdom. As her legend informs us, her parents had made a vow to offer their future child, if a daughter, to the service of God, “to have the country and themselves relieved.” Meanwhile, on receiving news of the death of the great khan Ogathaj, Batu Khan decided to return to Mongolia, and Hungary did indeed get the relief it so urgently sought when Batu and his troops departed in March 1242. The family kept its vow and had Margaret raised a nun.

The recovery of Hungary from this unprecedented disaster was due to King Béla IV, who, during the following two decades, presided over a true “reformation of the country.”² This reformation had several layers. The first step was a reorganization of the

¹ Balázs Nagy, ed., *Tatárjárás* [The Tartar raid] (Budapest: Osiris, 2003); Master Roger, *Epistle to the Sorrowful Lament Upon the Destruction of the Kingdom of Hungary by the Tatars*, ed. by János M. Bak and Martyn Rady, in *Anonymus and Master Roger*, Central European Medieval Texts 5 (Budapest and New York: CEU Press, 2010), 132–227; Jennifer Radulovic, *La grande invasione. Il Regno d'Ungheria nel Duecento tra congiure e intrighi. L'arrivo dei Mongoli* (Milan: Res Gesta, 2015).

² This is the term employed by Jenő Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok* [The last of the Arpadians] (Budapest: História, 1993).

military structures involving treaties of alliance with the nomadic and barbarian Cumans, who were also fleeing from the Tartars, and with the Johannite order, who secured an important territory in southeast Hungary in exchange for their promised military defense. It also involved a wider effort to construct fortified castles and a change in the military style and organization of the armies, in an attempt to imitate more closely Western feudal structures. Secondly, repopulation and improvement in the economic life of the country were needed; thus foreign settlers were invited in, urban privileges were granted, and the principles which governed land donations were reformed. Gradually the whole country became transformed by this series of interrelated changes. New social categories began to take a solid and legally well-defined shape: the tenants, the lesser nobility, the aristocracy, and the city dwellers.³ In short, Hungarian developments, just like those in the neighboring Central European countries, the Czech and Polish principalities, started to follow more closely the Western European model of social structures.⁴

This reorganization of the country in the shadow of the peril of the Mongols, which laid the foundations for a long-term development, had a cultural and religious side too. Whereas the Margaret legend and the canonization testimonies afford glimpses of the over-all picture of the country (we meet important aristocrats like members of the Csák and Gut-Keled families; learn of

³ Recent studies on the social history of thirteenth-century Hungary include Attila Zsoldos, *A szent király szabadjai. Fejezetek a várjobbágyság történetéből* [The freemen of the holy king: Chapters from the history of the *iobagiones castri*] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 1999); Gyula Kristó, "II. András király 'új intézkedései'" [The 'Novae Institutiones' of King Andrew II], *Századok* 135 (2001): 251–300; Gyula Kristó, "Modellváltás a 13. században" [The change of "model" in the 13th century] *Századok* 135 (2001): 473–87.

⁴ On the historical regions of Europe, see Jenő Szűcs, "The three historical regions of Europe," *Acta Historica* 29 (1983): 131–84; Gábor Klaniczay, "Von Ostmitteleuropa zu Westmitteleuropa: Eine Umwandlung im Hochmittelalter," in *Böhmen und seine Nachbarn in der Premyslidenzeit*, ed. Ivan Hlavaček and Alexander Patschovsky (Sigmaringen: Thorbecke, 2011), 17–48; Nora Berend, Przemysław Urbanczyk, and Przemysław Wiszewski, *Central Europe in the High Middle Ages: Bohemia, Hungary and Poland, c. 900–c.1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2013), 1–39.

conflicts involving lesser country nobles; meet merchants, city judges, and peasants; and hear of castles, ferries, and an important traffic of coaches on the roads, etc.), it is the religious aspect, obviously, that is present in greater detail and significance.

Before treating the question of how Hungary joined the main currents of thirteenth-century European Christian spirituality through the activity of the mendicant orders a word should be said here about Hungarian Christianity in general and the political significance of religion and the church in particular. Converted to Christianity relatively late, in the tenth and eleventh centuries, and—after some hesitation—placed by Saint Stephen (1000–1038) under the authority of the Roman popes, Hungary represented one of the eastern frontiers of Latin Christianity in the Middle Ages.⁵ Because of Hungary's peripheral position within the framework of medieval Latin Christianity, religion became a political and an institutional issue during the Middle Ages. On the level of international ecclesiastical politics this led to an intricate set of conflicts throughout the eleventh and twelfth centuries between German and Byzantine political domination and the religious influence of Rome and Byzantium. The main problem for the Hungarian kings was to preserve their political autonomy and their right of patronage over the Hungarian Church against political and religious powers aspiring to secure this authority for themselves. Some of the Hungarian kings managed to exploit this balanced system of religious and political conflicts to their own advantage. Béla IV was one such. His sincere, personal religious zeal and his formal respect for an over-all papal supremacy did not prevent him from taking ecclesiastical affairs into his firm hand, especially after it turned out that neither of the universal leaders of Christian Europe

⁵ About the conversion of Hungary and the reign of Saint Stephen, see György Györffy, *István király és műve* [King Stephen and his work] (Budapest: Gondolat, 1977); a shortened English version is his *King Saint Stephen of Hungary* (Highland Lakes, NJ: East European Monographs, 1994); Nora Berend, ed., *Christianization and the Rise of Christian Monarchy: Scandinavia, Central Europe and Rus' c. 900–1200* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2007); László Koszta, "Das Andenken von Method und die Anfänge der Christianisierung Ungarns," forthcoming.

were willing to give Hungary any military help against the menacing Tartars. His policy limiting excessive donations and “liberties” to the Hungarian church, his success in placing loyal candidates in key positions in the Hungarian ecclesiastical hierarchy, and, above all, his skill in converting the clerical elite to his ideas for the administration and reorganization of the country made the Hungarian Church an early example of a late-medieval state church.⁶

Another religious and political consequence of Hungary’s frontier position was accepting the task of fighting against paganism, heresy, and schismatics—the crusading mission and the peaceful work of conversion. In Béla’s times, before the Mongol attack, paganism was represented by the nomadic Cumans, who lived eastward of Hungary. Béla effectively sought to extend Hungarian authority over them by the peaceful means of conversion as early as 1226–1228 when he was still a duke. The tentative and intermittent alliance with the Cuman people, who later fled to Hungary from the Tartars, lasted throughout the thirteenth century and was sealed later by the marriage of Béla’s elder son and successor, Stephen V (1239–1272), to the Cuman princess Elisabeth.⁷ As for the other pagan enemy, the Tartars, conversion was not in question, and appeals for an international crusade failed. There were on the other hand several crusades against the Bogomil heretics of Bosnia (1235–1237) led by Béla’s brother, Duke Coloman (1208–1241), and the idea of a crusade, or the mission of spreading Roman Christianity, also loomed large in the struggles for the Russian principality of Galicia and plans to attack Bulgaria.⁸

It was this crusading and missionary activity which attracted the Dominicans and Franciscans to Hungary, rather than the tide of thirteenth-century popular, urban religiosity. This explains their close relations to the royal court and their very different cultural

⁶ Szűcs, *Az utolsó Árpádok*, 89–94.

⁷ Nora Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom: Jews, Muslims and ‘Pagans’ in Medieval Hungary, c. 1000–c. 1300* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2001).

⁸ Franjo Šanjek, *Les Chrétiens bosniaques et le mouvement cathare XII–XV siècles* (Louvain–Paris: Publications de la Sorbonne, 1976).

and religious functions in Hungary when compared to their role in Occidental and Mediterranean countries.

The Dominican Order decided to establish a Hungarian Province at its second *capitulum generale* in 1221 in Bologna. This decision was immediately followed by the preaching tour of Paulus Hungarus, the well-known Dominican canonist, and by the foundation of the first Dominican communities.⁹ In 1226 they were invited by Duke Béla to participate in the conversion of the Cumans and in the organization of the Cuman episcopate of Milko.¹⁰ In Bosnia, where Johannes Teutonicus (Johann von Wildeshausen), the Hungarian *prior provincialis*, became bishop in the times of the crusade (1233–1237), it was the Dominicans who led the campaign against the heretics.¹¹ Between 1232 and 1237 the Dominicans organized four expeditions to the East to discover the ancestors of the Hungarians and it was they who brought news of the approaching invasion of the Mongols.¹² That their mission-

⁹ Nicolaus Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerprovinz von ihrer Gründung 1221 bis zur Tatarenwüstung 1241–1242* (Zurich: Leemann, 1913); András Harsányi, *A domonkosrend Magyarországon a reformáció előtt* [The Dominican Order in Hungary before the Reformation] (Debrecen: Nagy Károly Grafikai Műintézet, 1938); Simon Tugwell, "Notes on the Life of St. Dominic," *Archivum Fratrum Praedicatorum* 68 (1998): 98–110;

¹⁰ László Makkai, *A milkói/kun/püspökség és népei* [The Cuman episcopacy of Milko and its peoples], (Debrecen: Pannónia Ny., 1936); Berend, *At the Gate of Christendom*, 213–17.

¹¹ Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerprovinz*, 62–67; Attila Györkös, "Magyar vonatkozású domonkos rendi történetek a XIII. században [History of the Dominican Order in Hungary in the 13th century]," in *A domonkos rend Magyarországon* [The Dominican Order in Hungary], ed. Pál Attila Illés and Balázs Zágorhidi Czigány (Piliscsaba, Budapest, and Vasvár: PPKE BTK—METEM—DRGY, 2007), 49–61.

¹² Iosephus Deér, "Relatio fratris Ricardi," in *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. Emericus Szentpétery (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica, 1938), vol. II, 529–42; Heinrich Dörrie, "Drei Texte zur Geschichte der Ungarn und Mongolen. Die Missionsreise des fr. Julianus O.P. ins Uralgebiet (1234/35) und nach Rußland (1237) und der Bericht des Erzbischofs Peter über die Tataren," *Nachrichten der Akademie der Wissenschaften in Göttingen, Phil.-hist. Klasse* 6 (1956): 125–202; James Ross Sweeney and Hansgerd Göckenjan, eds., *Der Mongolensturm. Berichte von Augen Zeugen und Zeitgenossen, 1235–1250* (Graz–Vienna–Cologne: Styria, 1985), 67–126.

ary involvement in Hungarian affairs was not without personal danger to the Dominicans is illustrated by the fact that during the Tartar invasion some 90 of them were killed, many in the Dominican convent at Pest. Notable among those murdered was Buzád from the Hahót kindred, a former *bán* (governor) turned friar.¹³

The close relations between the royal court and the Dominicans is illustrated by the fact that the confessors of Béla IV and his wife, Maria Lascaris, daughter of the emperor of Nicaea, were frequently Dominicans. The abovementioned Johannes Teutonicus was one of them; it must have been he who suggested to the royal couple to raise Margaret as a Dominican nun. He was held in such high esteem that, after his death, Maria Lascaris wrote two letters in 1260 to the Dominican general chapter proposing his canonization.¹⁴ We also hear of another royal confessor, Gerard, in a testimony printed in the present work.¹⁵ So it is not by chance that the delicate matter of Princess Margaret's upbringing was also confided to a Dominican friar, Marcellus, whose activity will be discussed later. Moreover, it is understandable that the Dominican convents not only multiply in number (by 1277 there are 30 for men and two for women)¹⁶ but they are the most prominent ones; they include the convent dedicated to the Virgin Mary on the Danube island, built to receive Margaret and her companions, and the convent of Saint Nicholas in the newly founded city of Buda, both of

¹³ Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerprovinz*, 89–93, 154–56. His assignment of Buzád to the family Bánfi is not correct, the future Bánfi family of Alsólendva is from another branch of this same kindred, receiving its name Bánfi only in the fourteenth century; Thomas de Cantimpré, *Bonum universale de apibus* (Duaci, ex typ. Baltazaris Belleri, 1627), Book 2, Chapter 44, 428.

¹⁴ Georgius Fejér, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus Hungariae ecclesiasticus ac civilis* (Buda, 1829–1844), vol. IV/3, 22 (1260), and 68 (1262).

¹⁵ This is mentioned in the testimony of Friar Jordanus in the *Acts* (42). He is probably identical with the royal physician Gerard; whose fragmentary testimony is in the *Acts* (50).

¹⁶ Beatrix F. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok a középkori Magyarországon: katalógus (Monasteriologia Hungarica nova)* [Monasteries and collegiate chapters in medieval Hungary: Catalog (*Monasteriologia Hungarica nova*)] (Budapest: Pytheas, 2000), 124–25; also available on CD ROM.

which were finished in 1253. The latter hosted the general chapter of the order in 1254 and immediately afterwards the marriage of Stephen V to the Cuman princess, Elisabeth.¹⁷ After this promising start, however, the Dominican order seems to have fallen into disgrace in the 1260s, probably because they supported Princess Margaret in her refusal to leave the cloister to marry the Czech King Přemysl Ottokar II, as her father intended for her.¹⁸

After the disgrace of the Dominicans, their place was taken by the other mendicant order, the Franciscans, who also had long been established in Hungary. Their first convents were founded in 1229 (five in the first year), and their Hungarian province was officially established in 1238 under the leadership of Johannes de Francia, around whom a spontaneous cult seems to have evolved after his death in 1240.¹⁹ They also had convents at important places: in Esztergom (Strigonium), the archbishop's see; in Székesfehérvár (Alba Regia), the most popular burial place of medieval Hungarian kings and the place the Diets were held at; and also in Buda, as mentioned in one of the testimonies printed below.²⁰ In the 1260s they supplied the confessors for the royal couple, played an important role in reconciling the king and his son after their civil war in 1264–65,²¹ and were frequently sent as ambassadors to

¹⁷ The acts of the General Chapter of Buda, 31 May 1254, are published in *Monumenta Ordinis Fratrum Praedicatorum Historica*, ed. B.M. Reichert, vol. 3 (1897–1901), 66–71.

¹⁸ Such is the hypothesis of Erik Fügedi, “La formation des villes et les ordres mendi-cants en Hongrie,” *Annales, Economie, Sociétés, Civilisations* 25 (1970): 966–87, repr. in: idem, *Kings, Bishops, Nobles, and Burghers in Medieval Hungary*, ed. János M. Bak (London: Variorum, 1986).

¹⁹ Stanko Andrić, “Blessed John the French, the first Franciscan Minister Provincial in Hungary and his miracles,” in *Promoting the Saints: Cults and Their Contexts from Late Antiquity until the Early Modern Period, Essays in Honor of Gábor Klaniczay for his 60th Birthday*, ed. Ottó Gecser, József Laszlovszky, Balázs Nagy, Marcell Sebők, and Katalin Szende (Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 2011), 83–102.

²⁰ See below, pp. 483–84.

²¹ Artlla Zsoldos, *Családi ügy. IV. Béla és István ifjabb király viszálya az 1260-as évek-ben* [A family affair: The discord between Béla IV and Stephen the younger king in the 1260s] (Budapest: História. MTA TTI, 2007); cf. *Legenda vetus*, 70 n. 42.

the pope in important matters. The royal family expressed its intimate relationship with the Franciscans in a notable way by choosing their Esztergom monastery as the royal burial site, contrary to the general custom of royal burial near the grave of Saint Stephen in Székesfehérvár. With this weight of royal support, it is no wonder that the Franciscans surpassed the Dominicans in the number of their convents in Hungary, which by 1282 amounted to 54.²²

This background helps to understand why the social and religious functions of the mendicant orders in Hungary differed so much from those in Italy and France. There with their new spirituality they combined wide popular support and papal authority to repress heresy, and to discipline lay religiosity, as well as courtly and urban cultures. Among the Hungarians, except on the southern and eastern frontiers, they found no heresies, no unorthodox religious movements to repress, and not much secular culture to control. On the other hand, they did have conflicts with the local clergy hostile to the competing friars. The necessary support in this situation came neither from the embryonic cities nor from the remote papacy but from the only milieu in Hungary capable of understanding their religious message: the royal court. Thus, the friars in Hungary became neither papal agents nor exponents of civic virtues but, it is only a slight exaggeration to assert, the instructors of Christian princes and princesses. Their convents were built in the developing cities, recalling their occidental urban affiliation,²³ but royal encouragement to settle there was just part of the wider effort to make cities out of these settlements.

²² János Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története Magyarországon 1711-ig* [The history of the Order of St. Francis in Hungary until 1711] (Budapest 1922–1924); Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 152–53.

²³ This is the object of the study of Fügedi, “La formation des villes,” following the wider project of Jacques Le Goff, “Ordres mendiants et urbanisation dans la France médiévale (état de l’enquête),” *Annales, E.S.C.*, 25 (1970): 924–46; cf. Gábor Klaniczay, “The Mendicant Orders in East-Central Europe and the Integration of Cultures,” in *Hybride Kulturen im Mittelalterlichen Europa*, ed. Michael Borgolte and Bernd Schneidmüller (Berlin: Akademie Verlag, 2010), 245–60.

It seems appropriate at this point to speak about the principal setting of Saint Margaret's life, the convent on the Island of the he Blessed Virgin Mary commonly called the Island of Hares (*Insula Leporum*), which came to be called Margaret Island from the fourteenth century on.²⁴ This convent was built for Margaret on the site of a mansion owned by her mother. The building works (1246–1253) were directed by Michael, the Dominican provincial, and closely supervised by the queen herself. It is easy to understand her interest in the project, for, besides her daughter, the convent had two of her granddaughters among its nuns, namely Elisabeth, daughter of Stephen V, and Margaret, daughter of Princess Anne. Together with some further relatives of the royal family, the two were surrounded by daughters and widows of some of the most important aristocratic families. One could say that this convent was the new-style court of Princess Margaret, a celestial counterpart of the neighboring royal court. As one can see from the accounts, the material needs of the convent were generously provided. Besides the taxes of the Buda fairs and numerous possessions already granted them in 1255, a large number of subsequent royal and aristocratic donations made them one of the wealthiest ecclesiastical institutions by the end of the thirteenth century.²⁵ To provide Dominican spiritual supervision, a men's convent was soon built beside it on the Island, and to perform the everyday tasks there were male and female servants living nearby.

Inside the convent, according to the testimonies, the protagonist of this “mystery play” began to realize a religious ideal with surprising, sometimes even rebellious behavior. Helped by some,

²⁴ For the history of this convent see especially Rózsa Feuerné Tóth, “A margitszigeti domonkos kolostor” [The Dominican cloister on Margaret Island], *Budapest Régiségei* 22 (1971): 245–68; Ilona Király, *Árpádházi Szent Margit és a Sziget* [St. Margaret of the House of Arpad and the island] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1979), 11–78, 145–61.

²⁵ The documents recording the numerous possessions of the convent are gathered and analyzed by Elemér Lovas, *Árpádházi B. Margit és kora* [Blessed Margaret of Hungary and her times] (Ph.D. diss., Kolozsvár, 1913), *Kolozsvári értekezések a magyar művelődéstörténet köréből* 4, 139–81.

hindered by others, the new ideal was imitated and admired by the majority, sometimes with a tinge of envy. Let us examine a little more closely the interesting new religious ideal born from this cooperation between royalty and the Dominicans.

ROYAL SAINTHOOD AND FEMALE SANCTITY

From the viewpoint of medieval Christianity, and particularly from that of the cult of the saints, both types of sanctity personified by Margaret have their own long histories. These models must be described briefly, for they are active forces shaping the life and the ideals of, and subsequently the cults devoted to the saint.

Regarding royal sainthood, which has been claimed to be a medieval Christian version of sacral kingship,²⁶ it must be stressed that this model shows a number of deviations from the original religious idea of the Christian saint. It is true that several of the kings canonized and venerated from Merovingian times on excelled in Christian virtues and zeal. They were known for having converted their subjects to Christianity, for encouraging missionary and pastoral activity, for being just and moral rulers, for waging war against paganism, and, frequently, for having suffered a martyr's death in the course of these campaigns. Still, all these efforts rather reflect a political dimension of religion and are remote from the ideal of the holy man held up as an example to believers for his religious mer-

²⁶ For a general overview of this problem see František Graus, *Volk, Herrscher und Heiliger im Reich der Merowinger. Studien zur Hagiographie der Merowingerzeit* (Prague: Nakladatelství Československé akademie věd, 1965), 300–433; William A. Chaney, *The Cult of Kingship in Anglo-Saxon England: The Transition from Paganism to Christianity* (Manchester: Manchester University Press, 1970); Robert Folz, *Les saints rois du moyen âge en Occident* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1984); Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses: Dynastic Cults in Medieval Central Europe* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 2002); Gábor Klaniczay, "La royauté sacrée des Arpadiens dans l'historiographie hongroise médiévale et moderne," *Académie des Inscriptions & Belles-Lettres. Comptes rendus des séances de l'année 2013* (Paris: Diffusion de Bocard, 2013), II, 595–627.

its.²⁷ One could characterize these cults of saintly rulers more appropriately by their political function: namely, to provide a new kind of sacral legitimation for the royal dynasties in Christian kingdoms, while absorbing also some pagan ideas about the sacrality of kingship and the divine origin of particular dynasties. They were used by competing pretenders to strengthen their claim to the throne when they became patrons of the cult of their holy ancestor and they were symbols of the support given by the Church to a royal dynasty.

After the early medieval emergence and the eleventh–twelfth century vogue of royal sainthood (which produced such notable cults as those of Sigismund of Burgundy, Oswald of Northumbria, Edmund of East Anglia, Wenceslas of Bohemia, Boris, Gleb, and Vladimir of the Kievan Rus, Olaf of Norway, Stephen and Emeric of Hungary, Knut of Denmark, Emperor Henry II, Edward the Confessor, Knut Lavard of Denmark, Eric of Sweden, and Ladislas of Hungary),²⁸ a new chapter in the history of royal sainthood opens in the thirteenth century with a series of holy queens and princesses. There were four important canonizations: Saint Cunegond, German empress and wife of Henry II (d. 1033, canonized in 1200)²⁹; Saint Elisabeth of Hungary, Hungarian princess and wife of the landgrave of Thuringia (d. 1231, canonized in 1234)³⁰; Saint Margaret, queen of Scotland (d. 1093, canonized in 1249)³¹; and

²⁷ Peter Brown, “The rise and function of the holy man in Late Antiquity,” in *Society and the Holy in Late Antiquity* (Berkeley: The University of California Press, 1982), 103–52.

²⁸ For a detailed discussion of all these see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 62–193.

²⁹ Renate Klausner, “Der Heinrichs-und Kunigundenkult im mittelalterlichen Bistum Bamberg,” *Berichte des Historischen Vereins Bamberg* 95 (1956): 1–211; Stefanie Dick, Jörg Jarnut and Matthias Wemhoff, eds., *Kunigunde—Consorts Regni. Vortragssreihe zum tausendjährigen Jubiläum der Krönung Kunigundes in Paderborn (1002–2002)* (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2004).

³⁰ Dieter Blume and Mathias Werner, eds., *Elisabeth von Thüringen: Eine europäische Heilige, Aufsätze* (Berlin: Michael Imhof Verlag, 2007); Kenneth Baxter Wolf, *The Life and Afterlife of St Elizabeth of Hungary* (Oxford: Oxford University Press, 2011).

³¹ Catherine Keene, *Saint Margaret, Queen of the Scots: A Life in Perspective* (New York: Palgrave Macmillan, 2013).

Saint Hedwig, duchess of Silesia (d. 1243, canonized in 1267).³² In addition, there were at least a dozen saintly princesses, especially in Central Europe, who lived an exemplary religious life during these times and who after their deaths were venerated as saints or blessed even without any official papal confirmation. Before taking a closer look at this family of saintly queens and princesses, of which Saint Margaret of Hungary was a noteworthy representative, we should explore two models of female sanctity which intersected in the formation of this vogue of royal and female sainthood in the thirteenth century. For neither the sanctity of women generally, nor the sanctity of widowed queens and pious princesses in particular, was an unknown phenomenon in the previous history of Christianity, though the Church had many reservations on the capabilities of women to achieve perfection in religious life.³³

It was only in the twelfth century that an important shift in this regard occurred in religious and cultural perspectives. The figure of the woman emerged as a new kind of cult object in secular culture in the literary convention of courtly love,³⁴ and in religion, parallel to this, in the triumphant cult of the Virgin Mary.³⁵ This led to an increasing feminization of major religious devotions, to

³² Joseph Gottschalk, *St. Hedwig, Herzogin von Schlesien* (Cologne–Graz: Böhlau, 1964).

³³ For the former, see in general Dyan Elliott, “Flesh and spirit: The female body,” in Alastair Minnis and Rosalyn Voaden, eds., *Medieval Holy Women in the Christian Tradition, c. 1100–c. 1500* (Turnhout: Brepols, 2010), 13–46. For the latter see Robert Folz, *Les Saintes reines du Moyen Âge en Occident, VI–XIII^e siècles*, Subsidia Hagiographica 76 (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1992); Gábor Klaniczay, “Pouvoir et idéologie dans l’hagiographie des saintes reines et princesses, in., *Hagiographie, idéologie et politique au Moyen Âge en Occident*, ed. Edina Bozoky (Turnhout: Brepols, 2012), 423–46.

³⁴ Joachim Bumke, *Courtly Culture: Literature and Society in the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1991); Linda Elizabeth Mitchell, *Women in Medieval Western European Culture* (New York: Garland, 1999).

³⁵ Dominique Iogna-Prat, Éric Palazzo, and Daniel Russo, eds., *Marie. Le culte de la Vierge dans la société médiévale* (Paris: Beauchesne, 1996); Miri Rubin, *Mother of God: A History of the Virgin Mary* (New Haven: Yale University Press, 2009).

the point that even Jesus could be addressed as “mother.”³⁶ The new religious ideal was popularized by the Cistercians and the mendicant orders. Whereas until then the accepted axiom of the moral and physical weakness of women excluded them from the higher levels of religious perfection, now their qualities of spiritualized and emotionally charged devotion, their diligence in the accomplishment of all minor details of the religious ceremonial life (such as prayers, genuflections, fasts, etc.), and their ecstatic, prophetic, visionary, and mystical experiences began to be emphasized. Their lack of involvement in power, wealth, and learned culture also placed them in a better position from the point of view of salvation, for the less they belonged to the typical aspirations of this world, the easier it was for them to become vehicles of a loosely defined mystical, divine power.³⁷

The saintly princesses of thirteenth-century Central Europe represent one of the initial phases of this evolution which was to culminate in Catherine of Siena and Joan of Arc. While they embrace germs of the ideals outlined above, they reveal concrete paths of transition from the older models of sanctity to this new one, and they disclose certain of the political functions of these cults in the milieu where they flourished: the royal courts of Central Europe.

First, we can note that they represent a new incarnation of the ideal of the sanctification of the dynasties in question. It is significant that these cults started to develop precisely when the Hungarian kings Béla IV, Stephen V, and Ladislas IV not only referred to their holy predecessors and shared their names but started to

³⁶ Caroline W. Bynum, *Jesus as Mother: Studies in the Spirituality of the High Middle Ages* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: University of California Press, 1982).

³⁷ For a comprehensive account of this new ideal of female sainthood, see André Vauchez, *La Sainteté en Occident aux derniers siècles du Moyen Âge d'après les procès de canonisation et les documents hagiographiques* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1981, 1988), 427–46—in English: *Sainthood in the Later Middle Ages* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1997), 348–86; Caroline Walker Bynum, “The female body and religious practice in the Middle Ages,” in *Fragments for the History of the Human Body*, ed. Michael Feher, Ramona Nadaff, and N. Tazi (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 161–220.

apply the designation of sainthood to their entire dynasty.³⁸ The Biblical metaphor, “if the root is holy, so are the branches” (Rom. 11:16), could well be exemplified by the thirteenth-century female descendants of the Arpadian line. Besides Saint Elisabeth, daughter of Andrew II (1176–1235, reigning from 1205), and Saint Margaret, there is a whole series of blessed princesses to record. Two cousins of Saint Elisabeth, Agnes and Anne, both founded convents of Poor Clares, entered their order and were subsequently venerated in Bohemia and Silesia.³⁹ Two sisters of Saint Margaret, Cunegond (Kynga) and Jolenth, after their marriages to Polish princes also ended up as Clarisse sisters, and after their deaths they were both considered as blessed or saints, just as was their aunt-in-law, Salomea, widowed Polish princess and former wife of Coloman, brother of Béla IV.⁴⁰ It seems appropriate that Elisabeth—daughter of Andrew III, the last Arpadian king of Hungary (1265–1301, reigning from 1290), “the last little golden branch,” as a charter of István Ákos would call him—ended her life in the Dominican convent of Töss in Switzerland.⁴¹

³⁸ “*sanctorum regum praedecessorum nostrorum merita*,” Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus*, IV/2, 223 (1254); *ibid.* IV/3, 510 (1269), *ibid.* V/2, 508 (1279); cf. André Vauchez, “*Beata stirps: sainteté et lignage en Occident aux XIII^e et XIV^e siècles*,” in *Famille et parenté dans l’Occident médiéval*, ed. Georges Duby and Jacques Le Goff (Rome: École française de Rome, 1977), 397–406; Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 228–30.

³⁹ Christian-Frederik Felskau, “*Vita religiosa und paupertas der Přemysliden Agnes von Prag. Zu Bezügen und Besonderheiten in Leben und Legende einer späten Heiligen*,” *Collectanea Franciscana* 70 (2000): 413–84; Christian-Frederik Felskau, *Agnes von Böhmen und die Klosteranlage der Klarissen und Franziskaner in Prag. Leben und Institution, Legende und Verehrung* (Nordhausen: Traugott Bautz, 2008). The life of blessed Anne is edited by Aleksander Szymkowiak in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica* (Lwow, 1884), vol. IV, 656–61.

⁴⁰ The life of Saint Cunegond is edited by Wojciech Kętrzyński in *Monumenta Poloniae Historica*, vol. IV, 662–744; the life of Salomea is edited by Wojciech Kętrzyński, *Monumenta Poloniae Historia*, Vol. IV, 770–96.

⁴¹ Ferdinand Vetter, ed., *Das Leben der Schwestern zu Töss beschrieben von Elsbet Stangel samt der Vorrede von Johannes Meier und dem Leben der Prinzessin Elisabeth von Ungarn*, Deutsche Texte des Mittelalters VI (Berlin: Königlich Preussische Akademie der Wissenschaften, 1906), 99–122; Mária Puskely, *Árpádházi Boldog Erzsébet és a 14. századi misztika* [Blessed Elisabeth of the house of Arpad and fourteenth-century mysticism] (Rome: Dario e Ugo Detti, 1980).

Given the intricate marriage alliances between the Central European dynasties, a similar list could be compiled for the Bohemian Přemyslid, the Polish Piast, or the German Andechs houses, the latter boasting of Saint Hedwig and Gertrud, the mother of Saint Elisabeth of Hungary.⁴² That this extraordinary catalog does embrace some kind of dynastic sainthood is confirmed by the fact that the dynastic aspect of religious piety is stressed in the *Vita* of Margaret, who displayed a special devotion to her holy ancestors Stephen, Emeric, Ladislav, and Elisabeth,⁴³ and also in the *Leben* of Elisabeth of Töss, where Saint Elisabeth and Saint Margaret make their appearance.⁴⁴

But one should not lose sight of another important aspect of this trend either: in the closed circles of the royal and princely courts of Central Europe the example of Saint Elisabeth initiated a form of emancipation. That the sincere religious atmosphere could become an important though not always dominant factor in these courts is in a considerable part due to the activity of these women and to their aides and confessors, the Cistercian monks and the mendicant friars. And here we can see the function of this strange alliance between those dedicated to voluntary poverty and pious princesses. In Central Europe, this latter was the only social category possessing enough religious culture to grasp the essence of the Franciscan and Dominican spiritual message. At the same time, they had enormous advantages to renounce: power, princely marriages and widow's fortunes. What they did gain in exchange was a new kind of prestige within the royal family itself as representatives of the family's claim to sacrality. This new prestige made the sacrifice worthwhile. It could make them interlocutors in important political or familial conflicts; or it could ensure their successful opposition to their parents' plans to marry them against their will. Moreover, it gave them their own independent sphere of action in

⁴² For a detailed list of the Andechs saints see Gottschalk, *St. Hedwig*, 52–60.

⁴³ See below, pp. 58–61.

⁴⁴ Puskely, *Árpádházi Boldog Erzsébet*, 58 (Margaret), and 69–70 (Elisabeth).

the field of charity. In the Middle Ages largesse was an act of power usually exercised by men.

In Clarisse and Dominican convents founded by or for these saintly widows or princesses, one sees good examples of how this new prestige could be used by the princesses as well as the mendicant orders. For the former these convents signified a female community of their own, a pious circle of aristocratic widows and daughters, and kind of “celestial court” where their religious perfection could be admired and imitated and where it could lead towards further refinement. For the latter, the acceptance of the spiritual leadership of these convents was by no means a betrayal of the mendicants’ original humble vocation. It is a credit to their religious sensibility that they could adapt themselves to the prevailing local form of sanctity, that of the royal dynasty, and to reshape it by the introduction of the more spiritualized ideal of female sanctity.

The saintly fame of Margaret spread immediately after her death and motivated Stephen V, heir to the deceased Béla IV and brother of Margaret, to ask for the canonization of his sister from Pope Gregory X in 1271.⁴⁵ The friars must have popularized the healing miracles of Margaret from 1272 on during the official investigations into her sanctity. The first investigation, instigated by pontifical mandate, was carried out by Philip, archbishop of Esztergom, Philip, bishop of Vác, and the Cistercian abbot of Zirc.⁴⁶ After the death of Philip, archbishop of Esztergom, his successor, Ladomer, formerly bishop of Várad (Oradea), took over responsibility. The Hungarian Dominicans also provided, according to the standardized needs and the new ideals of the age, the legend narrating the saintly life and the first miracles of the blessed Hungarian princess, the first female candidate for sainthood of the Dominicans in Europe. The acts of the first investigation have been lost; we only know about their content from the miracle list

⁴⁵ This bull is published below, in the Canonization correspondence, nr. 1.

⁴⁶ See below, *Legenda vetus*.

included in the *Vita* printed below.⁴⁷ This first documentation, though probably deemed insufficient in itself, was instrumental in the opening of a second, more thorough investigation in 1276, set in motion by Pope Innocent V at the request of King Ladislas IV (1272–1290).⁴⁸ The two Italian papal legates, Umberto Bianchi and de la Corra, strove to act according to the new strict rules of canonization processes and assembled the testimony of more than 110 witnesses⁴⁹—the documentation of which we reproduce here with an English translation.

Having reviewed the wider historical and religious context of Margaret's sanctity, let us now deal directly with the character and the content of the two collections, born from the joint effort of the Hungarian Dominicans and the Hungarian kings to have her canonized.

LEGENDS AND MIRACLES

The author of the oldest legend about the life and miracles of Margaret, first published by Kornél Bőle,⁵⁰ did not put his name to his work. We only know from the legend itself that he was one of the “senior brethren” and that he wrote down his first-hand personal experiences which he had “seen rather than heard” (*magis visa quam audita*). After having meticulously considered all Dominicans who might have had a personal relationship with Margaret and having compared the legend to the testimonies of the five Dominican friars in the acts of the second investigation,

⁴⁷ See below, pp. 78–131.

⁴⁸ See below, in the Canonization correspondence, nr. 2–3.

⁴⁹ For the missing parts, see the “Preface” by Ildikó Csepregi, notes 104–105, below.

⁵⁰ Kornél Bőle, *Árpádházi Boldog Margit szenttéavatási ügye és a legősibb latin Margit-legendá* [The canonization process of St Margaret of the House of Arpad and her oldest Latin legend] A Szent István Akadémia Hittudomány-bölcseleti Osztályának felolvasásai 3/1 (Budapest: Szent István Akadémia, 1937).

Elemér Lovas, a great expert on Margaret's documents, attributed it to her spiritual leader and confessor Marcellus.⁵¹ Yet a few doubts and unsolvable problems about this attribution persist, which have been articulated by György Györffy. The author of the legend, who talks about himself in the first person singular, speaks about Marcellus in the third person. Furthermore, there is no mention in the legend of one of the most notable miracles of Margaret, narrated in the second examination in, among others, the testimony of Marcellus himself, namely the inundation of the Danube at her request, a miracle enacted in his presence and directed against his incredulity.⁵² On the other hand, one could note the fact that confessors were frequently chosen to write the first lives of their saintly protégées: a few decades earlier the stern confessor, Conrad of Marburg, compiled the first *Summa vitae*⁵³ of Margaret's aunt, Saint Elisabeth of Hungary, similarly as in the case of the most prominent female saint of the Dominicans, Catherine of Siena, whose *Legenda maior* was written by her confessor, Raymond of Capua.⁵⁴

In sum, the many concordant details, the conceptual unity of the legend and the testimony of Marcellus himself speak for his authorship, and this is more or less accepted by the majority of Hungarian scholars who have dealt with this legend: László

⁵¹ Elemér Lovas, "Árpádházi B. Margit első életrajzának írója – Marcellus" [Marcellus, the first biographer of Blessed Margaret of Hungary], in *A pannonhalmi Szt. Gellért főiskola évkönyve* (Pannonhalma, 1941): 21–85.

⁵² György Györffy, *Budapest története az Árpádkorban* [A history of Budapest in the age of the Árpáds], Vol. 1 of *Budapest története* [History of Budapest], 4 vols. (Budapest: Corvina, 1973), 342. Lovas addresses the issue of the inundation miracle with the argument that Marcellus most likely did not include it in the legend because he did not consider it to be a miracle; but, as the nuns mentioned it very often at the second investigation, he was obliged to speak about it as a witness. Lovas, "Árpádházi B. Margit első életrajzának írója," 35.

⁵³ Wolf, *The Life and Afterlife of St Elizabeth of Hungary*, 91–96.

⁵⁴ Raimondo da Capua, *Legenda maior sive Legenda admirabilis virginis Catherine de Senis*, edizione critica a cura di Silvia Nocentini (Florence: SISMEL / Edizioni del Galluzzo, 2013).

Mezey,⁵⁵ Tibor Klaniczay,⁵⁶ myself,⁵⁷ and Viktória Hedvig Deák.⁵⁸ But since this attribution cannot be taken for granted, we adopt the designation *Legenda vetus* proposed by Tibor Klaniczay.

Marcellus, a member of the Dominican Order since 1234 and prior provincial for twelve years in the 1250s and 1260s (when he participated, for example, in the General Chapter of Montpelier in 1265),⁵⁹ was not the only person who was deeply familiar with Margaret's spiritual life, but, as Elemér Mályusz has pointed out, he was probably the only person in her surroundings who had the proper religious culture to direct her towards these new goals of "gothic" religiosity, to then unprecedented in Hungary.⁶⁰ The *Vita* (the *Legenda vetus*) itself reflects this new ideal, with Marcellus providing the religious precepts for perfection to Margaret as they had been revealed to him in a dream-like vision: "To love God, Our Father, to despise oneself, not to despise anybody else, not to judge anybody." The *Vita* indeed exemplifies these principles

⁵⁵ László Mezey, *Irodalmi anyanyelvűségünk kezdetei az Árpád-kor végén* [The beginnings of vernacular Hungarian literature at the end of the Arpad age] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1955).

⁵⁶ Tibor Klaniczay, "A Margit-legendák történetének revíziója" [The revision of the history of the Margaret legends], in Tibor Klaniczay and Gábor Klaniczay, *Szent Margit legendái és stigmái* [The legends and the stigmata of Saint Margaret] (Budapest: Argumentum, 1994), 38–50. Since the authorship of Marcellus cannot be taken for granted, he proposed to use the name *Legenda vetus* to designate the legend. A shorter version of his study has been published in Italian: Tibor Klaniczay, "La fortuna di Santa Margherita d'Ungheria in Italia," in *Spiritualità e lettere nella cultura italiana e ungherese del basso medioevo*, ed. Sante Graciotti and Cesare Vasoli (Florence: Olschki, 1995), 3–27.

⁵⁷ Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 288–91.

⁵⁸ Viktória Hedvig Deák O.P., *Árpád-házi Szent Margit és a domonkos hagiográfia. Garinus legendája nyomán* [Saint Margaret of Hungary and Dominican hagiography: On the track of the Garinus legend] (Budapest: Kairosz, 2005), 13–21; see also the reworked French version of her book: *La légende de sainte Marguerite de Hongrie et l'hagiographie dominicaine* (Paris: Cerf, 2013), 169–75.

⁵⁹ The facts of his life are known to us only from his own testimony, as Witness 38.

⁶⁰ Elemér Mályusz, "Árpád-házi Boldog Margit. A magyar egyházi műveltség problémája" [Blessed Margaret of the House Árpád: The problem of Hungarian ecclesiastical culture], in *Emlékkönyv Károlyi Árpád születése nyolcvanadik fordulójának ünnepeire. 1933. október. 7.* (Budapest: Sárkány Nyomda Rt., 1933), 366–70.

by its adherence to up-to-date thirteenth-century motifs of spirituality on Margaret's part: her intense devotion to the Virgin Mary, the patroness of her convent,⁶¹ her compassionate devotion for and emulation of the suffering Christ,⁶² the mortification of her body by ascetic acts, her request to be flogged frequently,⁶³ her frequent and excessive fasting,⁶⁴ her humility in performing lowly duties and caring for the ill sisters,⁶⁵ and her attempt to play the role of peacemaker in family conflicts involving her father and brother.⁶⁶

At first glance the legend seems to be a rather prosaic account of Margaret's everyday life and behavior, lacking the miraculous elements usual in this genre, as well as the symbolically and rhetorically over-conscious presentation and the excessive, pious phraseology of the hagiographers. But these features are by no means to be considered as shortcomings. They fit into the tendency of Hungarian hagiography well-known to the present author and represented especially by the very un-hagiographic eleventh-century *Legenda Minor* of Saint Stephen.⁶⁷ They also correspond to the new mendicant and official papal ideal of sanctity,

⁶¹ On the special cult rendered to the Virgin Mary since the eleventh century in Hungary, see Flóris Kühár, *Mária-tiszteletünk a XI. és XII. század hazai liturgiájában* [The cult of Mary in Hungarian liturgy of the eleventh and twelfth centuries] (Budapest, 1939); Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 138–42; Miri Rubin, *Emotion and Devotion: The Meaning of Mary in Medieval Religious Cultures* (Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 2009), 17–18; cf. *Legenda vetus*, 51 n. 18.

⁶² Giles Constable, "The imitation of the Body of Christ," in idem, *Three Studies in Medieval Life and Thought* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1995), 143–247. Cf. *Legenda vetus at*, 49 n. 14.

⁶³ Esther Cohen, *The Modulated Scream: Pain in Late Medieval Culture* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 2011), 198–255.

⁶⁴ Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast: The Religious Significance of Food to Medieval Women* (Berkeley and Los Angeles: The University of California Press, 1987); cf. *Legenda vetus*, cap. 8.

⁶⁵ See *Legenda vetus*, cap. 13.

⁶⁶ See *Legenda vetus*, 70 n. 42.

⁶⁷ Edited by Emma Bartoniek in Emericus Szentpétery, ed., *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum* (Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica, 1938; repr. and augmented, Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1999)—hereafter referred to as *SRH*—vol. II, 393–400.

which started to lay much more stress upon saintly life and exemplary deeds than upon the posthumous miracles occurring near the saint's relics. This expressed the learned and more rational attitude of the Church towards sanctity, the high prestige of the *vita apostolica*, and the moralizing attitude of the mendicant orders.⁶⁸

To seek miraculous perfection in life also implied the excessive practice of mortifying one's flesh and the introduction of prophetic, visionary, and mystical qualities. Both sides are represented in Margaret's *Vita* with the full power of religious novelty. Following the unfolding of this model of female sanctity, these features were further stressed in her subsequent legends, where more such elements were added, such as levitation, frequent ecstasy, and the most prestigious sign of identification with the suffering Christ, the miracle first attributed to Saint Francis of Assisi: stigmatization.⁶⁹ These traits, however, are absent from the original documents. What we find there instead is an ample and detailed testimony of a somewhat more traditional religiosity, that of the persons surrounding the saintly princess, who testified about her miraculous deeds in the two investigations.

On stylistic grounds⁷⁰ and also on the basis of philological conjectures, it is possible to argue that the original version of the *Legenda vetus* ended with the four visions regarding her sanctity

⁶⁸ About the new criteria of "modern sanctity" subjected to the bureaucratic criteria of canonization processes, see Vauchez, *La sainteté*, 69–120 and 449–89; Michael Goodich, *Vita perfecta: The Ideal of Sainthood in the Thirteenth Century* (Stuttgart: Hierseman, 1982); Gábor Klaniczay, ed., *Procès de canonisation au Moyen Âge. Aspects juridiques et religieux / Canonization Processes in the Middle Ages: Legal and Religious Aspects* (Rome: École française de Rome, 2004).

⁶⁹ Florio Banfi, "Le Stimate della B. Margherita d'Ungheria," *Memorie Domenicane* 50–51 (1934): 297–312; Gábor Klaniczay, "Le stimate di santa Margherita d'Ungheria: immagini e testi," *Iconographica. Rivista di iconografia medievale e moderna* 1 (2002): 16–31; Gábor Klaniczay, "On the stigmatization of Saint Margaret of Hungary," in *Medieval Christianity in Practice*, ed. Miri Rubin (Princeton: Princeton University Press, 2009), 274–84.

⁷⁰ Ilona M. Nagy, "Über den Stil der ältesten lateinischen Legende von der Hl. Margit aus der Arpadendynastie," *Acta classica Universitatis Scientiarum Debreceniensis* 40–41 (2005): 391–99.

and was reworked and completed, possibly by another author, by adding 10 miracles in life and 29 *post mortem* miracles from the acts of the first official investigation regarding her sanctity. This list is an edited, narratively adjusted version of the testimonies gathered by the first committee, and the narrative of the stories recalls less the mendicant ideas of “modern sainthood” than the traditional concept of miracle-working relics. In any case, this miracle-list was also a necessary requirement for advancing the canonization case of Margaret, because the papacy since Innocent III, the great initiator of these bureaucratic procedures, made clear that sanctity needed as much the proof of the *virtus signorum* as that of the *virtus morum*.⁷¹

This first documentation, also supported by the new petition of King Ladislas IV, must have been instrumental in the decision of Pope Innocent V to quickly convene a second investigation committee in 1276, consisting of two Italian papal legates, Umberto Bianchi, a canon from Piacenza, and Canon de la Corra, *decretorum doctor*, from Verona. They were instructed to make a “diligent inquiry... according to the *puncta interrogatoria*” (which repeated word for word the guidelines for examining the *testes legitimi*), a detailed instruction given in 1231 by Pope Gregory IX to Conrad of Marburg regarding the precise legal requirements in recording reliable and informative eyewitness statements “on the behavior and the miracles of Elizabeth, the wife of the Landgrave of Thuringia.”⁷²

The preserved manuscript of the Acts of the second investigation contains the testimonies of 110 witnesses⁷³ and adds 54 new

⁷¹ Gábor Klaniczay, “Proving sanctity in the canonization processes (Saint Elizabeth and Saint Margaret of Hungary),” in Klaniczay, ed., *Procès de canonization*, 117–48.

⁷² L. Auvray, ed., *Les Registres de Grégoire IX*, Paris, 1890–1955 (BEFAR, 2^e série, 9) col. 548. No. 913; see below, pp. 726–33; cf. Klaniczay, “Proving sanctity,” 123–24.

⁷³ Vilmos Fraknói, ed., *Inquisitio super vita, conversatione et miraculis beatae Margarethae virginis, Belae IV. Hungarorum regis filiae, sanctimonialis monasterii virginis gloriosae de insula Danubii, Ordinis Praedicatorum, Vespriemiensis diocesis*, in *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vespriemiensis*—hereafter quoted as *MRV*—(Budapest, 1896), vol. I, 162–383.

miracles to the 39 assembled during the first investigation (also gathering new testimonies on 14 cases already described in the miracle-list appended to the *Legenda vetus*). The order here is not that of miracles grouped more or less in a typological order, with one “master narrative” for each story, as we have seen in the miracle list resulting from the first investigation. Margaret’s second investigation is structured by the groups of witnesses: thirty-eight nuns of her convent, five friars charged with its supervision, then the burghers of Buda and the neighboring towns, certain Beguines, and finally some peasants from more remote territories. The actual record of the testimonies thus acquires a much greater importance, and the protocol, written down by a professional notary relying on the work of several interpreters, a more judicious nature. The legates were scrupulous enough that they made a special investigation of contradictory statements or apparent lapses of memory on the part of certain witnesses which were betrayed by the references of others.

What we get from these testimonies is a most valuable historical insight into the life, thought and beliefs of a large group of thirteenth-century individuals in Hungary. In the testimonies of the nuns from Margaret’s convent we can see that the new religious ideal of the Dominicans was only partly grasped by the nuns themselves. Some were indeed impressed by Margaret’s humility and voluntary poverty, while for others all this was nothing but excessive torment of the body (in the ascetic acts) and an inexplicable lack of revulsion for the most menial jobs like cleaning the latrine or caring for repulsive illnesses.⁷⁴ Some asked her to perform miracles to prove her sanctity.⁷⁵ Others tested her humility and patience by ill-treating her.⁷⁶ Even if all this accords with general hagiographical patterns, we can also take it as a fairly accurate account of how a new religious way of life was received in more traditional surroundings.

⁷⁴ See below, at pp. 164–67, 236–39.

⁷⁵ See below, at pp. 198–201.

⁷⁶ See below, at pp. 222–23.

As for the typology of miracles, there are several interesting traits to observe. While the majority still follows the archaic pattern of healing that occurred only in the presence of the relics, mainly after touching the relics, lying on the grave, walking around it three times or even staying in its vicinity for a longer time, a considerable part already represents the new, more spiritualized concept, where imploring the saint, the making of a vow, or an apparition in a dream could work miracles at a distance from the grave as well.⁷⁷ The group of miracles where Margaret is presented as having power over the forces of nature by causing rain,⁷⁸ making the sun shine, causing a joint apparition of sun and moon,⁷⁹ and making the river inundate,⁸⁰ is interesting because it conforms to a traditional concept of supernatural mediators who can command these natural forces.

A detailed analysis of the testimonies also reveals interesting features of the culture, memory capacities, and beliefs of friars, nuns, nobles, city dwellers, and peasants, of men and women, old and young.⁸¹ It is with the aim of affording access to such insights that the present translation of these documents was prepared.

A copy of the acts of the second papal investigation about Margaret's life and miracles was transcribed by the Hungarian Dominicans in a common codex with the *Legenda vetus*, and functioned as a further part of Margaret's original *Vita*.⁸² Subsequent fourteenth- and fifteenth-century legends made good use of these acts to enrich the hagiographic portrait of Margaret. The most important among these was the legend written by Garinus

⁷⁷ Christian Krötzel, "Miracles au tombeau – miracles à distance. Approches typologiques," in *Miracle et karāma. Hagiographies médiévales comparées*, ed. Denise Aigle (Turnhout: Brepols, 2000), 557–76.

⁷⁸ See below, at pp. 160–61, 176–77, 294–95.

⁷⁹ See below, at pp. 260–63, 274–75.

⁸⁰ See below, at pp. 186–87, 196–97, 224–25, 296–99, 452–53.

⁸¹ József Laszlovsky, "Fama sanctitatis and the emergence of St. Margaret's cult in the rural countryside," in Gecser et al., eds., *Promoting the Saints*, 103–34.

⁸² Tibor Klaniczay, "A Margit-legendák," 42–43.

de Giaco (Garin Gy l'Évêque) around 1340 in Avignon. There are two versions of this legend: a shorter one that was printed in the *Acta Sanctorum*, in which Garinus's authorship is attested in the text,⁸³ and a longer one, for a long time named erroneously, on the basis of one of its manuscripts, "the Napolitan Legend," but now proved to be the original work of Garinus, and called the *Legenda maior*, from which the other, abbreviated version, the *Legenda minor*, was derived.⁸⁴ This legend, recently studied in detail by Viktória Hedvig Deák, reshaped the image of Margaret according to the taste of mystical spirituality in the fourteenth century.⁸⁵ Yet another legend was written at the Dominican convent of her relative, the blessed Elisabeth, in Töss.⁸⁶

An interesting Italian development of the hagiographic image of Margaret, the attribution of the reception of stigmata to her person, recorded both in the so-called Pisan legend and in a great number of images, was identified by Tibor Klaniczay⁸⁷ and elaborated by myself.⁸⁸ Two late-fifteenth-century legends, by

⁸³ *Acta Sanctorum*, Januarius II, coll. 900–906; F. Albin Gombos, *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungariae* (Budapest: Szent István Akadémia, 1937–1939), vol. III, 2468–80.

⁸⁴ Gombos, *Catalogus*, vol. III, 2481–2525; Tibor Klaniczay, "A Margit-legendák," 51–66; see more on this in the Preface by Ildikó Csepregi.

⁸⁵ Viktória Hedvig Deák, "The birth of a legend: The so-called *Legenda Maior* of Saint Margaret of Hungary and Dominican hagiography," *Revue Mabillon*, N.S. 20/81 (2009): 87–112; Viktória Hedvig Deák, "The techniques of a hagiographer: The two *legendae* of Saint Margaret of Hungary," in Gecser et al., eds, *Promoting the Saints*, 125–36; Viktória Hedvig Deák, *La légende de sainte Marguerite de Hongrie et l'hagiographie dominicaine* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2013).

⁸⁶ Gábor Salacz, ed., *Árpádházi Boldog Margit tössi legendája. A szentgalleni kézirat alapján az überlingeni figyelembevételével* [The Töss legend of Saint Margaret of Hungary, based on the manuscript of Sankt Gallen, taking in consideration also the Überlingen one] (Pécs, 1940); Mária Puskely, ed., *Árpád-házi Szent Margit és ifjabb szent Erzsébet tössi legendája* [The Töss legends of St. Margaret of Hungary and the younger Saint Elisabeth] (Budapest: Ameko, 1992).

⁸⁷ Tibor Klaniczay, "La fortuna di Santa Margherita"; idem, "A Margit-legendák," 67–86.

⁸⁸ Gábor Klaniczay, "Képek és legendák Árpád-házi Szent Margit stigmatizációjáról" [Images and legends on the stigmatization of Saint Margaret of the House of Arpad],

Girolamo Borselli and Ambrogio Taeggio, also included a narrative of her alleged stigmatization.⁸⁹

While these later legends remained unknown in Hungary, her vernacular legend (called henceforth the *Hungarian legend*), preserved in a sixteenth-century copy penned by Lea Ráskai, a Dominican nun at the Margaret Island convent, combines again the text of the *Legenda vetus* and the Acts, merging copious data from the latter with the text of the former.⁹⁰ Some scholars have hypothesized that the Hungarian legend may have been translated directly from a lost Latin original dating from the fourteenth century,⁹¹ but there is no proof for this hypothesis, and it is equally possible that the merging of the two texts happened in the process of the creation of the vernacular version.

At the end of the Introduction we should mention the historical fate of the canonization of Margaret. Even though the first effort failed, and fourteenth- and fifteenth-century Hungarian kings and the Dominican Order urged in vain the canonization of

in *Magyar szentek tisztelete és ereklyéi* [The cult and relics of Hungarian saints], ed. Pál Cséfalvay and Ildikó Kontsek (Esztergom: Keresztény Múzeum, 2000), 36–54; Gábor Klaniczay, “Le stigmathe di santa Margherita”; Gábor Klaniczay, “On the stigmatization of Saint Margaret.”

⁸⁹ Gábor Klaniczay, “Borselli és Taeggio Margit-legendája Bánfi Florio apparátusával” [The legend of St Margaret by Borselli and Taeggio with the apparatus of Florio Bánfi], in *Miscellanea fontium historiae Europaeae. Emlékkönyv H. Balázs Éva történelemszűzprofesszor 80. születésnapjára*, ed. János Kalmár (Budapest: ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 1997), 11–56.

⁹⁰ Adrienne Dömötör and Katalin Pólya, eds., *Szent Margit élete 1510. A nyelvemlék hasonmása és betűhű átírata bevezetéssel és jegyzetekkel* [The 1510 Life of St Margaret: Facsimile and literal transcription with introduction and notes], Régi magyar kódexek 10 (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1990); a modernized text is accessible in Géza Érszegi, ed., *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek* [Legends and admonitions from the Arpad Age] (Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1983), 110–79.

⁹¹ For a detailed philological analysis, see Mezey, *Irodalmi anyanyelvűségünk kezdetei*, 53–70; János P. Balázs, “Bevezetés” [Introduction], in Dömötör and Pólya, *Szent Margit élete 1510*, 7–20; Ilona M. Nagy, “A Margit-legenda (1510) és forrásai” [The Margaret legend of 1510 and its sources], in *Forráskutatás, forráskiadás, tudománytörténet*, ed. Klára Korompay, Erika Terbe, Zsuzsa C. Vladár, and Éva Zsilinszky (Budapest: Magyar Nyelvtudományi Társaság, 2009), 48–62.

Margaret,⁹² and despite the meagre results of the initiative of the nuns on the Margaret Island to gather a new series of miracle testimonies at the grave on Margaret between 1446 and 1467,⁹³ the existence of her legends and the acts of her canonization process contributed to the continual interest in the blessed Margaret and to her European fame. After renewed and again unsuccessful early-modern attempts, when between 1639 and 1643 witnesses were again questioned in Pozsony (Bratislava, Slovakia) at the initiative of Sigismund Ferrarius and under the coordination of Antonio Sartori,⁹⁴ and after renewed initiatives by the Dominican Order between 1729 and 1770, Margaret was eventually canonized only in 1943.⁹⁵

After so many vicissitudes, after an all too typical *fatum libelli*, our English translation has the merit of reconstituting the original structural unit of the *legenda vetus* and the complete list of miracles as it was preserved in the one-time codex of the Hungarian Dominicans, and adding to it the other scattered medieval documents relating to her canonization.

⁹² For these ongoing attempts, see Gábor Klaniczay, "Efforts at the Canonization of Margaret of Hungary in the Angevin Period," *The Hungarian Historical Review* 2 (2013): 313–40, and below, the *Introduction* by Bence Péterfi to the chapter on the Canonization correspondence.

⁹³ Bence Péterfi, "Újabb adalékok Árpád-házi Margit középkori csodáinak sorához" [New additions to the medieval miracles of St Margaret of Hungary], in *Micae mediaevales. Tanulmányok a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról* [Micae mediaevales. Studies on medieval Hungary and Europe], ed. Zsófia Kádár, Gábor Mikó, Bence Péterfi, and András Vadas (Budapest: ELTE, 2011), 83–105; cf. below Péterfi's *Introduction* to these miracles.

⁹⁴ Péter Tusor, "Magyar szentek liturgikus tisztelete és a római Sacra Rituum Congregatio a korai újkorban" [The liturgical veneration of Hungarian saints and the Sacra Rituum Congregation in Rome in the early-modern age], in Margit Beke, ed., *Szentjeink és nagyjaink Európa kereszténységéért* [Our saints and peers for the Christianity of Europe] (Budapest: Esztergom-budapesti Főegyházmegye Egyháztörténeti Bizottsága, 2001), 112–13.

⁹⁵ Király, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit*, 200–204; Kornél Böle O.P., "Szent Margit tisztelete és a szenttéavatás története a XIX. és a XX. században" [The history of the veneration and canonization of St Margaret in the 19th and 20th centuries], in *Gyöngyvirágok és margaréták Árpád-házi Szent Margit oltárán* [Lilies of the valley and marguerites on the altar of St Margaret of Hungary] (Budapest, 1944), 5–24.

PREFACE TO THE TEXTS RECORDING MARGARET'S MIRACLES

ILDIKÓ CSEPREGI

THE EARLIEST CANONIZATION ATTEMPTS

Following the more than twenty recorded miracles during her lifetime, Margaret's cult started immediately after her death (1270). On the first anniversary of her death, spectacular miracles happened in the presence of her brother, King Stephen V, and of high church dignitaries, which led to the first formulation of the demand to examine her sanctity in January 1272. The first inquest was conducted by the archbishop Philip, who stayed in the cloister between July 13 and 21 in 1272 in order to record Margaret's miracles, as is attested by different sources, such as the testimony of sister Candida's in the 1276 acts and the testimony of Philip himself. The archbishop died, however, within a year and a half, without completing the inquest. In July 1272 King Stephen V, Margaret's brother, also died and asked to be buried on the Island, next to his sister. A new examination of the witnesses started when Pope Gregory X nominated Lodomer, bishop of Várad (future archbishop of Esztergom),¹ and he, along with two of his associates, set himself to the task during the summer of 1273. The records from this inquest were sent to Rome. During the summer of 1275 the thirteen-year-old king, Ladislas IV, fell ill while staying on the Danube island and he was miraculously cured by Margaret's veil-relics. After this miracle he sent envoys to Rome and at the same time asked for the intercession of the German king, Rudolf Habsburg, whose correspondence with the Pope on this

¹ Attila Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája 1000–1301* [Secular archontology of Hungary 1000–1301] (Budapest: História-MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2011), 99, 322–23.

subject has survived.² Its addressee, Pope Gregory X, died in the meantime, but his successor was a Dominican, Innocent V, who in 1276 made a new initiative to Margaret's canonization process; and because of the insufficiencies of the previous records he started the process anew, entrusting the task to papal legates and very precisely outlining the questions and points the inquest was to follow. The legates, Umberto Bianchi and de la Corra, arrived at Buda in the summer of 1276, where their arrival was not only expected but was announced in churches all over the country, urging everybody who ever benefited from the miracles or intercessions of Margaret to go to Buda and present their testimony. While the papal legates were on their way to Hungary, Pope Innocent V also died, very soon followed by his successor, Hadrian V, and thus the canonization records came into the hands of Pope John XXI. When this exactly happened we do not know, as the accompanying letter from Umberto Bianchi and de la Corra (letter IV/4 in the present volume) is truncated and its date is missing. Thus it remains unknown when exactly the papal legates terminated their work on the Danube island.

HISTORY OF THE MANUSCRIPTS: THE CANONIZATION ACTS

What the legates' letter says, however, is that two copies were made of the witness accounts: one that was sent to Rome and a copy of it that remained in the convent on the Isle of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

The codex that was sent to Rome was taken to Avignon in the early fourteenth century; this was the text Garinus used for his

² Frantz-Joseph Bodmann, *Codex epistolaris Rudolphi Romanorum regis I*, (Lipsiae, 1806), 102; Gusztáv Wenzel, *Árpádkori Új Okmánytár. Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus* (Pest 1860–Budapest 1889), vol. IV, 166—both editions erroneously date the letter to 1278.

legend in 1340.³ Next to Margaret's earliest legend written shortly after her death (the *Legenda vetus*, discussed below), these two legends (*Legenda maior* and *Legenda minor*) are the two most important texts for the medieval West about her life,⁴ closely connected to the canonization records. That the witness accounts were used as a first hand source is explicitly stated in the incipit of the *Legenda minor*: "Legenda subscripta de uita et miraculis B. Margaretae uirginis ordinis Praedicatorum, filiae regis Ungariae, de rotulis seu diffusis dictis testium iuratorum coram praedictis inquisitoribus a sede apostolica super hoc datis, compendiose et quasi per puncta extracta est, anno Domini MCCCXL in curia Romana Auinionis per fratrem Garinum ordinis Praedicatorum magistrum in theologia, de mandato fratris Hugonis magistri sextidecimi eiusdem ordinis."⁵ This proof of authorship, however, refers only to the *Legenda minor* and Garinus's name is not connected to the *Legenda maior* in any surviving manuscript. In Hungarian historiography, a debate went on for decades, with the involvement of a good number of scholars and with different proposals. Eventually Tibor Klaniczay formulated the answer, namely that both legends are the works of Garinus and he used the text of the canonization records to substantiate his argument. In this regard, Tibor Klaniczay pointed out, for example, that the text of the *Legenda maior* used verbatim narratives taken from the canonization acts, while the *Legenda minor* told them in summary form or in indirect speech. This attests that the *Legenda maior* was written first, based directly and exclusively on the canonization records and the *Legenda minor* was extracted from it. The instances that figure in the *Legenda maior* but cannot be found in the acts are due to the

³ For Margaret's place in Dominican hagiography, with a very detailed account of the textual tradition, see the excellent work of Viktória Hedvig Deák, *Árpádházi Szent Margit és a domonkos hagiográfia*; French translation: *La légende de sainte Marguerite de Hongrie et l'hagiographie dominicaine* (Paris: Éditions du Cerf, 2013).

⁴ On these legends and their editions see Gábor Klaniczay, "Introduction," n. 50–58, 82–84.

⁵ Gombos, *Catalogus*, vol. III, 2468.

losses the latter text had suffered by the time of the edition, both as a result of missing folios as well as multiple copying, whereas Garinus still had the original records in *rotulus*-format. The two legends by the same author, using ultimately the acts as his source, were called to life by different hagiographical and literary ideals and most likely, as Tibor Klaniczay suggested, aiming at different audiences: the longer, elaborate *Legenda maior* for private reading, the compact *Legenda minor* for communal use.⁶ Viktória Deák's recent analysis slightly alters the previously drawn picture: while still arguing for Garinus's authorship of both legends, she convincingly proves that Garinus knew also the first chapters of the *Legenda vetus*, of which a part at least must therefore have been together with the Acts in the court at Avignon.⁷

How and when the original *rotulus* of the canonization acts of 1276 that had been kept in Avignon was lost after Garinus's use of it, we have no clue whatsoever.

Still during the time of the inquest in Hungary, a copy was made of the entire canonization records, in codex format, and was given to Margaret's monastery. This codex that remained on the island fared better: it was kept in the cloister and was used by the writer of the *Hungarian legend*, a copy of which we have from 1510.⁸ When the nuns had to flee from the Ottoman Turks in 1541, together with their precious relics and books they also took along Margaret's body, and to prevent further damage and loss of the codex they placed it in her coffin. They eventually settled in the monastery of the Poor Clares in Pozsony, and when in 1637 the last Dominican nun died, their treasures were left to that order. When the Dominicans started a new campaign to get Margaret canonized, to substantiate their efforts they entrusted Antonio Sartori in 1640 to search the pontifical archives, both in Rome and in Avignon, for the 1276 canonization acts, but he found noth-

⁶ Tibor Klaniczay, "A Margit legendák történeti revíziója," esp. 59–62; Deák, *Árpád-házi szent Margit*, 42–55.

⁷ Deák, *Árpád-házi szent Margit*, 60–61.

⁸ Dömötör and Pólya, eds., *Szent Margit élete 1510*.

ing. Hence attention was turned to find the other copy, and when on February 26, 1641 the archbishop of Esztergom, Imre Lósy, opened Margaret's coffin in the monastery of the Poor Clares in Pozsony, the 1276 acts of canonization were indeed discovered next to her skeleton. Sartori took a copy of this to Rome and deposited it in the library of the S. Rituum Congregatio, but this copy also went missing after the unsuccessful attempt at canonization. Two further copies, however, were made of it and they survived. One copy was made by the Dominican order, dated to 1729, which is kept until today in the Santa Sabina archive of the Order in Rome. The other copy was purchased in 1780 by Count Ignác Batthyány, bishop of Transylvania, who also made an initiative to further Margaret's canonization. After Batthyány's death, the codex entered the episcopal library of Alba Iulia, his own foundation, and these two, identical but slightly incomplete copies were the basis of the edition of Vilmos Fraknói.⁹ The thirteenth-century codex with the canonization record from the coffin was lost, together with the relics of Margaret, probably destroyed together with several other relics at the order of Joseph II in 1789.¹⁰

Vilmos Fraknói in the preface of his edition to the Latin text of the canonization records made lengthy calculations concerning the loss of text, showing they were of two sorts. The first concerns the material loss involving the pagination and way of folding the codex itself. When the copyist made his version from the text found in the coffin, he remarked occasionally: one folio is lost. But as Fraknói pointed out, the descriptions of the text found next to the relics unanimously speak of a codex, a book of parchment, unlike the *rotulus* of the original, very first record, that Garinus described. Which means that if the parchment sheets

⁹ The vicissitudes of the codices are described in detail by Fraknói in his "Prolegomena" to the edition of the Acts, *MRV*, Vol. I, LXII–LXVII.

¹⁰ About the fate of Margaret's relics see Lajos Némethy and Vilmos Fraknói, *Adatok Árpádházi Boldog Margit ereklyéinek történetéhez* [Data concerning the history of the relics of Blessed Margaret of the House of Arpad] (Budapest: Rudnyánszky, 1884), 236–48.

were folded in a book format, three, four or five sheets were folded into two and thus bound together. Hence one missing unit indicates the loss of such a folded parchment or parchments. Second, he notes that the other sort of conspicuously missing content concerns the depositions of aristocrats, high ecclesiastical officials, noble ladies and lords at court, and the royal family: not even the otherwise well-known account of the miraculous healing of King Ladislás is recorded. (Fraknói's explanations for the latter, that is, the aristocrats' distrust towards the legates sent from Rome or that Pope Innocent V's death would have rendered the process pointless do not seem convincing.) To measure the extent of the lost material he proposes two reference points: one is the time of the recording. Considering the pace of the initial, uninterrupted questioning from July and August (the hearings went on even on Sundays), missing days indicate missing testimonials, which appear in quite large numbers for September and October. The other indicative source is the *Hungarian legend* that initially follows the acts faithfully, but later numerous cases are described of which there is no trace in the extant canonization records.

Viktória Hedvig Deák made a more thorough overview of what could possibly be missing from the canonization acts, relying as well on chronological calculations as on textual comparison with the *Legenda maior*. Those miracles that figure in Garinus's text were probably recorded between August 16 and 24, where a gap is present in the extant canonization records. To illustrate how big this gap might have been, Deák points to a day like 3 September, when ten witnesses were listened to. Another missing period falls between September 12 and October 12, again followed by a gap until the final day from which records survive, October 20. When comparing the extant canonization records with the text of the *Legenda maior* Deák lists twelve miracles that are absent from the surviving acts but present in the *Legenda maior*, in the following places: a woman called Guingudi, afflicted with blindness (II.26), Paul Zábrábi, with blindness (II.29), Petrucius Kátai, with blindness (II.30), the blind horse of the Cuman leader called Zerte (II. 31), Ladislás Rosdói, dumb and paralytic (II.33),

Benedict Dáni, with paralysis (II.51, also in the *Legenda vetus* 30), Paul, with paralysis (II.39), a boy Galterus (Valter), with paralysis (II.46), a boy with paralysed hand and arm (II.47), a girl called Margaret, with paralysed knee (II.48), a boy called Armann with paralysed leg (II.49), and Anastasia, epileptic (II.63).¹¹ Adding the considerations that one miracle can be described by more than one witness and also the accounts where only a short part survived, plus the few additional witnesses mentioned in the *Hungarian Legend*, her final estimation is that the maximum number of missing testimonies is 45, the minimum is 23.¹²

THE LEGENDA VETUS

The discovery and the edition of this valuable canonization document inspired religious historiographers in the twentieth century to research further documents pertaining to the life of blessed Margaret. It also inspired the renewed efforts of Hungarian Dominicans and archbishops to have her canonized. Instrumental in both was the Dominican friar Kornél Böle, who discovered, and in 1937 published, the earliest Margaret Legend,¹³ found in Bologna in an early fifteenth-century collection of legends of Dominican saints which had been compiled in the *scriptorium* of Tommaso Caffarini in the convent of San Giovanni e Paolo in Venice in relation to the efforts to have Saint Catherine of Siena canonized. The collection was later transferred to Cividale del Friuli and from there to Bologna,¹⁴ and now is kept in the Vatican Library.¹⁵

¹¹ Gombos, *Catalogus*, vol. III, 2525–33.

¹² Deák, *Árpád-házi szent Margit*, 290–93.

¹³ Böle, *Árpádházi Boldog Margit*, 17–43.

¹⁴ See Böle, *Árpádházi Boldog Margit*, 12–16, describing his discovery; the codex is described by Hyacinthe Laurent, “Un légendier dominicain peu connu,” *Analecta Bollandiana* 58 (1940): 28–47; Tibor Klaniczay, “A Margit legendák történeti revíziója,” 39–42.

¹⁵ Ms. Vat. Lat. 15237; for its provenance, Deák, *Árpád-házi szent Margit*, 16–17.

Bőle's edition was taken up, with slight corrections, by two further reeditions by F. Albin Gombos¹⁶ and Kornél Szovák.¹⁷ This latter reedition is the basis of our translation, accepting the emendations of Szovák as printed in the 1999 edition. To the Latin text we have added occasionally, as signalled in the footnotes, some further variants proposed by the research group at the University of Debrecen led by Ilona M. Nagy, whose work centers on the text of the *Hungarian Legend* and who managed, on the basis of a careful comparison of the Latin text with the Hungarian translation, to propose further textological refinement.¹⁸

The *Legenda vetus* was written around 1275, after the first inquest and before the second one (this is why it can be securely dated to just before 1276); Bőle cautiously called its author a senior brother, the same as the writer called himself in the text. Shortly afterwards a Benedictine scholar, Elemér Lovas, was the first to attribute the authorship to Marcellus, Margaret's confessor and the prior of the Hungarian Dominican province,¹⁹ based on similarities in style and content with Marcellus's testimony in the Acts. Refuting the challenges to this attribution by the historian György Györffy,²⁰ Tibor Klaniczay added further points to back Marcellus's authorship. Further support came from a historical consideration, put forward by Gábor Klaniczay, who argued for Marcellus's authorship as the would-be-saint's confessor, both as somebody with full access to Margaret's intimate spiritual world and at the same time as a figure who in his role would have been in a position to shape this private devotion during her lifetime as

¹⁶ *Quedam legenda beatae Margaritae de Ungaria*, in Gombos, *Catalogus*, vol. III, 2009–29.

¹⁷ *Legenda Beatae Margaritae de Hungaria*, in *SRH*, reviewed and augmented by Kornél Szovák and László Veszprémy (Budapest: Nap kiadó, 1999), vol. II, 685–709.

¹⁸ M. Nagy, "A Margit-legenda (1510) és forrásai"; M. Nagy, "Über den Stil der ältesten lateinischen Legende." Members of the group are Ilona M. Nagy, István K. Boda, Judit Porkoláb, and Teréz Varga; their ongoing research is accessible on the site: http://deba.unideb.hu/deba/Margit-legenda_Szent_Margit_elete_1510.

¹⁹ Lovas, "Árpádházi Boldog Margit első életrajzírója."

²⁰ Györffy, "Budapest története az Árpádkorban," 342.

well as its narrative after Margaret's death, just as was the case with several other medieval saint–confessor pairs.²¹

Despite of the late rediscovery of Margaret's oldest legend in the twentieth century, its existence was taken for granted much earlier: scholarship presumed that it must have been the original of the fifteenth-century Middle-German Margaret Legend, translated by Jörg Walter,²² who names the author of his Latin source a certain Friar John (Johannes Vercellensis), who probably only complemented Marcellus's *Legenda vetus*.²³ Another version of the *Legenda vetus* might have been in the possession of the Blessed Elisabeth, princess of the Arpad dynasty and a nun in Töss at the beginning of the fourteenth century, and became the source for two other medieval German copies of uncertain date, the *Töss Legend*.²⁴ Researchers presumed that Margaret's oldest Latin legend was also the ultimate source of the *Hungarian Legend*, most likely not in its present form but complemented with some miracles from the 1276 canonization acts.²⁵ The Hungarian translation could have been made around the years 1340–60 and has come down to us in a 1510 copy made by Lea Ráskai, herself a Dominican nun on the Danube Island.

The *Legenda vetus* shows up among the texts collected by Tommaso Caffarini, from whom we learn the invaluable infor-

²¹ Tibor Klaniczay, "A Margit legendák történeti revíziója," 38–40; Gábor Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers*, 290–91.

²² Gedeon Mészöly, ed., "Eine alte deutsche Handschrift aus dem XV. Jahrhundert in der Münchener Staatsbibliothek über das Leben der ungarischen Königstochter, der heil. Margarete (1242–1270), Lateinisch geschrieben von Johannes de Vercellis (XIII. Jhd.), deutsch übersetzt von Georg Walter (XV. Jhd.)," in *Nép és Nyelv* (1941), 63–64, 126–28, 215–18, 250–51, 311–12, 348–49, 382–83.

²³ The only suggestion for Friar John's identity is the Dominican general Johannes Vercellensis, who was in Pest in 1273 at the Chapter General and who also figures in the *Legenda vetus* (ch. 17.); cf. Cyrill Horváth, *Joannes Vercellensis és a magyar Margit-legendák* [Johannes Vercellensis and the Hungarian Margaret-legend] (Budapest: MTA, 1908).

²⁴ Salacz, ed., *Árpádházi Boldog Margit Tössi legendája*.

²⁵ Mezey, *Irodalmi anyanyelvűségünk kezdetei*, 64–68; Tibor Klaniczay, "A Margit-legendák," 48–49.

mation that he got the text of the legend in 1408 from Gregory, provincial of the Dominicans in Hungary. Gregory not only sent him the legend but also the first part of the acts of the investigation, not providing a full copy of it from their legendary book only because of its length,²⁶ which means they had a full copy of the canonization records—probably the one which was initially left in the cloister on the Island and later ending up in Margaret's coffin. The text of the *Legenda vetus* used by Caffarini to support the initiative of Saint Catherine's canonization, and preserved in the archive of the Dominicans in Bologna, made a good service in the twentieth century for Margaret. After its rediscovery by Kornél Bőle, and together with the previously edited codices of the 1276 witness accounts, in a philological feat comparable to the ecclesiastical one, these text editions served as a basis in 1943 for the canonization of Margaret—an achievement for which kings and popes had worked in vain for centuries.

²⁶ The letter of Friar Gregorius, provincial of Hungary, has been included (with reference to the fact that they possessed an entire copy of the *Acts* in their library) in the book by Tommaso Antonii de Senis «Caffarini», *Libellus de Supplemento. Legende prolixæ virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, ed. Iuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso (Rome: Edizioni Cateriniane, 1974), 173–74.

II

THE OLDEST LEGEND

VITA BEATAE MARGARITAE
DE HUNGARIA



LIFE OF THE BLESSED MARGARET
OF HUNGARY

VITA BEATAE MARGARITAE DE UNGARIA

Incipit vita Beate Margarite de Ungaria Ordinis Predicatorum

(1.) Ad honorem domini nostri Iesu Christi, cui cum Patre et Spiritu Sancto omnis honor et gloria, felicitis et sancte recordationis virginis Margarete, sororis Ordinis Fratrum Predicatorum in regno Ungarie vitam et preclara merita a nobis visa magis, quam audita ad memoriam revocamus, et corde et animo Deo in sanctis eius devotarum manuum officio scripture commendamus. Miracula etiam pauca de plurimis eius meritis facta diligenter verissimorum testimonium assertionem probata superaddemus.

(2.) Venerabilis itaque hec virgo Margareta ex illustri prosapia regum Hungarie duxit originem, cuius pater carnalis Ungarorum illustris rex Wela^{a1} quartus, avus rex Andreas tertius,^{b2} pater Beate Elizabeth³ secundum carnem, frater vero uterinus rex Stephanus quintus⁴ extiterunt. Quam cum adhuc mater sua, regina gestaret in utero, tempore Tartarice persecutionis⁵ pro liberatione sua et regni pariter cum rege, marito suo quasi piaculum quoddam, si filia nasceretur, ut sanctimonialem eam facerent, devenerunt.^{c6} Nam praeter ipsam nulla unquam de stirpe regum Hungarie sanctimonialis fuerat effecta.

^a *recte* Bela

^b *recte* secundus

^c *recte* devoverunt

¹ Béla IV (1206–1270), king of Hungary from 1235. About his historical deeds, see the Introduction, 4–7.

² An error in the text: he was Andrew II (1176/77–1235), predecessor of Béla IV on the Hungarian throne, who reigned from 1205. He took part in the Fifth Crusade. It was during his reign that the so-called Golden Bull, a kind of Hungarian Magna Carta, was issued (1222) as a result of pressures from the would-be lesser nobility (*servientes*).

³ Saint Elizabeth of Hungary (1207–1231), sister of Béla IV, wife of Louis IV, landgrave of Thuringia. Canonized in 1235, she became one of the most popular saints of

LIFE OF THE BLESSED MARGARET OF HUNGARY

Here begins the life of Blessed Margaret of Hungary, of the Order of the Preachers.

(1) For the honor of Our Lord Jesus Christ (to whom, with the Father and the Holy Spirit be all honor and glory) we call to mind the life and outstanding merits of the virgin Margaret of blessed and holy memory, a nun of the Order of Preachers in the kingdom of Hungary. We have witnessed these merits, not merely heard reports of them; with sincere heart and mind, we commend them to God in the dutiful writing of devoted hands. We will also add a few of the miracles wrought by her abundant merits, diligently confirmed by the testimony of most reliable witnesses.

(2) This venerable virgin Margaret was descended from the illustrious line of the kings of Hungary. Her father in the flesh was Béla the Fourth,¹ the glorious king of the Hungarians, her grandfather was King Andrew the Third,² father in the flesh of the Blessed Elizabeth,³ her uterine brother was King Stephen the Fifth.⁴ When Margaret's mother was still carrying her in her womb, during the Tartar persecution of Hungary,⁵ the mother and the king, her husband, as a kind of pious offering for their own safety and the deliverance of the kingdom, vowed that if a daughter were born they would make her a nun.⁶ For, before Margaret, no female of the royal Hungarian house had ever become a nun.

the thirteenth century, a model for the message of charity of the mendicant orders. About her life and cult, see Introduction, 14 n. 30.

⁴ Stephen V (1239–1272), since 1262 “younger king” (*rex iunior*) and “lord of the Cumans” (*dominus Cumanorum*). Stephen acceded to the throne after the death of Béla in May 1270.

⁵ Regarding the attack of the Mongols upon Hungary in 1241–42, see p. 4.

⁶ To offer a future child to the service of God as an *oblata* was a rather archaic kind of oath in the thirteenth century (cf. Vauchez, *La sainteté*, 453–62).

(3) Natam vero et, ut decet prolem regiam, sub magna diligentia enutritam in ipsa sua infantia cum multa devotione servitio domini nostri, Jesu Christi et eius genitricis, gloriose semper virginis Marie perpetuo in similitudinem Samuelis⁷ oblatam manciparunt. Que cum esset coram matre sua annorum circiter duorum, patre suo, domino rege ducente exercitum contra Austriam, requisita a matre sua, quem exitum habiturus esset exercitus, ut ostenderet Dominus, quo spiritu adulta esset gubernanda, quasi prophetice respondit: „Dominus meus rex sanus revertetur, exercitus eius dispergetur, sed dux Austrie occidetur.”⁸ Quod post pauca rei probavit eventus. Nam et dominus rex, licet non sine multo suorum dampno, sanus quidem rediit et dux dictus in eodem exercitu per militiam Hungarorum fideliter decertantium occubuit.

(4.) Cum esset annorum trium vel parum plus, in claustrum Ordinis Predicatorum in civitate Vesprimiensi^{a9} et^b commendata, ut ab ipsa tenera etate regularibus consuetudinibus imbueretur^c et eodem anno habitum ordinis secundum suam etatem devote suscepit. Que cum esset annorum vix quinque, conperiens aliquas ex sororibus indutas ciliciis incedere, rogavit magistram suam, religiosam matronam nobilem, quam matrem semper vocabat,¹⁰ et oblatum sibi cilicium induit, sed pre nimia teneritudine^d sustinere non

^a Vesprimensi (Bőle)

^b recte est

^c imburetur (Bőle)

^d temeritudine (Bőle)

⁷ Hannah, who remained without child for a long time, made a vow to offer her child, if it was a boy, to the service of God (cf. 1Sam:24–28).

⁸ The legend alludes to the wars with Frederick II (1210–1246), prince of Austria and Styria, last representative of the Babenberg dynasty. The battle mentioned here took place near the Austrian border, at the river Lajta (Leitha) on July 15, 1246. The army of Béla was nearly defeated, but the untimely death of Frederick (who was perhaps killed by one of his own subjects) reversed the situation.

⁹ Veszprém is a city with an episcopal seat in the western part of Hungary. It was one of the religious centers of Arpadian times. Traditionally considered the city of the queens, because it was the residence of Sarolt (Saint Stephen's mother) and

(3) After her birth and the very careful nursing that becomes royal offspring, her parents most devoutly bound her in her very infancy, like the infant Samuel,⁷ to the perpetual service of our Lord and Savior Jesus Christ and his glorious mother Mary, ever virgin. Once, when Margaret was about two years old, and her father the lord king was leading an army against Austria, she was with her mother, who asked her what the fortunes of the army would be. In order that the Lord might show forth the Spirit that would guide her when she was grown, she answered like a prophet: "My Lord the King will return safely. His army will be dispersed, but the duke of Austria will be killed."⁸ Soon after, the outcome of the event confirmed her prophecy. The lord king returned safely, though not without the loss of many of his men, and the duke of Austria fell in battle at the hands of Hungarian soldiers fighting loyally in the king's army.

(4) When she was three or a little older, she was entrusted to the convent of the Order of the Preachers in the city of Veszprém⁹ to be formed from that tender age in the rules and customs of the order. In that same year, she received the habit of the Order, devoutly for her age. When she was scarcely five years old, noticing that some of the other sisters went about garbed in hair-shirts, she asked her *magistra* in religious life, a noble matron whom she always called mother,¹⁰ for a hair-shirt and put on the one given her; but she was unable to endure it because she was so delicate. After a short time, however, as she grew older, she gradually grew

Gisella (Saint Stephen's wife). *Claustrum* refers to the Saint Catherine monastery, founded by Bartholomew, bishop of Veszprém (1226–1244) some time before the year 1240—cf. Fejér, ed., *Codex Diplomaticus*, vol. IV, 232. In the translation we will preserve the term "cloister," where *claustum* is written in the Latin. The monastery followed the Augustinian rule and it was supposed to be inspected by Dominican friars who, however, did not have a convent of their own in Veszprém. In the time when Margaret was there, a secular priest, Thomas, had the role of spiritual leader of the nun-community. Cf. Jenő Gutheil, *Az Árpád kori Veszprém* [Veszprém in Arpadian times] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1981), 166–77.

¹⁰ The noblewoman in question is Olimpiades, charged to raise Margaret by the queen herself, as we learn from her testimony (14) printed below.

potuit. Post tamen aliquantulum etate proficiens tunicas duriores et interdum cinturas cilicinas super nudo paulatim ferre consuevit et, mirabile dictu, tanti sanguinis altitudo et adhuc tenera vestes habitus sui, si de panno notabiliter precioso supra alias coevas suas fuissent, erubescere portare et, si quando cogeatur ob reverentiam parentum, scalaribus coquine, ablutionibus ollarum et ceterorum vasorum pulveribusque scopatorum^a denigare^b festinabat et vestem, quam induebat novam, vix unquam mutabat, donec vetustate esset laniata. Gaudebat enim iam ex tunc de insigniis^c humilis et beate paupertatis.

(5.) Cum autem etatis sue annum ageret decimum, cum multa parentum suorum et fratrum ordinis diligentia cum bonorum^d sororum secum remanentium societate de claustrum Veszprimiensi translata est in claustrum, quod parentes eius in insula Danubii, que ex tunc dicta est Sancte Marie,¹¹ nam antea insula leporum dicebatur, in honorem Dei omnipotentis sub titulo Beate semper Virginis, Dei genitricis Marie a primo fundamento edificaverunt, et ad consummationem usque perduxerunt regaliterque, ut decebat, dotaverunt.¹² Ubi cum facta professione cum suis sororibus in manibus fratris Umberthi, tunc magistri ordinis¹³ esset inclusa, ut moris est claustris sororum nostro ordini incorporatarum, adeo evidenter et efficaciter cepit proficere, ut non solum sorores socie vel fratres ordinis, sed etiam nobiliores matrone et domine, principum coniuges in regno, que eam multo affectu de diversis regni partibus pariter venientes videre poterant, in eius moribus

^a scopationum (Nagy)

^b denigrare (Nagy)

^c recte insigniis

^d bonarum (Nagy)

¹¹ As for the construction of the monastery, where Margaret moved with eighteen nuns from Veszprém in 1252, see the works cited in the Introduction, p. 12, n. 24. For the donations, see n. 25. Queen Mary asked special permission from Pope Innocent IV to have this monastery supervised by Dominican friars.

¹² This island in the center of present-day Budapest is first mentioned around 1225 with the name "*insula Budensi*." The "Island of Hares" name is first mentioned in 1243—Király, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit*, 12–14; György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [Historical geography of Arpad-age Hungary] (Buda-

used to wearing rougher tunics, and sometimes belts of hair on her skin. Although she was of such exalted lineage and still very young, if her religious garments happened to be cut from cloth noticeably more expensive than those of the other sisters her age, she would (wonderful to say!) blush to wear them. Whenever she was forced to do so out of respect for her parents, she would quickly dirty them with kitchen waste, with food, with rinses of oil and other liquids, and with sweepings. She would scarcely ever take off a garment she had put on when it was new until it fell apart with age. For she rejoiced even then in signs of humble and blessed poverty.

(5) When she was ten years old, through the great care of her parents and of the brothers of the Order, she was taken, in the company of the good sisters who remained with her, from the convent at Veszprém to one which her parents had founded on an island in the Danube which previously had been called the Island of Hares, but which from then on was called Saint Mary's.¹¹ In honor of God Almighty under the patronage of the Blessed Mary Ever Virgin, Mother of God it was completed and given an appropriately royal endowment.¹² After she had been professed with her sisters at the hands of Brother Humbert, then Master of the order,¹³ and cloistered, as is the custom in the convent of sisters who belong to our order. She began to progress clearly and powerfully, so that not only the nuns who were her companions and the brothers of the order were edified by her virtuous ways, but even married women of high rank and the lady wives of the princes of the realm. Coming from different parts of the kingdom, they could visit her with great emotion, and, devoutly commending themselves to her prayers, they

pest: Akadémiai, 1998), vol. IV, 644. As we can read in the legend, Danube Island and Virgin Mary Island (named after the recently built monastery) are also among its names. From the fourteenth century on it starts to be called Margaret Island (first mention 1319), which becomes its regular name in the fifteenth century.

¹³ Humbert of Romans, fifth general master of the Dominican order (1254–1263) elected on the general chapter held in Buda (cf. Introduction, 10, n. 17). This must have been the occasion for the profession of Margaret and some of her sisters. For the life and works of Humbert, see Joachim Berthier, *B. Humberti de Romanis Opera de Vita regulari* (Rome, 1888); Edward T. Brett, *Humbert of Romans. His life and views of 13th century society* (Leiden: Brill, 1984).

honestis edificabantur, seque eius orationibus cum devotione commendantes ad propria cum gaudio remanebant^a, diffusa enim erat gratia quedam eius faciei et gratiosa maturitas de dispectu^b ita, ut vix^c unquam asperis vel blandis mutari, deici vel extolli notabiliter videretur.

(6.) Paucis contenta verbis erat taciturnitatis amatrix et nunquam se in risum excussum^d resolvens virtute predita pudicitie se laudari nullo modo patiebatur, vocabula etiam iactantiam vel vanitatem sonantia omnino respuebat, fervebat igne divini amoris et accensa orabat assidue, quasi sine intermissione ita, ut a prima diei hora usque alterum prandium conventus orationes suas continuaret, et tunc ymaginibus prius^e Domini nostri crucifixi, cuius quinque vulnerum loca perfusis sepius hora lacrimis deosculabatur, ac genitricis eiusdem,¹⁴ quas summo venerabatur affectu ita, ut non solum vigilans, verum et dormiens cum vivifice crucis signo circa se semper devotissime conservaret, et ymaginibus aliorum sanctorum flexis genibus humiliter salutatis conventum ingrediebatur et cibis conventus erat contenta. Nam extra conventum, nisi ratione matris vel sororum suarum ducissarum presentium in claustro vix coacta et hoc raro comedebat. Noctes quoque pluries oratione^f pro magna parte ducebat insompnes una vel duabus sororibus ipsam cum gaudio sociantibus, licet procul, humili quamlibet cum rogatu postulans observare, ne aliqua sororum supervenientium orationum suarum instantium^g interrumperet, frequenter enim inter amoros^h cordis gemitus et singultus, ut compertum est, quasi quodammodo extra se rapta lacrymosas rumpebat in voces.¹⁵ Nunquam enim

^a *recte* remeabant

^b *recte* aspectu

^c vis (Böle)

^d *recte* excessum

^e prius (Böle)

^f in oratione (Nagy)

^g *recte* instantiam

^h *recte* amaros

used to return joyfully to their own homes. A special grace suffused her countenance, and her expression had a gracious maturity that was almost never seen to change, whether in harsh circumstances or in easy ones; it never became noticeably lighter or more serious.

(6) A lover of silence, she was content with few words. She never gave way to excessive laughter and, because she was endowed with the virtue of modesty, she would not allow herself to be praised in any way. She totally rejected words that smacked of boasting or vanity. She burned with divine love and in her ardor, would continue praying almost without interruption from the first hour of the day until the time came for lunch in the community. Then she saluted on bent knees the holy images of our crucified Lord and of his mother, she often kissed the places where his five sacred wounds were, shedding tears over them for more than an hour.¹⁴ She revered the images of both with such affection that not just when she was awake but even when she was asleep she most devoutly kept them about her person with a relic of the true cross. Whenever she entered the refectory, she would humbly salute the images of the other saints by genuflecting. She contented herself with the food of the community. For she dined away from the community only if she was practically forced to do so by the presence of her mother or her sisters the duchesses in the cloister, and this happened rarely. Quite often, she passed the greater part of the night awake and praying. One or two of the sisters would happily join her, although at a distance, for with a kind of humble entreaty she would ask them to take care that none of the sisters interrupt her continuous prayers. For frequently, as has been noted, she burst into tearful exclamations, amid bitter groans from the heart and signs, as if somehow carried outside herself.¹⁵ She never want-

¹⁴ Margaret's veneration of the holy wounds of Christ shows a typical trait of the new thirteenth-century piety. (cf. Introduction, 23, n. 62).

¹⁵ This hint of mystical ecstasy, which is described in the testimonies of sisters Jolent (3), Stephana (12), and Olimpiades (14) in a greater detail, is also among the spiritual novelties of Margaret's religious zeal, developed further in the fourteenth-century legends into scenes of levitation.

singularis vel sola extra dormitorium, nisi ratione compassionis et quietis sororum se comitantium esse volebat. Et tunc ante lectum suum suas complebat orationes.

(7.) Post prandium operabatur manibus suis,¹⁶ maxime opera, que ad ecclesie et sanctarum reliquiarum erant ornatum, silentio tamen non proiecto et, si quando cursum suum consuetum consummare non poterat, maxime propter parentum suorum presentiam, ac se^a non modicum incommodum passa, donec recuperasset, quod necessitate omiserat, admodum tristabatur, quod particula diei bone ipsam sine fructu preterisset.

(8.) Magno enim affectu et quasi ultra vires ieiunia et ceteras regulares observantias suique utiles ipsis occupationes conabatur observare. Propter quod et sepe ad magnos sui corporis defectus veniebat. In die sancto Parasceves nil omnino gustabat et diem totum in oratione ducens, quasi dominicam lugens passionem, nullum omnino alicui verbum loquebatur et a Cena Domini usque post vespertas sancti sabbati dimisso cubiculo consueto super sistorium humi positum in oratorio reclinato capite paululum quiescebat. Aliis autem nocturni silentii temporibus consuetis insistens in orationibus frequenter ante lectum suum pre nimia fatigatione a sororibus inventa est prona super mattam dormivisse. Omnes dies precedentes quaslibet festivitates Gloriose Virginis Dei genitricis etiam satis debilis in pane et aqua ieiunabat.

(9.) Audiebat avide temporibus opportunis verbum predicationis et patrum collationes, exempla¹⁷ et legendas sanctorum et precipue miracula Gloriose Virginis, cui specialissima devotione

^a si (Nagy)

¹⁶ As for manual work as a means of realizing religious perfection, one must stress its thirteenth-century actuality, even though it relies upon a remote (Benedictine, Cistercian) tradition. It had a considerable popularity among twelfth-century lay religious movements and it was the central idea of the Beguine movement in the thirteenth century. Cf. Herbert Grundmann, *Religious Movements in the Middle Ages*. (Notre Dame, Ind.: University of Notre Dame Press, 1995); Ernest W. McDonnell, *The Beguines and Beghards in Medieval Culture: With special emphasis on the Belgian scene* (New York: Octagon Books, 1969); Margaret's life demonstrates well the impact this ideal had on the spirituality of the mendicant orders.

ed to be alone outside the dormitory, except out of consideration for the rest of her fellow nuns, and she used to finish her prayers in front of her bed.

(7) After dinner, without breaking silence, she used to work with her hands,¹⁶ especially on objects that were destined for the decoration of the church and of holy relics. Whenever she was unable to complete her habitual routine, usually because her parents were visiting, at the cost of the greatest inconvenience, she made up the tasks she had been forced to omit, but she was still rather grieved that even a small part of a good day had passed her by without profit.

(8) With great devotion she tried to observe even fasts that were practically beyond her strength, as well as other observances required by the rule and occupations useful for their own sake. Consequently, her bodily strength often failed. On Good Friday she ate nothing at all, passed the whole day in prayer, and spoke not a single word to anyone, as if lamenting Our Lord's passion. From Holy Thursday until after Vespers on Holy Saturday, she gave up her usual bed, and rested a little with her head propped on a blanket placed on the chapel floor. At other times, however, during the silence of the night, she persisted in her usual prayers, and she was often found by the other sisters stretched out on the mat in front of her bed, where she had fallen asleep from sheer fatigue. On all vigils of the feasts of the glorious virgin mother of God, she fasted on bread and water, even when she was quite weak.

(9) At appropriate times she listened eagerly to sermons, to the Sayings of the Fathers, to exempla¹⁷ and legends of the saints, and especially to the miracles of the Blessed Virgin, to whom she clung with such special devotion, that when she heard someone else using the virgin's name or did so herself, she would bow her

¹⁷ The populistic genre of medieval preaching, the *exemplum*, based upon the moralized explanation of a folktale, an anecdote or a real event, was mainly cultivated by the mendicant orders. Cf. Claude Brémond, Jacques Le Goff and Jean-Claude Schmitt, *L'Exemplum* (Turnhout: Brepols, 1982), and Jean-Claude Schmitt, ed., *Prêcher d'exemples. Récits de prédicateurs du Moyen Âge* (Paris: Stock, 1985).

adherebat in tantum, ut quodocunque eam nominari audisset vel ipsa eam nominasset, capud^a suum ob reverentiam ipsius profundius inclinaret, nec eam aliter, nisi Dei genitricem et beatam spem vocabat, nec unquam Domini nostri vel eius genitricis¹⁸ ymagines in capitulo vel alio quolibet loco pictas, nisi flexis genibus salutasset, preteribat, unde propter nimias et frequentes genuflexiones et super genua reclinationes poplides ipsius tumidi et indurati erant, sicut magistra sua, nobilis matrona et alie sorores secretius in vita et post eius transitum diligenter perspexerunt et multa assertione firmantes dixerunt. Balneare vel pedes suos supra tibias lavare, hoc <sibi> pre nimia pudicitia omnino erat alienum. Unde decem et VII annis, ut totus conventus sororum testatur, nunquam corpus suum, etiam de infirmitatibus gravioribus, quas sepe patiebatur, convalescens balneavit.¹⁹ Propter hoc et hiis similia cunctis erat gratiosa et ab omnibus, qui eam videbant, omni reverentia digna iudicabatur.

(10.) Erant enim precipua cordis et corporis humilitas ita, ut ab ipsa tenera etate cunctis vite sue diebus humilioribus claustris servitiis sese gaudenter^b occupari cum omnino^c famulatu ancillis et famulabus claustris inclusis ultra vires et conditionem suam conlaborans erat coancilla et quo precellebat omnes nobilitate, eo amplius preire humilitate satagebat. Nulli unquam pro cibo vel potu vel vasis pulcrioribus in mensa, ut moris est mentium infirmarum, molesta fuit. Sed communibus contenta et interdum abiectioribus in exemplum^d potius utebatur, cilicio medie filo laneo et medie crinibus equorum contexto utebatur frequentius. Ante transitum

^a recte caput

^b gauderet (Nagy)

^c recte omni

^d in exemplum [aliarum] sive in exemplum [aliarum sororum] cf. Borsellini XI.: propter exemplum aliarum sororum vilibus utebatur (Nagy)

¹⁸ Margaret's peculiar devotion to the Virgin Mary could be accounted for by three different reasons: it is a marked trait of Dominican spirituality; there is a special Hungarian tradition of her cult reaching back to the eleventh century (cf. Introduction, 22 n. 59); and, finally, by the fact (not independent from the former reasons) that her monastery had been dedicated to the Virgin Mary.

head deeply out of reverence for her, and never called her anything but “mother of God” and “blessed hope.”¹⁸ She never passed by images of Our Lord or of His Mother displayed in the chapel or any other place without greeting them by bending her knees. Because of her frequent genuflections and kneeling, her knee caps were swollen and callused. These things the noble lady who was her guide and the other sisters noted in silence while she was alive, and recounted after her death, backing what they said with many assurances. Because of her very great modesty, she categorically refused to bathe or to wash her feet above the ankles. And so for seventeen years, as the entire convent of her sisters attests, she never bathed herself, even when she was recovering from the serious illnesses that she frequently suffered.¹⁹ With this and similar practices she edified everyone; all who saw her judged her worthy of the greatest reverence.

(10) Her humility of heart and body were outstanding. Throughout her life, from the time she was very young, she delighted in busying herself with the humbler tasks in the convent. She was truly a fellow servant of the convent’s maids and housekeepers, working side by side with them on completely familiar terms, beyond the limits imposed by her strength and rank. As she surpassed them all in nobility, so she endeavored all the more to surpass them in humility. She was never troubled by food or drink, or having better dishes on the table, as is the way of those with weak souls, but was content with common fare and was always an example to those who were discouraged. She frequently wore a hair-shirt woven half of wool thread and half of horsehair. Six or seven years before her death, she put on every Ash Wednesday a harsh hair-shirt which we call “netted” and she would wear it continuously until Holy Sat-

¹⁹ The refusal of bodily hygiene as a way of saintly life for nuns is already present in late-antique monasticism, supported by the authority of Saint Jerome. Cf. Philip Oppenheim, *Das Mönchskleid im christlichen Altertum* (Freiburg im Breisgau, 1931), 32–33.

autem suum annis VI vel VII in die tertium^a cilicium durum, quod reciatur vocamus, indutum usque ad sanctum sabbatum continue portabat; et cum vermibus nimis gravaretur, talem, ut credimus, a Domino accepit consolationem. Cuidam namque de potioribus fratribus Ordinis Minorum,²⁰ qui et apud suos et coram rege et regina magnus reputabatur, sicut ipsemet parentibus suis, regi et regine, presentibus aliquibus fratribus suis et nostris et meipso, qui hec scribo, presente narravit, in sompnis ostensum est, quod in veste dicte virginis Margarite vermes omnes in gemmas candidas converti sibi videbantur.

(11.) Exemplum quoque beati martiris, Thome Kantuaren-
sis, de cuius cilicio mira narrari audierat, ad huiusmodi ylariter sus-
tinenda plurimum confortabat.²¹ Et cum ab aliquibus fratribus eque,
ut sororibus minus peritis per modum compassionis induceretur, ut
sibi condescenderet et remitteret a rigore et tempore longiori plus
posset mereri, si mitius ageret, et ut pro sui status digna conditione
non se tantum despiceret, tale dedisse<t> responsum: „Qui se scit
diutius vivere, condescendat sibi et procrastinet, quod potest bonum
operari. Ego autem nescio, quamdiu subsistam. Et si post modi-
cum tollat me Factor meus.²² Reverentias autem — inquit — vel
delitias et querentes^b supervacuas turpe est querere in clauastro, quia
claustrum locus est et habitaculum non eorum, qui presentia, sed
eorum, qui futura bona requirunt.” Et sic suadentes sibi ad similia
vel ad potiora bona provocabat. Ad hec cuidam de potioribus fra-
tribus provincie nostre, qui tunc provincialatus habebat officium,²³

^a cinerum (Nagy)

^b quietes (Nagy)

²⁰ About the Franciscans in Hungary see Introduction, 8, n. 19, 9, n. 22. The Franciscan friar in question might well have been Paul, who is mentioned as the king's confessor in 1265; cf. Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története*, 22.

²¹ Saint Thomas Becket, bishop of Canterbury, was murdered by English barons in 1170 and canonized in 1173—cf. Anne Duggan, *Thomas Becket* (London: Hodder Arnold, 2005). Early veneration of Saint Thomas in Hungary was probably due to the influence of Margaret Capet, the third wife of Béla III (1172–1196), who had known him personally—cf. György Györffy, “Thomas à Becket and Hungary,” *Hungarian Studies in English*, 4 (1969): 45–52. The allusion to Becket's example probably

urday. When she was badly afflicted with vermin, she received, as we believe, the following consolation from the Lord. It was shown in a dream to one of the more influential Franciscans,²⁰ who was greatly esteemed by the king, the queen and his fellow friars, that all the maggots in the aforesaid virgin Margaret's clothes were changed to shining gems. He himself recounted the story when the royal couple, some of his distinguished fellow Franciscans, some of our Dominican brothers and I who write this were present.

(11) The example of the martyr Thomas of Canterbury, about whose hair-shirt she had heard wonderful things, also gave her the consolation to endure cheerfully many afflictions of this kind.²¹ Some less experienced people, friars and nuns alike, out of compassion, tried to persuade her to take care of herself, and to be less rigorous, and they said that if she would lead an easier life she could live longer and gain more merit. And they also said that out of consideration for the way of living appropriate to her high status, she should not so despise herself. This was her answer: "Let someone who knows he is going to live for a long time pamper himself and put off the good he can do. I, however, don't know how long I will live. What if my Maker were to take me shortly?"²² "It is shameful," she said, "to seek honor, or pleasure and empty idleness in a cloister, because a cloister is the dwelling-place and home of those who seek the good things not of the present life, but of the one to come." In this way, she incited to similar or even more rigorous good practices the very people who were attempting to persuade her otherwise. Moreover, one of the distinguished brothers of our order, who then held the office of provincial,²³ used

refers to the story told in the *Legenda Aurea* by Jacobus de Voragine, according to which the hair-shirt Becket wore under his clothes had been sewn by the Virgin Mary herself.

²² "For I know not how long I shall continue, and whether after a while my Maker may take me away." Job 32:22

²³ The person referred to is Marcellus, who was Hungarian provincial at the time. This reference, omitting the name and speaking about him in third person singular is one of the doubtful points about the attribution of the legend to Marcellus (cf. Introduction, 20, n. 50–51).

frequentius meditati et Dominum affectu multo deprecanti, ut sibi revelare dignaretur, quenam illorum antiquorum patrum fuerit perfectio, per quam ad tantum culmen, virtutem^a et tantam, tanquam^b suavissimam Dei cognitionem, sicut Sacra continet Scriptura eorundem, ascenderit^c, liber quasi rotulus aureis litteris inscriptus in sompnis est oblatus dictumque est ei: „Frater surge, lege.” Qui legit sic: „Hec est perfectio patrum: deum amare, seipsum contempnere, neminem contempnere, neminem iudicare.” Et sic disparuit.²⁴ Et frater expergefactus lectionem frequentius recitavit. Qui cum aliquando dicte virgini sancte memorie, sepedicte Margarete sorori edificationis gratia hec eadem recitasset, ita ad se hanc traxit doctrinam, ut ex tunc in Dei amore, quantum poterat, supra id, quod prius, ferventior fieret et in Dei timore sui precipua contemptrix effecta mirabiliter proficeret et omnibus cum honesta et hylari reverentia assurgens nullius vitam vel vite meritum discutiens iudicabat, sed seipsam in humilitate, quam matrem et custodem virtutum sciebat, sollicitus exercebat.

(12.) Revolvebat crebrius secum et conferebat cum aliis interdum progenitorum suorum vitam et vite sanctitatem: Beati scilicet Stephani, primi regis et apostoli Ungarorum,²⁵ cuius fidem et catholice fidei predicationem, qua suam convertit gentem ab ydolorum cultura, ecclesia narrat vulgarica²⁶; Beati Henrici, filii eiusdem Sancti Stephani regis sanctissimam virginitatem, qui

^a culmen virtutum (Nagy)

^b recte tamque

^c recte ascenderint

²⁴ For a detailed analysis of these spiritual precepts, referring to its Augustinian roots, see Lovas „Árpádházi B. Margit első élettrajzáinak írója – Marcellus,” 37–40: Király, *Árpádházi Szent Margit*, 84–85.

²⁵ This passage shows the dynastic factors in Margaret's sainthood, the saint-ancestors being in the center of her religious devotion and serving as examples in her religious formation. About Saint Stephen (reigning 1000–1038), his canonization and legends, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 123–54; his three legends are published by Emma Bartoniek, in *SRH* II, 363–448; they have been reedited and translated in Gábor Klaniczay, ed., *Sanctitas Principum: Sancti Reges, Duces, Episcopi et Abbates Europae Centralis (Saec. XI–XIII)—The Sanctity of the Leaders: Holy Kings*,

to meditate frequently and implore God with deep feeling to deign to reveal to him what kind of spiritual perfection the illustrious fathers of old possessed, through which they could ascend to such a pinnacle of virtue and to the exceedingly sweet knowledge of God expressed in Holy Scripture. When the friar was asleep, he was shown a book like a scroll written with letters of gold and he was told, "Brother, rise up and read." This is what he read: "This is the perfection of the fathers: to love God, to hold oneself in contempt, to have contempt for no-one else, to judge no-one." And then the vision disappeared.²⁴ The brother, after he had been awakened, frequently recited the lesson. When he repeated these same things once for the edification of the aforesaid virgin of holy memory, the oft-mentioned sister Margaret, she adopted this teaching as her own so enthusiastically that from then on she became, as much as was possible, more fervent in the love of God than she had been before. Having come, in fear of God, to consider herself of no importance, she progressed miraculously in holiness. She rose to greet everyone with candid and cheerful respect; she refrained from discussing and judging anyone's life or the merits of their life; she carefully disciplined herself in humility, which she knew to be the mother and guardian of virtues.

(12) She returned frequently to consideration of the lives of her ancestors, and sometimes discussed them with others, such as the holy life of the blessed Stephen, first king and Apostle of the Hungarians;²⁵ the Church tells the story, in our native language,²⁶ of his faith and preaching of Catholicism, by which he converted his own people from the cult of idols. She also meditated on the most holy virginity of the blessed Emeric, son of the same holy

Princes, Bishops, and Abbots from Central Europe (Eleventh to Thirteenth Centuries). Central European Medieval Texts Series, vol. 7 (Budapest–New York: CEU Press, forthcoming in 2018).

²⁶ On the beginnings of the vernacular legend-writing in Hungary see Mezey, *Irodalmi anyanyelvűségünk kezdetei*, n. 53.; for rhymed histories on St. Stephen see idem, "Szent István XIII. századi verses históriája" [The thirteenth-century rhythmic *historia* of St. Stephen], in *Magyar századok. Irodalmi műveltségünk történetéhez. Horváth János emlékkönyv* (Budapest: Egyetemi Nyomda, 1948), 41–51.

cum haberet sponsam nobilissimam, utpote filiam imperatoris Romanorum divinitus facta sibi revelatione, ut in eius gestis habetur, virginalem cunctis diebus vite sue cum sua sponsa illibatam servavit castitatem, quod maxime testimonio eiusdem sponse sue fuit post obitum suum efficaciter comprobatum²⁷; Sancti quoque Ladislai regis,²⁸ qui gloriosa regni gubernatione et defensione adversus invasores, maxime insultus paganorum partium orientalium, ut scriptum continet Ungarorum,²⁹ amministrans frequentissime causam clericis iusticiis regalibus et in orationibus ac ceteris sanctis operibus vacans etiam quiete corporis relegata noctes ducebat insompnes, cuius sanctitati usque hodie curationis beneficia crebra perhibent testimonia; Beate etiam Elizabeth, amite sue, cuius gloriosa merita tota pene cum gaudio celebrat ecclesia.³⁰ In huiusmodi qui^a meditationibus et collationibus seipsam occupans alta trahebat suspiria, ut eorum imitari vestigia et consequi merita Dei munere digna efficeretur.

(13.) Circa infirmas quoque sorores, que propter numerositatem sororum³¹ sepius multe fuerunt^b, tante erat compassionis et

^a igitur coni. (Borselli)

^b sunt (Bóle)

²⁷ Saint Emeric, also frequently mentioned as Henry (1007–1031), was the would-be heir to Saint Stephen. Saint Emeric died while hunting before acceding to the throne. He was canonized in 1083, together with his father. His legend is published by Emma Bartoniek, *SRH* II, 441–60; reedited and translated in Klaniczay, ed., *Sanctitas Principum*. It is to him that Stephen wrote (or more probably had one of his learned clerics write) the famous *Libellus Sancti Stephani regis de institutione morum ad Emericum ducem*, ed. by Josephus Balogh, in *SRH* II, 611–27.

²⁸ Saint Ladislai (1077–1095) King of Hungary was the reorganizer of the royal power after decades of struggle for the throne. About his life and his cult see László Mezey, ed., *Athleta Patriae. Tanulmányok Szent László történetéhez* [Studies concerning the history of Saint Ladislaus] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1980); Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 173–93. His legend was written around the time of his canonization (1192), edited by Emma Bartoniek, in *SRH* II, 507–27; reedited and translated in Klaniczay, ed., *Sanctitas Principum*.

²⁹ We have here a precious reference to the Chronicle of the Hungarians, the *Gesta Ungarorum*, a composite work written in several parts between the eleventh and the fourteenth century, preserved in fourteenth-century copies: *Chronici hungarici compositio saeculi XIV*, ed. Alexander Domanovszky, *SRH* I, 217–505; providing the basic text of the so-called *Illuminated Chronicle*, reedited and translated in János

King Stephen. Although Emeric had a most noble spouse, the daughter of the emperor of the Romans, when it was divinely revealed to him that he should keep himself a virgin all the days of his married life, with the consent of his wife, he preserved unspotted chastity. This was conclusively proved after his death, particularly by the testimony of his wife.²⁷ She also pondered the life of the holy King Ladislas,²⁸ who gloriously governed the kingdom and defended it against invaders, particularly the incursions of pagans from the territories to the east, as the writings of the Hungarians relate.²⁹ Frequently exercising royal justice in favor of churchmen, and absorbed in prayer and other good works, he passed sleepless nights, having renounced even bodily rest; to this very day, frequent miraculous cures furnish testimony to his sanctity. Margaret also pondered the life of her aunt the blessed Elizabeth, whose glorious merits almost the whole Church celebrates with joy.³⁰ Occupying herself, therefore, with meditations and readings of this kind, she would heave deep sighs and pray that by God's grace she might be made worthy to follow in their footsteps and imitate their merits.

(13) To sick nuns, of whom there were frequently many because of the size of the community,³¹ she showed such compassion

M. Bak, ed., Central European Medieval Texts Series, vol. 8 (Budapest–New York: CEU Press, forthcoming in 2018). These texts have been later incorporated into the Chronicle by John of Thurocz: Johannes de Thurocz, *Chronica Hungarorum. II. Commentarii 1. Ab initiis usque ad annum 1301*, ed. Elemér Mályusz and Julius Kristó (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1985); cf. György Györffy, *Krónikáink és a magyar őstörténet* [Our chronicles and Hungarian prehistory] (Budapest: Néptudományi Intézet, 1948); 2nd ed. completed by the study *Régi kérdések – új válaszok* [Old questions, new answers] (Budapest: Balassi Kiadó, 1993). In this latter study Györffy formulates the hypothesis that the author of the thirteenth-century continuation of the *Gesta Ungarorum*, Master Ákos, provost of Buda, compiled his work above all for Princess Margaret (see p. 194–95).

³⁰ About Saint Elizabeth see Introduction, 14, n. 30.

³¹ Out of the seventy nuns and servants the monastery could theoretically accommodate, in the records of the canonisation process of 1276 thirty-seven gave testimonials. For an estimate of the size of the monastery see Elemér Lovas, *Árpád-házi Boldog Margit élete* [The life of Blessed Margaret of Hungary] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1939), 111.

humilitatis, ut non regia virgo et tenera, sed mater et nutrix omnium esse probaretur. Nam supra sortem sui ministerii frequenter eas visitabat, lavabat capita et pedes, et si quando earum sanitati expedire credebat, capillos capitis earundem manibus propriis abradebat, purgabat vestes, sternebat lectos et cetera puritatis officia, licet ipsa, quibus ministrabat, debilibus quandoque debilior, devotione sedula sequens vestigia sororis sue, Beate Elizabeth, exhibebat, pro infirmis etiam circa claustrum extra existentibus fratrem unum seniore, ut vice ipsius procuraret et visitaret, rogavit et obtinuit. Unde propter huius pietatis virtutum opera eius conversatio in ipso claustro quasi pro quadam regula hodie habetur ita, ut si quid minus disciplinate fieri viderint, dicant: „Hec non est de regula domine nostre, sororis Beate Margarite.”

(14.) Nec hoc pretereundum puto de humili eius compassionem, quod cum ad fenestram chori, per quam est aspectus corporis dominici,³² stans videret pauperes infirmos super pavimento se trahentes, lacrimis, quas celare non poterat,³³ perfundebatur et requisita causam lacrimarum respondit: „Compatior hiis pauperibus infirmis et doleo ex animo, quod iuvare eos ad sanitatem non valeo. Ago etiam gratias creatori Domino, qui misertus nostri sanam me creavit et usque hodie incolumem enutrivit, propter quod et recognosco me ipsius pietati amplius obligatam.” Pauperibus quoque longe in diversis regni partibus dispersis, maxime pudicis et absconditis et publice mendicare erubescens, quanquam et aliis non deesset, pro posse per manus provincialis illius temporis provinciam visitantis, cuius informationibus et consiliis a principio et cunctis suis diebus principalibus^a intendebat, sumptus a parentibus oblatos et acceptos, ut eis in elemosinam dispergeret, commendabat. Nam de communibus sumptibus claustrum nil omnino ad

^a recte principaliter

³² Caroline Walker Bynum, “Women Mystics and Eucharistic Devotion in the Thirteenth Century,” *Women's Studies* 11 (1984): 179–214, repr. in Caroline Walker Bynum, *Fragmentation and Redemption. Essays on Gender and the Human Body in Medieval Religion* (New York: Zone Books, 1991), 119–50, esp. 130–31; cf. Caroline Walker Bynum, *Holy Feast and Holy Fast*, 316–19, 342–45.

and humility that she proved herself not a delicate royal virgin, but the mother and nurse of all. For, over and above her assigned infirmary duty, she frequently visited them, washed their heads and feet, and, when she thought it would speed their recovery, shaved their heads with her own hands. She washed their clothes, made their beds, and did other cleaning chores, although she herself was sometimes more indisposed than the sick persons to whom she ministered. Following the footsteps of her sister blessed Elizabeth with sedulous devotion, she exerted herself for the infirm, even those in the neighborhood who lived outside the cloister. She sought and obtained permission for an older friar to dispense funds and visit them in her place. Because of the virtuous works produced by her piety, her conduct is held up in the cloister to this day as a kind of rule, so that, if the nuns should see some laxity they say, "This is not according to the rule of our Lady, the blessed sister Margaret."

(14) I do not think I should leave unreported the following example of her humble compassion: Once she was standing at the window in the choir through which the body of the Lord can be viewed,³² and when she saw poor, sick people dragging themselves across the church floor she was unable to hide the tears she was shedding.³³ When asked why she was crying she answered: "I suffer with these poor, sick people, and I grieve from my heart that I do not have the power to help them back to health. I give thanks to Our Lord and Creator, who mercifully made me healthy, and has kept me safe to this day, because of which, I also recognize that, due to His faithfulness to me, I have yet greater duty towards the poor." She gave the gifts, offered by her parents and accepted by her, into the hands of the Provincial of the time—who visited the provinces and upon whose information and counsel she chiefly depended throughout all her days—so that he could distribute them as alms to the poor, including those who were spread far throughout the various parts of the kingdom, especially those who were modest and concealed their lot and blushed to beg publicly.

³³ Piroska Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge. Un instrument spirituel en quête d'institution (Ve–XIIIe siècle)* (Paris: Albin Michel, 2000).

erogandum cuiquam contingebat, quod et ipse provincialis per diversas regni partes vadens fideliter et devote pauperibus secundum eius affectum gaudens largiebatur.

(15.) Ad patrem quoque suum, dominum regem et fratres uterinos ac parentes propinquos sermo eius nacta opportunitate temporis exortatorius et pacatorius fuit, sicut ipso domino rege mihi et quibusdam suis necessariis frequentius referente didici, ut ecclesiam Dei in regno suo conculcari non sineret per tyrannidem principum et militum, et pauperes, viduas, orphanos et huiusmodi personas miserabiles defensaret, et in pluribus exaudiebatur.³⁴ Nam propter conversationis eius manifestam sanctitatem vix unquam eius voluntati aliquis eorum tunc vel in modico contraibat. Sed obsequentes eius petitionem etiam pro morte dignis liberationem acceptabant, pauperibus inopibusque, qui auditum tantum de ipsa habuerant, apud singulos eorum eius invocatio multiplex erat refrigerium.³⁵

(16.) Cum hoc sic pie et misericorditer divina clementia in virgine famula sua operaretur, vidit hostis antiquus, audit, et vehementer invidet, consuetaque nequitie sue^a adversus virginem innocentem bella commovit. Beconciliati^b enim utcumque post plures guerras rex Ungarie senior et rex Bohemie, rege Stephano ultra silvas in finibus, in quos fuerat insultus Tartarorum,³⁶ existente, in signum pacis et amicitie ille quidem dona dedit, ut moris est amicorum, hic

^a *recte* nequitia sua

^b *recte* Reconciliati

³⁴ About the beneficial intervention into family quarrels by thirteenth- and fourteenth-century female saints, see Vauchez, *La sainteté*, 441–42; on the new kind of power of these saintly princesses, enabling them to intervene in secular affairs from a religious point of view, see Klaniczay, *Holy Rulers and Blessed Princesses*, 243–79.

³⁵ The wars between Béla IV and Ottokar Přemysl II, King of Bohemia (1253–1278) were fought for the possession of the Babenberg heritage. After the first series of fights (1250–1253) they concluded a peace in Buda, giving Austria to Ottokar and Styria to Béla. The wars were renewed in 1258, when the Styrian nobility rose up against Hungarian rule and asked for the help of Ottokar, whom they recognized as their new ruler. In 1260, on July 12, near Kroissenbrunn, the Hungarians lost a decisive battle against Ottokar, and they had to relinquish Styria. The peace was conclud-

Thus while she did not ask anything from the cloister's community funds for charity, the provincial journeying through the various parts of the kingdom, gave faithfully and devotedly alms to the poor as he saw fit.

(15) Moreover, when the occasion arose, her words to her father the lord king, to her brothers in the flesh and to her close relatives exhorted them and encouraged peace, so that the king did not allow the church of God in his kingdom to be trampled by the tyranny of the mighty or the soldiers, and he defended the poor, widows, orphans, and other wretched people of this sort; they listened to her advice on many occasions, as I learned from the king himself, who frequently repeated it to me and to certain intimates. Because her conduct was clearly holy, it was an unusual event when any of them opposed her wishes, even in small matters. Accepting her pleas even for those worthy of death, they would agree to free them, and the mere mention of her name procured relief of many kinds from each of them, for poor and impoverished folk who had heard so much about her.³⁴

(16) While Divine Clemency was faithfully and mercifully bringing this about in his virgin handmaid, the Ancient Enemy saw it, heard it, grew violently jealous, and launched the usual warfare that he wickedly wages against an innocent virgin. After a number of wars, Béla, the elder King of Hungary, and the king of Bohemia, were reconciled with each other while King Stephen was in Transylvania,³⁵ in the territory that the Tartars had invaded.³⁶ As a token of peace and friendship, the elder King gave the Bohemian king gifts, as is the custom of allies. The king and queen of Hungary took the

ed on March 31, 1261. Transylvania, the easternmost part of medieval Hungary is erroneously mentioned here. Its role in the whole affair is that Stephen, who formerly bore the title of Prince of Styria, was also Prince of Transylvania from this time.

³⁶ This might refer to the renewed danger of an attack by the Mongols, when in 1259 their troops devastated the eastern part of Poland and arrived at the Hungarian border. At this time Telebugad, their leader and grandson of Batu Khan, invited Béla IV to an alliance which would be sealed by the marriage of their children. He threatened to attack if he were refused, but he did not carry out his threat.

autem una cum regina illum assumptum per insulas Danubii usque insulam, ubi dictum claustrum situm est, secum adduxerunt, et sepredictam sororem Margaretam virginem tanquam proximam suam, ut videret, annuerunt. Qui statim in tantum captus est eius pulcritudine, — erat enim virgo pulcherrima corpore, quamvis ut Christi servula, inculta, sed multo pulcrior fide et devotione, — quod seipsum et regnum suum et totum posse suum cum regno eorum obtulit voluntati et dispositioni, tantum si ipsam darent ei in uxorem. Annorum tunc erat circiter decem et octo vel minus uno viginti. Cui [cum]^a pater rex diceret impossibile hoc esse, quia ab infantia sua soror esset professa Ordinis Predicatorum, ait ille: „Et hec, quam [habui in uxorem]^b, huiusmodi soror erat ipsorum, et nil adversi passus sum propter hoc.”³⁷ Tandem pater suus rex considerans bonum pacis et guerrarum discrimina sopienda, precipue autem propter adiutorium contra Tartaros, quorum tunc regressus formidabatur, multis promissionibus allectus: „Si ipsa” — inquit — „consenserit, obtenta supremi pontificis licentia faciam, quod petis.” Nondum illis diebus sacro velamine fuerat velata. Tunc virginem filiam suam pater rex presente matre regina, licet minus consentiente, ut assensum preberet, adiit multam huiusmodi nuptiarum utilitatem³⁸ et supremi pontificis dispensationem proponens. Sed ipsa amore sponsi celestis terrenum secundo iam aspernata coniugum,^c — nam cum primo esset annorum vix septem vel octo, duci cuidam Polonorum matrimonialiter eam omnino renitentem conati sunt copulare,³⁹ sed Deo ipsam protegente, cuius misericordiam multis lacrimis, ut eam defenderet,

^a *addidit* Nagy

^b *addidit* Bőle

^c *coniugium* (Szovák)

³⁷ Ottokar's first wife was Margaret Babenberg, the elder sister of the deceased Frederick. Ottokar married Margaret on February 11, 1252 to strengthen his claim on the Babenberg lands.

³⁸ As the legend itself explicitly states, marriage policies were for Béla IV part of his attempt to protect Hungary from the threat of the Mongols by means of a web of alliances. In 1239 his daughter Cunegonde was married to Boleslav V, Duke of Krakow. In 1243 he married his daughter Anne to Rostislav (formerly Duke of Tshernigov) then becoming a vassal of Béla as the Duke of Macsó, a territory south of the Kingdom of Hungary. Another daughter of Béla, Constance was married to Leo, Duke

king of Bohemia with them through the Danube islands to the one where the cloister already mentioned was located, agreeing that he should see the oft-mentioned virgin sister Margaret, since she was his neighbor. He was instantly and totally captivated by her beauty. Physically she was a very beautiful young girl, though unkempt, as a servant of Christ, but more beautiful still in her faith and devotion. The King of Bohemia offered to put his kingdom and all its power under the control and disposition of their rule if only they would give him Margaret as a wife. She was then around eighteen or nineteen years old. Her father the king told the suitor that this was impossible because from infancy she had been a professed Dominican nun, but the King of Bohemia said: "My former wife was a sister of the same order, and I never suffered any inconvenience on this account."³⁷ Her father the king considered the benefits of making peace and calming the disturbances of war, but especially the need for help against the Tartars, whose return was feared at that time. Tempted by many promises he finally said, "if a dispensation is obtained from the supreme pontiff and she should consent, I will do what you ask." In those days she had not yet taken the sacred veil. Then Margaret's father in the presence of the queen, who was rather more reluctant, approached his virgin daughter to get her consent, arguing the very great usefulness of a marriage of this kind³⁸ and [the possibility of] a papal dispensation. But out of love for the heavenly spouse, she rejected an earthly one for a second time. The first time, when she was scarcely seven or eight years old they tried to marry her off to a certain Polish duke, against her will,³⁹ but they were unable to do so, for God himself, whose protection she had im-

of Galicia (1250); yet another, Iolent to Boleslav, Duke of Greater Poland. His son Stephen married the Cuman princess Elizabeth (1254). One may understand if these politics seemed more important to Béla IV in Margaret's case than his former vow concerning her religious vocation.

³⁹ After a series of fights between Béla's son-in-law, Rostislav, and Daniel Romanovich, Duke of Halich, from which the latter emerged victorious (1249), Béla decided to conclude a treaty of alliance with Daniel against the Tartars. He married one of his daughters to Daniel's son, Leon. We are informed from the legend and from the testimony of Olimpiades that Béla first tried to persuade Margaret to accept this marriage. When she refused, her sister Constance was chosen instead.

postulabat, minime potuerunt — nam a primeva etate in castitatis semper proposito virtute perseverancie elegit invariabiliter famulari Domino. Et cum pater pro ipsis nuptiis maxime isisteret^a, eius sermones ac inductiones iam pluries sibi factas reverenter quidem vim parentis, constanter tamen respuens sic respondit: „Quid super hac re Deo odiosa a tanto tempore vosmetipsos fatigatis. Constanter scire vos volo, quod professionem meam, quam feci, et virginitatis mee puritatem, quam domino Ihesu Christo adhuc parvula, sicut ipsi scitis, ex animo consecravi, ordinisque mei sinceritatem non solum pro mundi gloria, sed nec pro vita, nec pro morte vel in modico infringerem aut violarem.” Cum pater forte eius constantiam scire volens: „Numquid” — ait — „non parentes tui sumus, et nobis ex Dei precepto obedire teneris?” illa respondit: „Ego te regem patrem et dominum meum, reginam matrem et dominam meam in hiis, que secundum Deum et cum Deo sunt, recognosco. Sic enim scriptum est: »Qui non reliquerit propter me patrem et matrem«⁴⁰ et cetera.” Et quem^b nec in modico ceteris superiorem vel digniorem se habere^c sustinebat, accersito citius illius temporis provinciali voluit et petiit, ut sacro velamine ad tollendas huiusmodi vanas et nocivas occasiones velaretur. Vocati itaque venerabiles patres archiepiscopus Strigoniensis et episcopi Waciensis et Nitensis^d ipsam cum tribus suis sororibus propinquis consecratam solempniter multis religionis et ecclesiasticis personis presentibus tertio die Pentecostes sacro velamine velaverunt.⁴¹ Et sic delusa et sollicitudo iniquitatis et omnino desperata^e cessavit.

^a *recte* insisteret

^b *recte* que

^c *recte* haberi

^d *recte* Nitriensis

^e *recte* desperata

⁴⁰ “He that loveth father or mother more than me, is not worthy of me” Mt 10:37; also Mt 19:29, Mark 10: 29–30, Luke 14:26.

⁴¹ To choose this effective way to avoid the royal marriage was an idea undoubtedly conceived by the provincial Marcellus himself, and this opposition to Béla IV must have been the reason for the slight disgrace of the Dominicans henceforth in the royal court (cf. Introduction, 10 n. 18). Among the other persons receiving the *consecra-*

plored with many tears, defended her. From her earliest years, with the virtue of perseverance she unswervingly chose to serve the Lord in the state of perpetual virginity. When her father strongly insisted on his inducements and arguments for this marriage to the king of Bohemia, which had already been made to her several times before, she answered in this way, respectfully, but refusing to succumb to her father's pressure: "Why have you been exerting yourself so long over this plan, which God hates? I want you to know always that I would not, for worldly glory, to save my life or to escape death, break or violate in the slightest the promise I have made, or the purity of my virginity (which, as you know, I consecrated to the Lord Jesus Christ when I was still a little girl) or the integrity of my Order." Then her father, perhaps wishing to test her determination, asked, "Are we not your parents? Aren't you obliged by God's command to obey us? She answered: "I acknowledge you as my king, father and lord, and the queen as my mother and lady in those things which are done according to God's pleasure and in company with Him. Thus it is written: *He who has not left father and mother and all other things for my sake...*"⁴⁰ For she would not allow herself to be held superior in the slightest to others, or of greater importance than they were. To stop useless, empty incidents of this kind, she wanted the friar who was provincial at that time, summoned quickly, and she begged that she might receive the sacred veil. Then the venerable father, the archbishop of Esztergom, the bishop of Vác, and the bishop of Nitra were summoned. On the Tuesday after Pentecost, in the presence of many religious and church dignitaries, they clothed her in the sacred veil.⁴¹ She was solemnly consecrated with three sisters her own age. Thus, the evil plans were foiled, and, utterly without prospect of succeeding, they desisted.

tio virginum together with Margaret were the nuns Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen V and Margaret of Macsó, granddaughter of Andrew II (for more about them, see the notes pertaining to their testimonies). The priests mentioned were Philip, archbishop of Esztergom (1261–1272), Haymo, bishop of Vác, and Vincent, bishop of Nitra (cf. Király, *Árpádházi Szent Margit*, 106). The planned alliance with Ottokar was finally realized by his marriage with one of Béla's granddaughters, Cunegonde, daughter of Anne and Rostislav, in Pozsony (Bratislava), on October 25, 1261.

(17.) Hiis itaque transactis ecce nova ei meritorum ministratur materia. Orta est namque guerra inter parentes eius et fratrem fratrisque domum, et tam periculosa contentio, quod confusio^a omni ordine iustitie et postpositio^b Dei timore tam in prelatiis, quam in baronibus, multa milia hominum innocencium absque iudicii equitate perirent.⁴² Inter que mala huic sancte virgini lacrimae sue fuerunt panes die ac nocte.⁴³ Considerans enim huiusmodi guerras omnino fieri non posse, nisi in animarum multarum periculum, et parentum suorum iam provectorum dampnosam in utroque fatigationem, fratrisque sui uterini, regis Stephani iuxta intentum crudeliter persequentium metuens extinctionem, sanctam quoque matrem ecclesiam non tantum in diversis huius regni, verum etiam in multis christianitatis partibus per tyrannides nationum audiens et intelligens conculcari et dilacerari, claustrum^c et loca religiosorum Domino famulantium absque habitatore desolari, pauperum et innocentium personarum clamor usque in coelum ascendere videbatur, ut sibi a referentibus dicebatur, sine sexus et etatis distinctione opprimi inique, flebat uberius et corpus suum macerabat ieiuniis vestita cilicio, quasi omnium tam inique circa Deum agentium lugens peccata et oppressorum deflens calamitates, totaque in lamenta resolvitur continuatisque lacrymarum undis copiosam^d tam fratres, quam sorores ac alias quaslibet personas religiosas rogabat et rogari faciebat instare precibus apud Deum, ut dexterae sue potentie obstructis^e et refrenatis in^f potentiis defenderet innocen-

^a confuso coni. (Borselli)

^b recte postposito

^c recte claustra

^d copiosis (Nagy)

^e constructis (Böle)

^f in quorum (Böle) iniquorum (Nagy)

⁴² The hostilities between Béla and his son Stephen started after the loss of Styria. Stephen was not content to be only the Duke of Transylvania and, as the first-born son, demanded a greater part of the country. Béla IV seemed to favor at this time his younger son Béla (1242–1269). To avoid civil war two treaties were concluded between Béla IV and Stephen in 1262 and 1263, halving the country between father and son, the latter reigning from this date on as “rex iunior” and “dominus

(17) After these events had taken place, a new opportunity for exercising her merits was granted her. A war arose with her parents on one side, and her brother and his court on the other. The fights were so devastating that many thousands of innocent men perished without the equity of fair judicial procedure, for the administration of justice had become disordered, and prelates and barons had turned their backs on the fear of God.⁴² Amidst these evils, this holy virgin's *tears were her food, both day and night*.⁴³ She considered that a war of this kind could not take place without imperiling many souls, and that it put a dangerous strain on both her parents, who were already well on in years, and she feared that her brother king Stephen would be killed, as those who were cruelly persecuting him intended. She heard and understood that even Holy Mother Church was being trampled not only in different parts of her own kingdom, but in many parts of Christendom through the tyranny of various nations. Cloisters were being ripped down, and houses of religious in the Lord's service were being emptied of their inhabitants. As those who reported these things told her, the cry of the poor and the innocent seemed to rise up to heaven, and they seemed to be unjustly treated without regard to sex or age. She wept profusely and wasted her body with fasts and by wearing a hair-shirt, as if mourning the sins of all those acting so wickedly towards God, and bewailing the misfortunes of the oppressed. She was wholly given over to mourning. With abundant and unending streams of tears, she herself asked brothers and sisters, as well as any other persons in religious life, and had still others asked, to beseech God continuously that He hinder and check the wicked in their might, and defend the inno-

Cumanorum" in the eastern part of Hungary. However, hostilities were renewed in 1264, when Béla led an attack against the territories of his son, capturing Stephen's wife and children. Then, at the beginning of 1265, Stephen organized a counterattack, defeating the troops of his father and allies in March near Pest, at Isaszeg. The hostilities were ended with the treaty concluded at the Island of Hares, probably in the presence of Margaret, whose appeasing mission, mentioned in the legend, might be close to historical reality. Cf. Zsoldos, *Családi ügy*, and Introduction, 10 n. 21.

⁴³ "My tears have been my bread day and night" Psalms, 41:4.

tes sanctamque matrem ecclesiam suo pretioso sanguine congregatam dominus Iesus Christus et consecratam per paganos, hereticos, scismaticos et tyrannos nominatenus cristianos, quorum multitudo male tunc licenciata satis dominabatur, blasphemari non pateretur. Et cum ab aliquibus, quasi sibi compatientibus diceretur ei: Quid ad te? Cur pro quolibet eventu teipsam crucias?,” tracto de profundo pectoris suspirio sic respondit: „Mater sancta ecclesia omnium fidelium animarum in membris suis preciosis dilaceratur et ipsa crudeliter affligitur et vos dicitis mihi: »Quid ad te?« Numquid non ipsa regeneravit me una vobiscum? Numquid non de filiabus eius sum? Sum utique.” Et sic loquentium exprobrationes revincens etiam ipsos ad idem compassionis genus pro viribus provocabat. Tunc videns inundantibus peccatis tribulationum mala crescere ita, ut preter rabiem Tartarorum a centum et amplius annis tanta nec sunt visa, nec audita, novum penitentiae modum ad placandam Omnipotentis iram quesivit et invenit. Nam cilicium, quo utebatur, parvi pendens pelles ericinas, qui ibidem in claustro nutriebatur per duas sorores, quarum altera priorissa extitit claustrum et una famula, secretius sibi parari fecit trium vel quattuor digitorum latitudine et universis^a spinis pellium circa carnem ipsam nudam seipsam cinxit eisdem. Particularemque earundem pellium virgis circumligata ab eadem ancilla disciplinam sepius recipiebat.⁴⁴ Hanc vestem deliciarum et discipline virgam ipse magister ordinis, frater Iohannes⁴⁵ et nos plures fratres seniores post transitum eius dictis sororibus hoc secretum pendentibus vidimus, nam antea preter illas tres personas nulla de hac re scivit aliquid vel potuit investigare.

^a conversis (Nagy)

⁴⁴ As for the extremely rude way female saints martyred their flesh in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries, see Introduction, 23 n. 61–63. Among the nuns several gave testimony of even more striking ways that Margaret allegedly tortured herself and more of them confessed that they flogged her at her request, so we cannot decide who the person mentioned in the legend might be.

⁴⁵ Johannes Vercellensis (d. 1283), elected in 1264 as the sixth general master of the Dominicans. He was in Hungary at least twice: in 1254–55 as the *prior vicarius* for the general Humbert of Romans and in 1273, on the occasion of the general chapter held in Pest—this latter occasion must have been the occasion for him to see the penitential instruments of Margaret. For a while, Johannes was believed to have been

cent with his powerful right hand; that the Lord Jesus Christ not allow Holy Mother Church, which had been gathered together and consecrated by his precious blood, to be blasphemed through the pagans, heretics, schismatics, and tyrants who were Christians in name only—a rather large multitude of them ruled at that time with unbridled licence! When she was asked by some who would be sympathetic to her, “What does it matter to you? Why do you torture yourself over every chance event?” she answered in this way, with sighs from the depths of her bosom: “The Church, Holy Mother of all faithful souls, is wounded in her precious members and herself cruelly afflicted, and you ask what it matters to me? Did she not bring you and me alike to rebirth? Am I not one of her daughters? I am indeed.” Answering the reproaches of people who said such things, she used all her powers to summon even them to the same kind of compassion. When she saw that evil tribulations were growing because of the deluge of sin so that, except for the rage of the Tartars, the like had not been seen or heard of for a hundred years or more, she sought and found a new mode of penance to placate the wrath of the Almighty. Considering the hair-shirt she wore of little value, she had prepared for herself hedgehog skins three or four fingers wide. (The hedgehog was raised by two of the sisters in the cloister, one of whom was prioress, and the other a maid.) She girded herself with these, putting all of the spines on the skins next to her naked flesh. She quite frequently took discipline from the same sister, administered with rods tied about with pieces of the same skins.⁴⁴ The master of our order himself, Brother John,⁴⁵ and several of us senior brothers saw this garment of delight and rod of discipline after her death, when the aforesaid sisters revealed this secret, for no-one except the three persons concerned knew anything of this matter, or was able to investigate it.

the author of the present legend, because a fifteenth-century German translation of the *Legenda vetus* by Georg Walter changed this passage to the first person singular (“*hab ich pruder hans... gesehen*”), and the Latin text of the *Legenda vetus* seemed to have been lost. Cf. Cyrill Horváth, *A Margit-legenda forrásai* [Sources of the Margaret Legend] (Budapest: MTA, 1908), 35; Cyrill Horváth, *Joannes Vercellensis és a magyar Margit-legenda*. However, with the discovery of the original Latin text this attribution proved to be the invention of the fifteenth-century German translator.

(18.) Indutaque zelo Dei quantarumcunque personarum, etiam dignitate plurima preditarum, qui tantorum auctores fuerant malorum, malitias manifeste detestabatur. Nec defuerunt illis diebus etiam ex hiis, qui cum ipsa in domo Dei ambulare dulcesque capere cum ea cibos⁴⁶ videbantur, contraria licet caute pro viribus persuadentes, quibus omnibus cum pace patientiam exhibebat. Admirantes^a itaque omnes eius constantiam in omnibus a principio et arbitantes, si ipsam ab ordine et claustro suo abstrahere possent, suam in ea omnem efficere posse voluntatem. Nam quasi superatas ab ea se verebantur, multipliciter eam sollicitare ceperunt, ut si non plus, saltem ob gratiam omnium ipsarum relicto ordine et claustro^b sui clausura salutari cum aliquibus, ut videbatur, facile consentientibus vel alterius ordinis, maxime cisterciensem⁴⁷ vel biguinariam⁴⁸ apud eas vel cum eis duceret conversationem. Et primo quidem promissis emollire conantur omnem thesaurum suum et omnem magnificentiam suam, honorem regni et prelatorum ac baronum reverentias, necnon supremi pontificis ad hoc licentiam cum multa et firma assertione promittunt. Sed cum eam ad sua vota trahere non valerent, adversis aggrediuntur cum favoribus, antiquis et debitis ac donariis necessariis subtractis, quibus antea apud parentes, fratres et sorores uterinos habundabat, et quasi in eius contemptum iniuriam coram ea faventibus in auro et argento et ceteris rebus pretiosis copiose erogatis ipsam verbis et factis in-

^a Amiranti (Bőle)

^b claustrum (Bőle, Nagy)

⁴⁶ "Who didst take sweetmeats together with me: in the house of God we walked with consent." Psalms 54:15.

⁴⁷ For the Hungarian history of the Cistercian order, which founded its first monastery (Cikádor) in 1142 and developed rapidly as an order at the end of the twelfth century during the reign of Béla III, see Ferenc L. Hervay, *Repertorium Historicum Ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria* (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses, 1984); Barnabás Guttman, *A ciszterci rend Magyarországon és Közép-Európában* [The Cistercian Order in Hungary and Central Europe] (Piliscsaba: Pázmány Péter Katolikus Egyetem, 2000). Altogether, they had 23 monasteries and 4 cloisters for nuns in Hungary. Cf. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 144, 160.

(18) Clothed in the zeal of God, she openly detested the crimes of a number of persons—even though they were of very high rank—who had been the authors of very great evils. There were to be found in those days, even among persons who seemed to *walk with her in the house of God and take sweet food with her*,⁴⁶ people urging the opposite of her views cautiously, but as forcefully as they could. She showed them all patience and serenity. They were all astonished at her total faithfulness from the beginning of her religious life, and they thought that they could do whatever they wanted with her, if only they could drag her away from her order and her monastery. As if they were afraid of being overcome by her, they began to beg her repeatedly for the sake of the nuns themselves, if for no other reason, to leave her order and her monastery, and to lead her religious life in holy enclosure with some nuns who (as it seemed) agreed easily, or with those of another order, especially the Cistercians⁴⁷ or the Beguines,⁴⁸ as a guest in their house or as a member of their community. At first they tried to soften her with promises. With many vehement assurances, they promised her the return of all her treasure and splendid possessions, honor throughout the kingdom and the respect of the bishops and nobles, and the pope's permission for this. But when they could not win her over to their wishes, they plagued her with misfortunes, removing ancient privileges that were her right, and necessary emoluments that she had enjoyed from her parents, brothers, and sisters. As if in contempt of Margaret, those who favored acting against her were lavishly bribed with gold, silver, and other precious gifts; with hurtful words and deeds, with disagreeable faces, they did whatever else they could do to provoke her to bitterness, threatening harsher measures not merely against her, but against the whole monastery

⁴⁸ It is difficult to make definite statements concerning the identity of the Hungarian Beguines. László Mezey suspected a direct cultural influence of Vallonian settlers in these references, a Hungarian branch of the slightly heterodox female religious movement prominent in the Netherlands—cf. Mezey, *Irodalmi anyanyelvűségünk kezdetei*, 5–37. The Beguines in question in this passage might have been religious women living under the supervision of the Premonstratensian monastery on the same island (about this monastery, see p. 78 n. 54 below).

iuriosis vultuositatibus inconvenientibus habundabat^a exacerbantes ad amaritudinem, quanto plus poterant, provocabant, nec sibi solum, sed toti conventui, nisi consentiret, asperiora comminantes. O quantis tunc et quam diversis pro perseverantia afficiebatur iniuriis ita, ut preter necem corporis omne fere genus vexationis impenderent in ipsam. Quibus, quia erant pro zelo Dei et custodia decoris domus eius, totius scilicet claustris sui et ordinis, gaudenter tolleratis martirii sibi meritum, ut credimus, acquisivit.

(19.) Tunc sub hoc eventu, spiritu quidem prompta ad omnia pro Christi nomine tolleranda ad tantam sui corporis venit defectiorem, ut in seipsa responsa mortis sentiens⁴⁹ magistre sue et aliquibus sororibus senioribus vicinam sibi sui corporis dissolutionem diceret imminere, quod ita factum est. Et sancta vix diebus transactis febre correpta terciodecimo die egrotationis sue, circumstante fratrum et sororum multitudine, anno Domini MCCLXX-o primo, vite autem sue anno uno minus tricesimo, quartodecimo Kalendas Februarii animam suo Creatori commendans obdormovit in pace⁵⁰ sic extranea a dolore, sicut ab omni mentis et corporis corruptione extiterat aliena. Statimque dictu mirabile est in eius facie, que raro satis etiam aque tepide ablucione fovebatur, admiranda claritas, quasi quedam^b resurrectionis decus effulsit.⁵¹ Quod sequenti die sui transitus videntes venerabiles patres et domini archiepiscopus Strigoniensis et episcopus Waciensis, prepositus Budensis⁵² plurimum ammirati fratresque et sorores flentes, quamquam et ipsi lacrimis suis pre nimia devocione perfusi, consolabantur dicentes: „Non oportet super istam eterni Regis filiam flere, sed potius gaudere, quia eterne hereditatis pignus iam ipsam accepisse manifeste conspiciamus.”⁵³

^a habundabant (Szovák)

^b recte quoddam

⁴⁹ Cf. “But we had in ourselves the answer of death” 2 Cor. 1:9.

⁵⁰ The date given in the legend is incorrect. On the basis of the witnesses’ assertion that Margaret died on Saturday, Elemér Lovas has proven that this could only have happened in 1270, when the 18th of January indeed fell upon Saturday (cf. Lovas, *Árpád-házi Boldog Margit*, 72–74). Cf. Dezső Dümmerth, “Árpád-házi Szent Margit halála éve és a legendák” [The year of the death of Saint Margaret of the Arpad House and the legends], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* (1972): 617–20.

if she did not comply. O, with how many different injuries she was then afflicted for her steadfastness, so that they burdened her with practically every kind of torment except death of the body. Since she bore these troubles happily out of zeal for God and to guard the honor of this house, that is, of her whole monastery and order, she won for herself, we believe, the merit of martyrdom.

(19) Then after this affair, ready as she was in spirit to bear all for the name of Christ, she was reduced to such physical weakness that, *feeling the call of death*,⁴⁹ she told her director and some other senior nuns that soon her body would give out. And so it happened. The saint was seized by fever only a few days later, and on the thirteenth day of her sickness, January 18, in the Year of Our Lord 1271, at twenty-nine years of age, she commended her soul to her creator and fell asleep in peace,⁵⁰ with many of her brothers and sisters in religion standing around her. Thus she had departed this life untouched by pain and a stranger to any corruption of mind or body. And at once—wonderful to tell!—a remarkable brilliance that resembled the beauty of the resurrection was noted in her face,⁵¹ although before it was rarely favored even with a rinse in lukewarm water. On the day following her death, those venerable lords and fathers the Archbishop of Esztergom, the bishop of Vác, and the provost of Buda⁵² saw this and marvelled greatly, as did many friars and nuns. These latter were weeping, tears shed out of overflowing devotion, and consoled themselves, saying “It is not appropriate to weep over this daughter of the eternal king but rather to rejoice, for we see clearly that she has now received the promised reward of her eternal inheritance!”⁵³ Ah, how great was

⁴⁹ One of the stereotypes about saints concerns their special way of dying. For a detailed description of this phenomenon, see Vauchez, *Sainthood*, 427–33.

⁵² The persons mentioned are Philip, archbishop of Esztergom; Philip, bishop of Vác; and Ákos, provost (or dean) of Buda.

⁵³ The motif that a saint's death should be an occasion for rejoicing rather than mourning, as it is rather a resurrection in preparation for eternal life, is well analyzed by Peter Brown, *The Cult of the Saints. Its Rise and Function in Latin Christianity*, (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1981), 69–79.

O quantus erat tunc luctus non solum fratrum ordinis presentium et sororum, sed etiam aliorum multorum usque diem sepulture sue convenientium, donec defunctionis sue die quarto per manus dictorum venerabilium patrum archiepiscopi et episcopi, presentibus karissimis fratribus religiosis Minoribus, Premonstratensibus,⁵⁴ Crucitis,⁵⁵ plebanis et secularium virorum ac mulierum, pauperum et nobilium multitudine permaxima Deum laudantium venerabile ipsius corpus cum reverentia et devocione debita sepulture fuit commendatum. Nec defuerunt statim divine virtutis opera eius meritum declarantia. Nam ipsa nocte transitus sui mulieri cuidam boni testimonii in distantia a loco claustris miliaribus XXVI vel XXX eius transitus in spiritu est ostensus. *Que* diluculo surgens dominum domus, virum honestum et nobilem accersivit dicens: „Nostis me nunquam audisse dominam Margaretam, filiam regis, sanctimoniam quam sciatis, ista nocte esse defunctam. Nam vidi eam cum gloria transferri in celum et ista mihi dixit: »Veniam indigetis peccatorum, ad meum festinetis venire sepulcrum, et ibi a Deo veniam accipietis.«” Tunc ille die illa tota, scilicet dominica substinens dissimulavit. Tandem scire volens veritatem ad locum claustris equitavit, et, ut illa dixerat, eodem die, scilicet sabbati, incipiente prima noctis vigilia eam defunctam et nunc primo sepultam invenit dicentisque veritatem ammiratus fratribus omnia seriatim enarravit.

(20.) Soror quedam penitens Premonstratensis circa monasterium Sancti Michaelis in eadem insula Sancte Marie ante transitum sancte virginis Margarete paucis diebus immediate precedentibus, sicut iurata ante altare Beati Dominici dixit, vidit in sompnis

⁵⁴ The Premonstratensians, the other important twelfth-century monastic reform order besides the Cistercians, founded by Saint Norbert in 1120, were in the thirteenth century very popular in Hungary; they had 43 monasteries (of which 8 for nuns). Cf. Arisztid Oszvald, *A magyarországi középkori premontrai prépostságok* [Premonstratensian provostships in Hungary in the Middle Ages] (Budapest, 1939); Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 145. The Premonstratensian monastery on the Island of Hares, dedicated to Saint Michael, was founded in 1227. Several of its priors and monks, Martin, Benedict and Henry, served as interpreters during the papal investigations (cf. Király, *Árpád-házi Szent Margit*, 30–37).

the mourning then, not only of the friars and nuns of the order, but of many others who were gathered together from the day of her death to the day of her burial, which took place the fourth day after she died, assisted by the aforementioned venerable fathers, the archbishop and the bishop, the beloved Franciscan brothers, the Premonstratensians,⁵⁴ the Knights of the Cross,⁵⁵ parish priests, and a great multitude of secular men and women, poor people and nobles praising God. Her venerable body was committed to the ground with due reverence and devotion, and from the moment of her passing there was no lack of deeds of divine power testifying to her merits. On the very night of her death, her departure was revealed in a dream to a woman of good reputation some twenty-six to thirty miles away from the cloister. She rose at dawn and summoned the lord of the house, a noble and honest man, saying, "You know that I certainly did not hear from anybody that Lady Margaret, the King's daughter who, as you know is a nun died last night. Yet I saw her borne into heaven in glory, and she said to me: 'You stand in need of pardon for your sins. Make haste to come to my tomb and there you will receive pardon from God.' The man concealed what he had heard for the entire length of that day, which was a Sunday. Then, wanting to know the truth, he rode his horse to the monastery, and he found, as the woman had said, that Margaret had died on the same day, to wit at the first vigil of the night on Saturday, and had only just been buried. Astonished that the woman had been telling the truth, he told the friars everything in the order that it happened.

(20) There was a Premonstratensian sister, a penitent, who lived near the monastery of Saint Michael on the island of Saint Mary. In the few days immediately preceding the death of the holy

⁵⁵ The Order of the Knights of Saint John, constituted in 1113 and invited to Hungary to found their first convent as early as 1150, was favored by King Béla IV because of his defense policies against the Tartars. Thus he had them build fortresses on some of the crucial spots of the kingdom, among others, on the Danube Island at its southern edge. Cf. Király, *Árpádházi Szent Margit*, 217–21; Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary, c. 1150–1387* (Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 2010)

gloriosam Dei genitricem cum multitudine sanctorum et sanctarum virginum in ipsam domum, in qua dicta soror Margareta egrotans decumbebat,^a de celis advenisse et corona inextimabilis candoris et pulcritudinis, quam manibus suis ipsa mater misericordiae gestare videbatur, dictam sororem Margaretam cum mirabili solemnitatem coronare,⁵⁶ gradibus miro scemate preparatis a terra usque in coelum conscendentibus ipsam in sanctorum societate secum in aere sublevasse. Statimque vix paucis diebus transactis eius transitus est secutus.

(21.) Virgo quedam honesta et de honestis satis parentibus orta, nomine Elizabeth, penitens circa monasterium Sancti Anthonii in Pest⁵⁷ albatum dixit, quod cum ea^b egrotare sciret tempore sui transitus, vidit stellam prefulgidam de claustro egredi et paulatim in aiera^c conscendere, que cum requisisset, ut sibi videbatur, circumstantes, quidnam hoc esset, responderunt: Anima domine sororis Margarete, filie regis Bele, de claustro Sancte Marie in insula transfertur in celum.

(22.) Frater quidam, nomine Roma,^d in conventu Iauriensi⁵⁸ ante transitum sororis virginis Margarete noviter defunctus apparens priori suo conventuali seipsum in purgatorio esse dixit,⁵⁹ orationesque fratrum, maxime redemptionis nostre sacrificium fieri postulavit. Cui prior: „Quid est de sorore domina Margareta?“, que tunc vix viginti dierum spatio erat defuncta. Respondit ille:

^a recte decumbebat

^b eam (Nagy)

^c recte aere

^d Romanus coni. (Borselli)

⁵⁶ The heavenly coronation is not an unknown motif in medieval Hungarian sources. In the Hungarian chronicles there is a description of a vision by Saint Ladislav before the battle of Mogyoród in 1074 where his troops, together with his brother Géza's army, defeated their cousin Solomon, the legitimate king of Hungary, and this vision is about Géza being crowned by an angel. *Chronici Hungarici*, 388; Péter Váczy, "The Angelic Crown," *Hungarian Studies* 1 (1985): 1–18.

⁵⁷ The monastery of Saint Anthony in Pest, one of the oldest institutions of the Dominicans in Hungary, was founded in 1230—Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikaner-*

virgin Margaret, she had a dream that she related under oath before the altar of Saint Dominic. She saw the glorious mother of God come down from heaven with a multitude of saintly men and holy virgins into the very house where the aforesaid Sister Margaret lay sick, and she saw the Mother of Mercy herself, with wonderful solemnity, crown the aforesaid Sister Margaret with a crown of inestimable lustre and beauty that she seemed to carry in her hand.⁵⁶ Then she raised Margaret with the company of the saints into the air on steps attached to a marvelous ladder running from earth to heaven. Within the next few days Margaret's death occurred.

(21) A trustworthy virgin named Elizabeth, the daughter of respectable parents, a penitent from the monastery of Saint Anthony in Pest,⁵⁷ reported the following: she knew that Margaret was sick, and at the time of Margaret's passing she had a vision of a shining star coming out of the convent and rising some distance into the air. When she had asked those who seemed to be standing around her what this was, they answered, "the soul of the Lady sister Margaret, daughter of King Béla, is being carried from the convent of Saint Mary on the Island into heaven."

(22) A brother called Romanus from the convent at Győr⁵⁸ died just before the passing of the virgin sister Margaret. Appearing to the prior of his convent, he said that he was in Purgatory⁵⁹ and begged for the prayers of the brothers, especially at celebration of the sacrifice of our redemption. The prior asked him, "what about the lady Sister Margaret?" At that point she had been dead

provinz, 29–30. It was here that the Tartars slaughtered many Dominicans, among them the former *ban* Buzád (cf. Introduction, 9 n. 13).

⁵⁸ Győr is the first larger town where the founders of the Hungarian Dominican province, Paulus Hungarus and his companions, were preaching. The above passage is the first information about the existence of a Dominican convent here—Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerprovinz*, 32–33.

⁵⁹ The doctrine of the Purgatory as an intermediary place between Heaven and Hell for the penance of the repentant sinner had been established in the second half of the twelfth century. Its main propagators in the thirteenth century were the mendicant orders. Cf. Jacques Le Goff, *The Birth of Purgatory* (Chicago: University of Chicago Press, 1984).

„Ascendit,” — inquitur^a, — „vestita veste deaurata circumdata varietate.”⁶⁰

(23.) Felicis et sancte recordationis virgo Margarita, soror Ordinis Predicatorum, domini nostri Iesu Christi sponsa electa et ancilla dilecta vivens adhuc corpore multa non solum corporum egritudinibus, verum etiam animarum languoribus patrare noverat beneficia. Ex quibus pluribus pretermisiss pauca quidem referemus.

(24.) Virgo quedam nobilibus orta natalibus eiusdem claustris soror sanctimonialis iurata coram venerabilibus patribus episcopis, supremi pontificis inquisitoribus dixit,⁶¹ quod cum in conventu una cum aliis esset ad collationes, ut moris est claustralibus ante completorium, de seculi pompa et diversis temptationibus status seculares^b multo cum affectu et attentione longam explevit cogitationem, quam surgente conventu ipsa soror Sancta Margareta ad se secursum^c vocans cogitationum suarum et affectuum secreta sedula pietate arguens perfecte enarravit, et ne deinceps in similibus tempus suum non sine dampno expenderet, caritate ammonuit. At illa seipsam erubescens, ut ipsam suis oracionibus adiuuaret, humiliter postulavit.⁶²

(25.) Quedam etiam altera virgo sanctimonialis eiusdem per omnia condicionis ad prandium in conventu cum aliis sororibus residens per totum prandium adversus aliam sororem indignata multa, que pacis non erant, cogitavit. Quam ipsa post prandium completis graciaram actionibus ad se vocans, quid oper^d totum prandium cogitavit, requisivit. At illa disimulans: „Comedebar,” inquit „et de cibo cogitabam.” Cui suas cogitationes seriatim retulit et ne de cetero de eiusmodi rancoribus cor suum dilaceraret, conscienciamque lederet, caritative monuit, et devote postulavit.

^a inquit coni. (Borselli)

^b *recte* secularis

^c *recte* seorsum

^d *recte* per

⁶⁰ “All the glory of the king’s daughter is within in golden borders, clothed round about with varieties.” Psalm 44.14–15.

for barely twenty days. "She has ascended," he said, "*clothed in a gold garment adorned with many colors.*"⁶⁰

(23) While the virgin Margaret of blessed and holy memory, Dominican sister, chosen bride, and beloved of Our Lord Jesus Christ, was still alive, she was able to win by her intercession, bodily cures as well as spiritual ones. Many of these have been omitted, but we shall report at least a few.

(24) A certain nun of noble birth, a sister in Margaret's cloister, reported the following under oath before those venerable fathers, the bishops who were papal inquisitors.⁶¹ Once, when she assisted with the others at the reading before compline, as is the custom of cloistered nuns, she dwelled with great relish and intensity on worldly vanity and various temptations of secular life. Coming out of the service, the holy Sister Margaret called her aside, and, reproaching her with sincere piety, depicted perfectly the hidden thoughts and desires of the other nun. Margaret admonished her, in charity, not to waste her time again on such sinful thoughts. The nun blushed and humbly begged that Margaret would help her with her prayers.⁶²

(25) Another nun who lived in the same monastery, while eating with the other sisters, entertained throughout the whole meal angry and belligerent thoughts against another nun. When after-dinner grace had been said, Margaret called the other nun to herself and asked her what she had been thinking throughout the meal. The latter hid the truth and said, "I was eating and thinking about my food." Margaret revealed her true thoughts to her one by one. She admonished the other nun in charity and devoutly commanded that she should not rend her heart and soil her conscience with more rancor of this kind. The other nun, giving thanks that God had revealed the truth and Margaret had such care for her

⁶¹ About this first investigation, which provided the miracles described in this second part of the legend, see Introduction, 19–20 n. 45–47.

⁶² The story is about Sister Petronilla, daughter of Peter Tongay, who does not personally testify in the second acts of canonization published below (henceforth referred to as *Acts*), but the case is mentioned in testimony of Margaret of Macsó (6).

Que gracias agens, quod salutis eius Deo revelante curam habuerit, ipsius humiliter monita recepit, et se eius oracionibus, ne de cetero similibus suam involvat animam, iuaret, instantius flagitavit.⁶³

(26.) Soror quedam sanctimonialis cuiusdam^a claustrī languore gravi correpta cum nullum sibi sentiret sanitatis remedium invenire^b, ipsa soror sancta virgo Margareta de eiusdem valde sollicita passione, ut ei moris erat circa sorores infirmas sollicitari, ex pietate sedula aegrotanti sorori auditam quandam curam adhibuit, qua facta in tantum anxari cepit soror languida, ut linguae officium et usum amitteret rationis. Ex quo ipsa virgo sancta Margareta vehementer consternata stupore, ne mortis esset occasio, que sanitatis desiderabat esse, eam tabulam reliquiarum sanctarum cum vivifice crucis ligno, quam in orando pre oculis semper et noctibus circa se habere solebat, per sororem sibi astantem afferri protinus ad se fecit. Et extensis ac complexis manibus, copiosis perfusa lacrimis et emissis ad celum suspiriis cum impetrandi fiducia quodammodo clamans dixit: „Domine Iesu Christe, si meum, licet indigne ancille tue, maiestati tue obsequium aliquantulum est acceptum, hanc mecum fac misericordiam, ut hec infirma famula tua immense pietatis tuae affluentia pristinam recipiat sanitatem.” Finitis virginis verbis egrotantis sororis sanitas est secuta. Hec similiter coram eisdem firmo iuramento sunt probata.⁶⁴

(27.) Accidit quoque, ut famula quedam ipsa iubente operis quippiam facere festinaret, que concito cursu incaute festinans in puteum claustrī altum satis et aqua profundum lapsa cecidit. Quod cum aliis famulabus et sororibus constitisset, hac illacque stupide cucurrentes, ut moris est eiusmodi personarum, lapsam

^a eiusdem coni. (Borselli)

^b recte inveniri

⁶³ The story must concern Sister Catherine, “cantrix” (28), who tells the same miracle about herself. Other cases of similar thought-reading can be found in the testimonies of Sister Sabina (10) and Sister Catherine, daughter of Senye from Esztergom (21).

⁶⁴ This miracle is not to be found in the *Acts*. These differences between the miracles described in the legend based on the first investigation and the ones described in the *Acts* cannot be ascribed to the *lacunae* in the latter document which served as the basis of the edition of Fraknói, because Guarinus, who prepared his legend (cf. In-

salvation, received the admonition humbly, and most urgently begged that Margaret would help her by praying that she not embroil her soul in similar thoughts again.⁶³

(26) Another nun at the same cloister was seized by a serious illness. When she could not find a remedy that would bring her back to health, the saintly virgin Sister Margaret was quite concerned about her. One day when Margaret's sincere piety led her to make her rounds, as she usually did, and take care of the sick nuns, she administered some remedy she had heard of to the ailing sister. After she had done so, the afflicted nun became so ill that she lost her power of speech and became unconscious. The holy virgin Margaret was deeply disturbed by this turn of events, and she feared that, wanting to help restore the nun's health, she had in fact been instrumental in her death. She had the sister who was attending her go at once and fetch a reliquary with wood from the life-giving cross, which it was her custom to have always before her eyes when she prayed and near her person when she slept. She joined her hands in prayer and held them out. Bathed in copious tears, she sent forth sighs to heaven. Almost shouting in her faith that her petition would be granted, she said: "Lord Jesus Christ, if my prayers are at all acceptable to Your Majesty, unworthy handmaiden though I am, grant me this favor: that you may flood this your afflicted handmaid with your unlimited pity and restore to her original health." When the virgin had finished this prayer, the ailing nun was made well again. These events, like the ones related previously, were confirmed by a strict oath in front of the same inquisitors.⁶⁴

(27) It happened also that a certain maidservant was hurrying to complete some task or other on Margaret's orders. Running carelessly in her haste, she slipped and fell into the cloister well, which was quite deep and filled with water. When the other maidservants and lay sisters realized this, they began rushing stupidly hither and thither, as is the wont of such persons; they had neither

roduction, 27 n. 82) on the basis of the complete text of the investigation, did not include them either. So they might have rather fallen out because of the introduction of more rigorous criteria for sanctity at the second investigation.

iuvare nec sciebant, nec poterant. Tunc una e sororibus currens ei, quod acciderat, nunciavit. Que in eodem loco procumbens faciemque suam velo operiens manibus complexis oracioni se dedit, metuens, ne occasione iussionis eius pro purganda tunica sua veribus famula periclitaretur. Certatim enim eidem famulari gloriabantur. Interdum extra claustrum fratribus nuntiatur, quorum ingressus tardus satis extitit ad salutem. Interea tempus non modicum est elapsum. Tandem inventam in puteum scalam submiserunt et, quam mortuam invenire timebant, eius oracionibus vivam extraxerunt.⁶⁵

(28.) Frater Iohannes, Ordinis Predicatorum conversus, natione Spalatamensis^a, vir fidelis et frater devotus, cum febre quartana a festo Beati Dominici, patris nostri usque post purificationem Gloriose Virginis, Dei genitricis⁶⁶ vehementer fuisset afflictus, nec ulla medicorum diligentia vel ad modicum adiutus fuisset, pene ad mortem usque invalescente infirmitate est perductus. Hic ad fenestram claustrum rotundam accessit et dictam dominam, sororem Margaretam accersiri fecit, quasi legationem quandam allaturus, cui, ut erat pissime^b humilitatis, citius venienti dixit: „Pater tuus spiritualis, frater Marcellus, prior provincialis misit me ad te, ut pro me orares, et ab ista morte mihi vicina liberares.” Cui illa aliquantulum silens et secum deliberans de intus respondit: „Dominus noster Iesus Christus est, qui fugat infirmitatem et confert sanitates. Ego autem, quantum possum, faciam, quod mihi a patre meo spirituali est imperatum. Verumtamen cum^c teipso ora devocius.” Et confestim descendens in camerulam, in locum oracionum suarum, quam extra chorum inter chori tabulas et murum ecclesie ad orandum secrecius ymaginibus domini nostri Iesu Christi crucifixi et sanc-

^a recte Spalatensis

^b pi[i]ssime (Szóvár)

^c pro (Nagy)

⁶⁵ This miracle is told by several witnesses in the *Acts*: the sisters Jolent (3), Margaret of Macsó (6), Elizabeth of Bodomér (13), Olimpiades (14), and the maid Agnes, to whom the accident occurred (16).

the intelligence nor the strength to help the woman who had fallen in. Then one of the sisters ran to Margaret and told her what had happened. Margaret prostrated herself on that very spot, and covered her face with her veil; she joined her hands and gave herself over to prayer, afraid that the maidservant had been endangered by her order that the girl clean the maggots from her tunic, for the servants were proud to vie with one another in serving her. Meanwhile the accident was reported to the brothers outside the cloister, but their arrival seemed to be too late to be much help to the woman who had the accident, for a great deal of time went by. Finally, they found a ladder and lowered it into the well, and brought up the woman whom they feared to find dead. But she was still alive, thanks to Margaret's prayers.⁶⁵

(28) Brother John, a conversus of the Order of Preachers from Split, a faithful man and devout friar, had been violently afflicted with a quartan fever from the feast of our holy father Dominic to that of the Purification of the glorious virgin, the Mother of God.⁶⁶ He had been helped not a whit by any attention from the doctors, and he had been brought by his debilitating illness to the very point of death. He went to the convent's round window, and had the aforesaid lady Sister Margaret summoned, on the pretext that he would deliver some message to her. When she had come quite quickly, as in her most devout humility she was wont to do, he said: "Your spiritual father Friar Marcellus, the prior of the province, sent me to you so that you would pray for me and deliver me from imminent death." After a bit of silence and interior deliberation she answered him: "Our Lord Jesus Christ it is who puts illness to flight and grants help. I, however, will do what I can, because I am under orders from my spiritual father. Pray now, in solitude and devotion." At once she went down and, to pray more privately, entered a little oratory she had outside of the chancel, between the choir stalls and the church walls. It was very beautifully decorated with images of our crucified Lord Jesus Christ and of various saints.

⁶⁶ The Feast of Saint Dominic is on August 4; the Feast of the Purification of the Virgin is on February 2. Split is in Dalmatia (Croatia) on the Adriatic Sea.

torum decenter valde ornata^a habebat, ingresa^b est, sicque infirmus ipso die, qui accessionis erat, febre ipsius oracionibus fugata sanitatem recepit optatam ac deinceps plena gavisus est sospitate. Hoc coram oculis nostris et plurimum^c fratrum factum est.⁶⁷

(29.) Quadam die isdem^d temporibus provincialis cum aliquibus fratribus ad ipsius Margarete ac aliarum sororum consolacionem claustrum est ingressus, qui visitare volens sorores infirmas, ipsam cum magistra sua et aliquibus sororibus secum ire fecit, ut cum quatuor sorores infirmas, novicias teneras et nobiles virgines graviter febricitare vidisset, ad ipsarum suasionem, ut ei iuberet, et sui cordis de ipsius meritis fiduciam cum vultuositate quadam, reverenter tamen, ut decebat, dixit: „Quid est hic, domina soror Margareta, quod tue sorores tam tenere tanta egritudine detinentur? Ubi est compassio tua? Vade, festina, et iam perseveranter ora pro eis, quod Dominus earum misertus eis conferat sanitatem.” At illa pudice, ut solebat, subridens nil locuta est, egressisque provinciali et fratribus in camerulam oracionum suarum, tanquam mandat<um> expletura se recepit et die crastina immediate sequente omni febre eius oracionibus recedente sorores dicte sanitatem perfectam sunt assecute. Hic de plurimis propter devotos dixisse sufficiant.⁶⁸

(30.) Post annum autem et menses quinque transitus sui operante divine virtutis clemencia crebrioribus cepit clarere miraculis. Et primum sic. Anno gracie MCCLXXII-o, terciodecimo Kalendas Iunii, feria tertia post octavas Pentecostes, post horam terciam⁶⁹ laborator quidam artis carpentarie, nomine Benedictus etate pene quadragenarius de villa dicta Dan provincie Wacien-sis, annis tribus continuis cum adeo miserabiliter languisset, quod

^a ornatam (Bőle, Szovák, Nagy)

^b ingressa (Bőle, Szovák, Nagy)

^c recte plurium

^d recte iisdem

⁶⁷ The story is told by Marcellus as well (38).

As a result, the sick man whose fever reached its peak received the health he had hoped for on that very day and from then on he rejoiced in perfect health. We ourselves as well as very many of the brothers witnessed these events with our own eyes.⁶⁷

(29) One day during this same period, the provincial came to the convent with several friars to comfort Margaret and the other sisters. He wished to visit some nuns who were ill, and had Margaret, her *magistra* and some other sisters come with him. Thus, when he had seen four nuns suffering from serious fevers, novices of tender age and noble virgins, he turned to Margaret rather brusquely (though with proper respect), because the sick girls had asked him to order Margaret to help, and because he deeply trusted her powers: "What is this, my lady Sister Margaret? Your very young sisters are weakened by a grave sickness. Where is your compassion? Go at once and pray diligently for them now, that their Lord may have mercy and grant them health." But Margaret smiled gently and remained silent, as was her custom. When the provincial and friars had left, she retired into her little prayer chamber to fulfill his command. On the day following, owing to her prayers, all fever left the patients, and the aforementioned sisters regained perfect health. Let it suffice that, for the sake of the devout, I have chosen to tell these examples from among many.⁶⁸

(30) A year and five months after Margaret's passing, by the workings of divine power and mercy, more frequent miracles began to make her famous. The first occurred in the year of grace 1272, on June 13, the Tuesday following the Octave of Pentecost, just after the third hour.⁶⁹ There was a carpenter named Benedict, nearly forty years of age, who was from a village in the province of Vác called Dan. He had been so wretchedly and continuously ill for three years that his knees were stuck to his chest and his lower legs to his nostrils, because the nerves had contracted; he had no use of his feet at all, and had to remain lying down. Consequently,

⁶⁸ Marcellus does not speak about this case in the *Acts*.

⁶⁹ If one accepts that Margaret died in 1270, one should correct this date too. It must have taken place in 1271 and one year and four months after the death of Margaret.

genu ad pectus, sure vero crurium contractis nervis naribus^a adhererent ita, quod nullum penitus pedum usum habens superius^b tantumodo^c continue iacebat. Hic ad sepulcrum virginis sororis Margarete, quam defunctam procul satis positus audierat, matris, fratris et aliorum sibi attinentium, ut deferretur, auxilium imploravit dicens eis: „Si sepulcrum Dei famule, virginis Margarete tetigero, ab ista passione sanari me spero.” Ad quem^d mater desperans: „Quando pater meus,” inquit, „olim mortuus resurrexerit, tunc et tu poteris esse sanus.” Quo nichilominus instante ad sepulcrum dicte virginis eundem semel et secundo perducunt, ubi hiis verbis confitebatur et orabat: „Credo te, domina mea virgo Margareta, filia domini nostri regis Wele^e, qui ab infancia domino Iesu Christo, contemta parentum tuorum et huius seculi gloria, in humilitate servivisti, tantorum esse meritorum ante Deum, quod ab isto gravissimo corporis mei tormento me liberare, si vis, potes et oro te fide plena et devocione affectuosa, ut liberare me digneris.” Et sic iuxta sepulcrum positus iacebat. Hic completa dierum ebdomada infra missam, que tunc super altare supremum, ante quod ipsum sepulcrum situm est, celebrabatur, per divinam misericordiam meritis dicte virginis sororis Margarete, quam plenus fide invocaverat, sanitate plena recepta surrexit et sine omni aldiis^f amminiculo ipsum sepulcrum tribus vicibus de beneficio sanitatis accepto Deo gratias agens circuivit et sic ad propria propriorum pedum utens^g officio letus remeavit, ex tunc, quod usque hodie perfecta gaudet sanitate, frequentes cum suis vicinis et comprovincialibus d^h sepulcrum dicte virginis faciens peregrinationes.⁷⁰ Audito itaque hoc beneficio multi de provincia infirmos et interdum demoniis afflictos ad eius sepulcrum in meritis et sanctitate eius confidentes adducunt et sanitatis beneficium per ipsius merita acceperunt et accipiunt usque modo.

^a recte natibus

^b super eius (Nagy)

^c tantum[m]odo (Szovák)

^d quem ed. quam

^e recte Bele

he begged his mother, his brother and the other people with him to help carry him to the tomb of the virgin Sister Margaret, of whose death he had heard, although he lived some distance away. He said, "I hope that the virgin Margaret, servant of God, will cure me of this affliction if I touch her tomb." His despairing mother answered, "you will be healthy when my long deceased father will have risen from the dead." He kept on insisting nonetheless, and they brought him once and then a second time to the virgin's tomb. There he declared his faith and prayed in these words: "My lady virgin Margaret, daughter of our King Béla, who from your infancy served Our Lord Jesus Christ in humility, spurning your parents' glory and the glory of this world, I believe you possess such great merit before God that you can free me from the horrible torment of my body if you wish, and I beg with full faith and affectionate devotion that you deign to free me." And so he was put next to the tomb and lay there. When a week had passed, during a Mass which was then being celebrated at the high altar, before which stands Margaret's tomb, through the divine mercy and by the merits of the aforesaid virgin Sister Margaret, whom he had called on with total confidence, the sick man recovered full health. He arose and, circling the tomb three times without any help from any one else, he gave thanks for the blessing of health he had received from God. He then joyfully returned to his own home on his own two feet. From that time until now he has enjoyed perfect health, making frequent pilgrimages to the tomb of the aforesaid virgin with his neighbors and with people of his province.⁷⁰ Because this favor has become known, therefore, many from his province bring the sick and sometimes those possessed by demons to her tomb, trusting in her merits and sanctity. Through her virtue they have received the blessing of health in the past, and continue to receive it now.

^f *recte alterius, M aldiis*

^g *deletus est beneficio*

^h [a]d (Bőle)

⁷⁰ This miracle is related in the fragmentary testimony of Friar Felicianus (41).

(31.) Frater quidam domus hospitalis, vir honestus, etiam ad eos, qui foris sunt, bonum habens testimonium, Deo at^a sanctis eius satis devotus, nomine Albertus febre quartana multis diebus vehementer fuerat afflictus, per quam et dolore valido genium^b contractionem incurrit, hic cum multa fiducia et devotione voto intra se emisso, Deo et meritis virginis sororis Margarete se totum cum multis lacrimis commendavit statimque completa sui recommendatione^c, particula diei transacta de lecto egritudinis sue et a quartana et a genium^d dolorosa contractione omnino liberatus surrexit et ad sepulcrum dicte virginis veniens cum multa devocione et humilitate humi prostratus gratias egit, ut decebat, remque gestam fratribus et aliis quam pluribus vir honestus et fide dignus enarravit.⁷¹

(32.) Hiisdem temporibus solemnitatem beatissimi patris, Sancti Francisci secundo aut tertio die prope sequente,⁷² quod scribo, factum fuit. Puella quedam annorum fere VII^e filia patris familias, nominis Pinka diocesis Agerensis^f ad sepulcrum sororis virginis Margarete^g devota et fidelis pro beneficiis, que audierat prestari ad sepulcrum virginis Margarete, et cum parentibus suis gracia recuperande sanitatis advenit. Hec manum sinistram a nativitate sua contractam et retorsam et usque ad clavaturam ad humerum ita arefactam habebat, ut nil cunctis aspicientibus, nisi cutem in ossibus aridis herentem monstraret, que continuatis circa sepulcrum virginis spe bona aliquibus diebus infra missam supremam, cum evangelium legeretur, in presencia multitudinis, que aderat, et palmas manus contractas et retorsas apperuit et brachium erepit^h, et se sanatam omnibus ostendit. Que infra aliquos dies, ibidem devota transegit, carne paulatim et per momenta su-

^a *recte* et

^b *recte* genuum

^c recommendatione ed. recommandacione

^d *recte* genuum

^e XII (Böle)

^f *recte* Agriensis

(31) A certain friar Albert, assigned to the guest house, was a good man who enjoyed a fine reputation even with those outside the monastery; he was deeply devoted to God and his saints. He had been violently afflicted with a quartan fever for many days, and through the fever he incurred a very painful contraction of the knees. With great faith and piety, in a prayer that sprang from deep within his soul, he totally entrusted himself with many tears to God and to the merits of the virgin Sister Margaret. The instant he had finished commending himself to her, while it was still early in the day, he rose from his sickbed, entirely freed from the quartan fever and the painful contraction of the knees. Coming to the tomb of the aforesaid virgin, he prostrated himself on the ground with great devotion and humility, gave thanks in a fitting manner, and, good and trustworthy man that he was, related the event to the brothers and many, many others.⁷¹

(32) I next write down what happened at this time on the second or third day immediately following the feast of our most blessed father Saint Francis.⁷² A certain girl named Pinka who was nearly seven years old, daughter of a householder of the diocese of Eger, came faithfully and devoutly with her parents to the tomb of the virgin Sister Margaret, for the blessings she had heard were conferred there, and to recover her health. From birth, this girl's left hand had been contracted, twisted and so withered right up to the clavicle and shoulder that she could show nothing to all the bystanders but skin sticking to dry bones. She passed several days in devout hope near the tomb of the virgin. Then, during the high Mass, while the Gospel was being read, in the presence of a crowd of bystanders, she opened the contracted and twisted palms of her hand, raised her arm, and showed everyone that she was cured. She stayed there devoutly for few more days, and she showed it to many who desired to view the favor of God and the merit of his

^g ed. add. et cum parentibus

^h *recte* exexit

⁷¹ This miracle is absent from the *Acts*.

⁷² The feast of Saint Francis of Assisi was on October 4.

per os aridum subrescente, Dei beneficium et eius ancille, virginis Margarete meritum pluribus mente devota videre cupientibus exhibebat.⁷³

(33.) Virgo nobilis stirpis regie religiosa audiens plurima Dei beneficia per merita virginis sororis Margarete diversis infirmitatibus et calamitatibus oppressis patrari divina, ut credimus, dispensacione audita corde credere recusabat. Hec cum vidisset mulierem quandam adeo miserabiliter parali percuttam et contractam, ut preter manuum et capitis nullius sui corporis membra^a habens usum manibus duabus super pavimento conatu nimio et omni compassione digno se trahebat. Nam extra ecclesiam in gerula quadam portabant. Hanc cum stans ad fenestram chori, per quam est aspectus corporis dominici, vidisset, ut ipsa referente et seipsam debita contritione recognoscente didicimus, et sue incredulitati^b consulere et virginis merita exprimere volens dixit intra se: „Soror Margareta, si miserabilem hanc infirmam me hic ad fenestram stante et eam aspiciente curaveris, ex tunc et Deo cum graciaram actione laudes et tue sanctitatis credens fide plena reverenciam debitam exhibebo. Statimque mirum in modum vix dimidie hore spacio ipsa ibidem observante mulier miserabilis, quasi exanimis facta multis circumstantibus et tante calamitati conpatientibus longe sue infirmitatis soluta vinculo perfectam recepit sanitatem. Se multi temporis langore consumpta vix gressu novo recepto ad sepulcrum usque potuit ambulare Deo et eius famule meritis gracias agens, ut valuit, copiosas. Transactisque aliquibus diebus^c ebdomadibus sacerdos suus parochialis cum suis parochialibus pluribus viris ac mulieribus et cum ipsa infirma creatura cum cruce venientes processionaliter et infirmitatis diuturnitati testimonium perhibuerunt et Deo pro meritis virginis sue fidelis gracias cum oblacionibus iuxta consuetudinem in testimonium exsolverunt. Virgoque hesitans promptius

^a membri *ed.* membris

^b incredulitati *ed.* incrudelitati

^c *recte* dierum

handmaiden the virgin Margaret, as the flesh was growing gradually, moment by moment, over the barren bones of her shoulder.⁷³

(33) A noble nun of royal lineage heard that many favors from God were obtained through the merits of Sister Margaret and by divine dispensation, we believe, to the benefit of those oppressed by various calamities and misfortunes. She refused in her heart to believe what she had learned. On one occasion, this nun saw a certain woman so miserably stricken and shriveled by paralysis that the only parts of her body she could use were her head and hands. She dragged herself across the floor on her hands with a very great effort worthy of the deepest compassion. Outside of the church she was carried on a kind of stretcher. When the nun, standing near the choir window through which the body of the Lord is viewed, saw this woman, she wished to give vent to her disbelief and make trial of the holy virgin's merits. She uttered this prayer to herself: "Sister Margaret, if you cure this wretched, sick woman while I am standing at the window and looking at her, ever after, believing in total conviction, I will render praises and gracious deeds to God, and due reverence to your sanctity." We learned this when the nun herself told the story and admitted her fault with becoming contrition. Then, scarcely half an hour later, when the nun was looking on, the unfortunate woman, who had become practically lifeless, was completely freed in a miraculous way from the bonds of her illness and recovered perfect health, in the presence of many who were standing around and feeling compassion with her calamity. Although she had been consumed by sickness for so long a time and had just received the power to walk, she was able to go up to Margaret's tomb, and give copious thanks to God through the merits of his handmaiden that she was well. When some weeks had passed, her parish priest, many of his male and female parishioners, and the poor woman herself all came in procession carrying a cross, and testified to the length of her illness; as confirmation they offered faithful thanks to God and the customary donations in thanksgiving for the merits of his virgin

⁷³ This miracle is absent from the *Acts*.

in devocione firmata in graciaram actione permanet usque hodie continua.⁷⁴

(34.) Iuvenis quidam, nomine Petrus filius Vhank in hospitali Sancte Elizabeth sub monte, qui dicitur Sancti Gerardi eoque^a idem sanctus ibidem olim ab Hungaris tunc paganis lapidibus obrutus martirium pertulerat,⁷⁵ languens multo tempore decubuit. Hic audiens per merita virginis circa sepulcrum eius Dei beneficia ad sanitatem languentium pluribus exhiberi, ut potuit, se ibi fide plenus deportari procuravit, ubi pre nimia infirmitate marmori sepulcri procumbens eius suffragia devocius implorans ibidem continuo perfectam recepit sanitatem.⁷⁶

(35.) Cecus quidam pater familias, natione Bissenus⁷⁷ in villa Besenen in territorio castri Albensis regalis⁷⁸ multo tempore nimio dolore lumen oculorum amiserat. Qui cum pluribus ad sepulcrum dicte virginis devote in peregrinatione venientibus et ipse puero suo ducatum sibi prebente gracia^b luminum recuperandorum advenit, sed occulto Dei iudicio nullum ibidem beneficium est assecutus. Qui lugens et tristis in domum suam itinere trium aut quatuor dierum revertebatur, ingressusque domum, sedens in sella

^a recte eo quod

^b gracia *ed.* graciaram

⁷⁴ This miracle, performed by Margaret at the request of Sister Margaret, daughter of Princess Anne (sister of Margaret), is related by several witnesses (with the significant exception of the incredulous Sister Margaret herself): by the sisters Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen V (5); Margaret of Macsó (6); Stephana, daughter of Pósa (12); Frosia, daughter of James of Nitra (15); Catherine, daughter of Andrew Várad (28); by the cured person, Mária of Megyer herself (76); and by her family (77, 78, 79). For a detailed analysis of this miracle, see Gábor Klaniczay, "Proving sanctity," 140–44.

⁷⁵ Saint Gerard (Gellért) (d. 1046) was an important historical figure of Hungarian Christianity. Of Italian origin, he came to the court of Saint Stephen and there he became one of the leading figures of the recently-organized Hungarian church. He was bishop of Csanád and tutor of Stephen's son Imre. After Stephen's death, when a pagan uprising broke out in a period of struggle for the throne, Gerard was killed at the rocky hill in Buda which still bears his name. Gerard was canonized in 1083. His most important work was *Gerardi Moresenae Aecclesiae seu Csanadiensis Episcopi De Liberatio supra himnum trium puerorum*, ed. by Gabriel Silagi, *Corpus Christianorum*, Cont. Med., vol. 49 (Turnholt: Brepols, 1978). Cf. *Legenda S. Gerardi episcopi*, ed. Emericus Madzsar, *SRH* II, 461–506; reedited and translated in Klaniczay, ed.,

servant. The nun who had hesitated to believe was strengthened at once in her devotion, and perseveres in devout actions to this day.⁷⁴

(34) A certain young man, Peter by name, the son of Vhank, lay ill for a long time in the hospital of Saint Elizabeth at the foot of St. Gerard's mountain, so-called because the saint won martyrdom there, stoned by the Hungarians who were still pagans at the time.⁷⁵ This Peter heard that God's mercy in curing the sick had been shown to a number of people through the merits of the virgin Margaret at her tomb. Full of faith, he arranged to be carried to that place as best he might. Lying there in front of the marble tomb because of his great weakness, and offering his petitions unceasingly and devoutly, he recovered perfect health in that very place.⁷⁶

(35) There was a certain blind householder, of Pecheneg birth,⁷⁷ who lived in the village of Besenyő, in the territory of Székesfehérvár.⁷⁸ He had lost his eyesight long time before, in a very painful way. He went along with many persons devoutly making the pilgrimage to Margaret's tomb, guided by his own son, to recover his eyesight. By the hidden judgement of God, however, he found no cure there. Mournful and sad he reached his home after a three or four-day trip. He entered his house and sat in his chair as had been his habit before, next to the burning fire-place. When his wife and sons had been summoned, he said with sighs "O my

Sanctitas Principum. As for the Saint Elizabeth Hospital at the foot of Mount Saint Gerard, at the place where there is a surgent of springs with healing effect, it belonged to the Order of Saint John.

⁷⁶ This miracle is absent from the *Acts*.

⁷⁷ The Petsheneg (*besenyő*) were a nomadic people living east of the Hungarians in the seventh and eighth centuries. By their attack, they later caused the migration of the Hungarians to the Carpathian basin. The Petsheneg caused trouble by their attacks against Hungary in the late eleventh century, and later, attacked in turn by the Cumans, they partly settled in Hungary (hence the nationality spoken about in the legend) and partly fused with the Cumans.

⁷⁸ The village in question is Székásbesenyő. Székesfehérvár, called in Latin *Alba Regia* or *Castrum Albensis Regalis*, was one of the important political centers of medieval Hungary: burial site of Saint Stephen, traditional place for the royal coronation, burial site of most of the Árpadian kings, place of the Diets, and site where the Golden Bull of 1222 was negotiated and proclaimed. The miracle told here is not found in the *Acts*.

sua, ut prius consueverat, iuxta caminum caminate, vocatus^a uxore et filiis suis suspirans dixit: „O domina mea, Beata Margareta per tua merita plurimis misericordiam consecutis ego solus propter mea peccata cecus, ut ieram, sum reductus.” Iussitque uxori, ut fenestram domus iuxta sellam suam positam propter aeris solacium aperiret, statimque presentibus uxore, filiis et familia cecus lumen recepit. Qui de sella sua protinus prosiliit, vocatis amicis et vicinis suis sacerdoteque suo parochiali Deo et meritis virginis sororis Margarete gracias agens convivium instruxit. Epulatique cum gaudio transacta dierum ebdomada rursus cum omnibus eisdem peregrinationem novam cum oblacionibus candelarum iuxta votum ad sepulcri cincturam cunctis beneficium acceptum publicantes celebrarunt.

(36.) Puella eciam quedam, filia mulieris vidue, eiusdem gentis Wissenorum^b, nomine Nota in eiusdem castri districtu annis quinque continuis in uno oculorum dolore afflicta facta est ceca. Hic^c ductore previo ad sepulcrum dicte virginis Margarete ducta est, videntibusque fratribus et pluribus aliis, qui in peregrinatione venerant, lumen accipere meruit oculorum.⁷⁹

(37.) Penitens quedam, nomine Elsa, natione Theutonica de Wancii castro octo annis continuo oculorum dolore et tumata^d, nimio carne genarum supercrescente et oculos operiente ceca permanebat. Hic^e ad sepulcrum dicte sororis Margarete est adducta. Ibidemque aliquibus diebus in spe meritorum eius servata secundo die Assumptionis Dei genitricis^f omni dolore cessante et tumore discedente nullius deformitatis vestigio relicto, astante populorum caterva non modica desideratum recepit lumen oculorum, et ad castrum supradictum ad suo^g itinere plusquam XX[...]^h rastarumⁱ cunctis ibidem oculata fide cernentibus Dei beneficia et eius ancille merita sunt manifesta.⁸⁰

^a *recte* vocatis

^b *recte* Bissenorum

^c *recte* Hec

^d tumata *ed.* tumatus; tumore (Nagy)

^e *recte* hec

^f genitricis (Böle, Szovák, Nagy)

blessed lady Margaret, very many people have found mercy through your merits, but I alone, because of my sins, have returned as blind as I had left." He ordered his wife to open the window next to his chair to get some air, and at once, with his wife, sons, and household present, the blind man received sight. He leaped out of his chair at once, called his friends, his neighbors, and his parish priest, and giving thanks to God and for the merits of the virgin Sister Margaret he ordered a banquet. They feasted joyfully, and after a week had passed, with all these same people they made a fresh pilgrimage of celebration with offerings of votive candles, proclaiming at the railing of the tomb to all the blessing he had received.

(36) Also a certain girl called Nota, daughter of a widow who belonged to this same people, the Pechenegs, living in the area of the same castle, was afflicted by a continual pain in one eye for five years, and became blind. She was brought to the tomb of the aforesaid virgin Margaret by a guide who led the way, and as was seen by her brothers and many others who had come on pilgrimage, she was deemed worthy to receive her sight.⁷⁹

(37) A certain penitent named Elsa, of German birth and from the castle of Wancium, remained blind for eight years, her eyes in continuous pain, because of the skin of her cheeks swelling over and covering them. She was brought to the tomb of the aforementioned Sister Margaret. Having stayed in hope for Margaret's merits for some days, on the second day of the Assumption of the Mother of God, in the presence of a large crowd of people, her tumor went away, leaving no sign of deformity, and she received the eyesight she so desired. On her journey of more than twenty miles back to the aforementioned region, the benefits of God and the merits of his handmaiden were manifested to all who gazed with faith at the woman who had received her sight.⁸⁰

^g suos (Nagy)

^h *non legitur*; XX-orum (Böle)

ⁱ rastariorum (Böle)

⁷⁹ This miracle is absent from the *Acts*.

⁸⁰ This miracle is absent from the *Acts*. The feast of Assumption is August 15.

(38.) Iuvenis quidam, sartor in civitate Waciensi, nomine Benedictus per annum et amplius gravissimis^a ydropisi elaborans, non solum a se et a suis, verum eciam a medicis vita erat desperatus. Hic se toto cordis affectu meritis virginis sororis Margarete commendans, cum iam tertio peregrinationem complexset, beneficium sanitatis, quam desperaverat, meritis eius, quam corde devoto sic perseveravere^b invocaverat, est assecutus. Et in die Sanctorum Cosme et Damiani coram omni multitudine accepta Dei beneficia per merita virginis Margarete recognoscens cum clamore magno et publico gracias egit omnium creatori.⁸¹

(39.) Vir quidam, nomine Martinus de castro Simgiensi^c multo tempore morbo caduco gravissime vexatus, contracta multa corporis deformitate etiam mente alienatus, quasi demoniacus, ut iudicabant, plurimi catenis^d vinctus tenebatur. Qui statim, ut se custodia suorum eripere poterat, omnibus, quos invadere preva-
lebat, molestias etiam in corporibus eorum plurimas inferebat. Quem suorum studiosa diligencia, fides et devocio, ut sanitatem consequi mereretur, meritis sororis Margarete cum voto peregrinationis remote, nam distare a loco claustris plusquam CLXX constat miliaribus, si sanitatis beneficium consequi mereretur, devoverunt. Qui vix dimide^e diei hora in vinculis custoditus clamare cepit: „Sanus sum, dimittite me ambulare liberum.” Qui minime credentes et adhuc ad spacium hore servantes tandem ablatis katenis liberum ambulare permiserunt. Qui per omnia pristinae rationis et mansuetudinis usu recepto, perfecta gaudente sanitate, votum peregrinationis emissum cum eodem curato devocius absolverunt benefici-
umque acceptum omnes sunt testificati.

^a gravissima (Nagy)

^b *recte* perseveranter

^c Sim[i]giensi (Szovák)

^d ut iudicabant plurimi, catenis (Nagy); ut iudicabant, plurimi[s] catenis (Szovák)

^e dimidie (Bóle, Szovák, Nagy)

⁸¹ The miracle is absent from the *Acts*. Vác is an important episcopal city north of Pest. The feast of the famous healing saints, Cosmas and Damian, is September 27.

(38) In the city of Vác there was a certain young tailor named Benedict, who suffered from very serious dropsy for a year or more. Not only he and his family but even his doctors feared for his life. He commended himself with all the warmth of his heart to the merits of the virgin Sister Margaret. When he had completed his third pilgrimage, he obtained, through the merits of Margaret, whom he had invoked so unwaveringly with devoted heart, the blessing of health of which he had despaired. On the day of Saints Cosmas and Damian, before the whole crowd of pilgrims, acknowledging the blessings of God through the merits of the virgin Margaret, he gave public thanks to the creator of all things with a great acclamation.⁸¹

(39) A certain man by the name of Martin from Somogyvár had been tormented for a long time by a falling sickness. He was physically twisted by great deformity, and mentally defective, like a man possessed by a demon, which many judged him to be, and so he was kept bound in chains. The minute he was able to escape the guardianship of his family, he used to inflict many annoyances, and even bodily injuries on those he was strong enough to attack. With sedulous diligence, faith and devotion his family prayed that he might deserve to find health through the merits of Sister Margaret, and they vowed to make a pilgrimage to her tomb—a long one, for obviously they were more than one-hundred seventy miles from the convent. Yet they made this vow, on the condition that he win the blessing of health. It was just past noon when he began to cry out, “I am healed, let me walk unshackled!” They simply did not believe him, and kept him in restraint for an hour, but finally they removed his chains and let him walk about freely. When he had entirely recovered his former reasonableness and gentleness and enjoyed perfect health, they, along with the man who had been cured, fulfilled the vow of a pilgrimage they had made, and all gave witness to the blessing that had been conferred.

Cf. Mária Vida, “Szent Kozma és Damján magyarországi tiszteletének eredete és értelmezése” [The origin and the interpretation of the Hungarian cult of Saint Cosmas and Damian], *Századok*, 115 (1981): 340–67.

(40.) Uxor Iohannis, iudicis de villa Chele, diocesis Quinqueecclesiarum iuxta Danubium, mente erat alienata ita, ut a pluribus ex hiis, que patiebatur et agebat, a demone possessa putaretur, propter que et ferro vinculata servabatur. Pro hoc non tantum sui amici, sed et vicini compassione ducti facto voto debito merita sororis virginis Margarete fideliter implorantes et mentis alienate plenam recuperationem et corporis perfectam obtinuerunt sanitatem. Sanatamque ad sepulcrum dicte virginis rei facte multis testibus venientes incolumem^a putarent.^b ⁸²

(41.) Simili modo vesana uxor Opor, viri honesti ligata et clausa seorsum custodiebatur. Emissoque [a]^c marito et amicis voto peregrinationis ad sepulcrum virginis eiusque meritis infirmam commendantes sanitatem plenam mulieri vesane obtinuerunt, et in eo, quod aliorum fide et devotione et votis mulier mente alienata et quod per invocationem meritorum sancte virginis Margarete restituta est sanitati, et in fide et sanctorum Dei invocationibus tam in hiis, quam^d in aliis Dei beneficio per merita virginis Margarete prestitis presentes ipsi, qui viderunt, et plures, qui audierunt, plurimum sunt ad edificacionem confortati. Nam antea quam plures sanctorum patrocinia fide pariter et devocione infirmi satis attestabant.

(42.) Vir honestus pater familias de Calidis Aquis iuxta Wudam,^e nomine Woch,^f diocesis Vesprimiensis,⁸³ cum in cellario suo lapideo cenaret post horam vesperarum cum uxore et familia domus suae et filius suus parvulus, nomine Benedictus septennis in

^a incolumem *ed.* incolumen

^b presentarunt coni. Bőle putarunt

^c addidit Szovák

^d quam *ed.* quod

^e *recte* Budam

^f *recte* Boch

⁸² The above-described two miracles (both absent from the *Acts*) concern people of the southwest of Hungary. Pécs (Fünfkirchen) was the most important city of this region, one of the oldest episcopal seats of Hungary. Somogyvár was the site of an important Benedictine abbey, affiliated with the monastery of Saint-Gilles. Together with the following case (also absent from the *Acts*), these three stories bear witness to the fate of mentally ill people in medieval Hungary.

(40) The wife of John, judge of the village of Chele, near the Danube, in the diocese of Pécs, was so demented that her sufferings and actions led many to think that she was possessed by a demon. For this reason, she was kept in iron chains. Her friends and neighbors alike, moved by compassion, called in faith on the merits of Sister Margaret, made the required vow, and obtained full recuperation and perfect bodily health for the insane woman. Coming to the tomb of the aforesaid virgin with many witnesses of the miracle that had been accomplished, they proved that the woman who had been cured was healthy.⁸²

(41) Similarly, Opor, an honest man, had an insane wife who was kept tied up in solitary confinement. The woman's husband and friends, after they had vowed a pilgrimage to the virgin's tomb, and commending the sick woman to her merits, obtained perfect health for the insane woman. Because the mentally ill woman was restored to sanity by the faith, the devotion and the vows of others, and by invoking the merits of the holy virgin Margaret amid faith and prayers to the saints, both those who saw [these events] personally, and those who heard about them were very much comforted and edified—not only in these blessings, but also in others which God vouchsafed through the merits of the virgin and nun Margaret.

(42) There was an upright householder named Boch, from Felhévíz near Buda, in the diocese of Veszprém.⁸³ He was dining after Vespers in his stone storeroom with his wife and household. His little seven-year-old son Benedict was sleeping in the same storeroom. A large chunk of the wall and floor collapsed; the de-

⁸³ Felhévíz used to be the locality on the Buda bank of the Danube, just opposite Margaret Island, where several curative springs are to be found, then outside the medieval city of Buda, which was built on Castle Hill. This story, interesting among others because of the many details of everyday life included in it, is also told by several witnesses in the *Acts*: Two unknown witnesses of fragmentary testimonies (89), (107), and three inhabitants of Felhévíz: Helen, wife of Martin (106); Andrew (109) and Michael (110). For a detailed analysis of this miracle, see Gábor Klaniczay, "Speaking About Miracles: Oral Testimony and Written Record in Medieval Canonization Trials," in *The Development of Literate Mentalities in East Central Europe*, ed. Anna Adamska and Marco Mostert (Turnhout: Brepols, 2004), 385–96.

eodem cellario dormiret, magna pars muri cum pavimento corruit et ipsis presentibus remocius cenantibus puerum oppressit dormientem, qui mortis periculum festinato fuge presidio evaserunt. Nam ruina tanta erat, quod merito periculum poterant formidare. Puero itaque sic oppresso intra cellarium derelicto, de eius periculo prorumpentes in fletum cum totam commovissent viciniam, quidam cum ligonibus fossoriis et aliis instrumentis tam ferreis, quam ligneis ad hoc aptis per magnos labores et per multam horam lapidum et terre ac cementi mole remota puerum extraxerunt ita attritum et compressum, quod nulla in membris eius et ossibus integritas appareret, sicque mater pueri pre nimio dolore pro unici filii morte materna sollicitudine attrectavit, linguamque extra buccas dentibus constrictam puer defunctus habebat sanguine cruentatam. Que^a cum omnino extinctum, infrigidatum et vitali spiritu aspectu^b privatum in domo parentes et vicini posuissent, inter voces luctuosas Dei misericordiam per meritum Margarete virginis ceperunt invocare dicentes: „Domina nostra, Margareta virgo, rogamus tua merita, resuscita nobis filium nostrum unicum, animarum et corporum nostrorum solatium! Scimus et scimus, quia per merita tua hanc misericordiam nobis potes patrare,” cognatis et vicinis hoc idem conclamantibus. Pater vero completo matutinali^c officio sanctimonialium de insula Gloriose Virginis, puero in domo inter suos mortuo relictum cum cereo et oblatione cucurrit ad sepulcrum sororis virginis Margarete et fuis ad Deum et ad eius genitricem, Gloriosissimam Virginem precibus lacrimosis funus et animam pueri oracionibus sororis Margarete commendavit. Qui cum ad domum propriam, facta oblacione et oracione ad sepulcrum virginis Margarete completa, lugens pro unico filio, orto iam sole remearet, occurrentes sibi recepit personas, que ipso ad sepulcrum existente ipsum puerum dixerunt revixisse. Quod cum pater ad portam curie sue audiens cucurrisset et puerum suscitatum vidisset, excipiens eundem brachiis suis et complectens cum gra-

^a Que[m] (Szovák)

^b *ed. add.* penitus

^c matutinali *ed.* matutinalis

bris crushed the sleeping boy. The others, however, who were dining some distance away from him, escaped the peril of death by speedy flight, for the commotion was so great that they had been able to anticipate danger. The boy who had been crushed, however, was left behind in the storeroom. After those who had escaped aroused the whole neighborhood by bursting into tears over the boy's danger, some people used shovels and other appropriate metal or wooden tools to remove a mass of stone, earth, and rubble. With much time and effort, they extracted the boy. He was so bruised and crushed that none of his limbs and bones seemed to be unbroken. His mother, with maternal care and great grief for the death of her only son, gently pulled him out. His tongue, which had been clenched between his teeth, was covered with blood. When his parents and neighbors had laid him in the house, lifeless and cold to look at, and deprived of any vital spirit, in the midst of their lamentations they began to invoke the mercy of God through the merits of the virgin Margaret. They said: "Our lady virgin Margaret, we ask for your merits; bring back to life for us our only son, comforter of our souls and bodies. We know with double assurance that you are able to obtain this merciful favor for us by your merits." Their neighbors and relatives shouted out the same prayer. About the time when the nuns from the island of the glorious Virgin Mary had finished matins, the father left the dead boy at home with his relatives and ran with candles and offerings to the tomb of the virgin sister Margaret. There he poured out prayers to God and to his most glorious virgin mother, and commended his son's life and death to the prayers of the saint. He made his offering and finished praying at the tomb of the virgin Margaret. When he returned home at sunrise weeping for his only son, he met persons who ran up to him and said that while he was at the tomb his son had come to life again. When the father, hearing this at the gate of his quarter, had run and seen his son who was now revived, he took him in his arms and embraced him with expressions of gratitude. Before the third hour, together with his whole family and his gathering neighbors, he offered his son to the Lord at Margaret's tomb, alive and healed, with no blow or

ciarum actione, tota cum familia et vicinia comitante ante horam tertiam vivum et sanatum Domino obtulit ad sepulcrum nulla plaga vel livore apparente in eodem. Hunc puerum sic meritis virginis Margarete suscitatum presentialiter preposito et capitulo maioris ecclesie Budensis et venerabilibus patribus episcopis Waciensi, Waradiensi et abbati Cisterciensi, supremi pontificis inquisitoribus presentaverunt.

(43.) In diocesi episcopatus Waciensis, in termino opidi vocabulo Pest cuiusdam^a patris familias, nomine Nicholai filius parvulus et unicus in lecto parentum et sinu matris sue, uxoris eiusdem Nicholai evigilante matre mortuus apparuit. Nam cum ipsa post peculiare domus sue labores et tempeste^b noctis silencio infantem parvulum vix novem mensium secum collocasset in lecto, a sopore sompni excitata ipsum infantem mortuum reperit et extinctum, toto iam corpore gelidatum. Quem ut mortuum funero luctu plangentis matris virum suum seorsum quiescentem et filiam propriam, matrem familias sub eodem lecto dormientem totamque domus sue familiam et vicinos proximos suo eiulatu commovit, in unoque stupore percussi parentes, defuncto in medio domus circa focum posito, proprii filii morte interemptores seipsos deplorabant. Nam huiusmodi circa parvulos improvidencia grande scelus in nostris partibus reputatur et solius pontificis potestati eiusmodi absolutio reservatur, vicinia etiam tota cum impositione quasi homicidii tales solet evitare. Transacta itaque noctis yemalis prolixitate in luctu dies cepit dilulescere, tunc inter eiulatus et fletus parentes puerum mortuum sororis virginis Margarete meritis commendaverunt et firmam in eius suffragiis fidem gerentes votum voverunt, quod si Dominus per ipsius merita in corpus extincti pueri animam revocare dignaretur et ipsam matrem, ex cuius oppressione vel incuria mortuus erat infantulus, ab horrendi^c facti infamia misericorditer liberaret, ad perpetuum obsequium ipsius monasterii Sancte Marie, ubi prefate virginis Margarete est sepulcrum, offerrent, coad-

^a *recte* cuiusdam

^b *recte* tempestive

^c horrendi *ed.* oriendi

bruise appearing on him. Soon after they presented the boy, cured in this way by the merits of the virgin Margaret, to the dean and chapter of the principal church in Buda, and to the venerable fathers the bishop of Vác, the bishop of Várad (Oradea), and the Cistercian abbot, who were papal inquisitors.

(43) On the outskirts of the town called Pest in the diocese of Vác, there lived a householder named Nicholas. One night his wife awoke and found their only son, an infant, appearing to be dead at the breast of his mother, in his parents' bed. For after she had finished her household duties, when the storm that night came to a silence, she had taken the little infant of scarcely nine months into her own bed. Startled from her sleep, she found the baby dead and lifeless, his body completely cold. In despairing grief over the child, whom she had given up as lost, the lamentation of the wailing mother woke up the husband, who was resting apart, her daughter, and her mother-in-law who were sleeping beside her bed, the whole household and the close neighbors. The afflicted parents, at one in their shock, placed the dead boy near the hearth in the middle of the house, and accused themselves of having caused the death of their own son. This kind of carelessness about infants is esteemed a great crime in our region, and the Pope alone can give absolution from such a sin. All the people of the vicinity avoid such persons, regarding them as murderers. Thus, after they passed the long winter night in lamentation, day began to dawn. Then, amid cries and tears, the parents commended the dead boy to the merits of the virgin Sister Margaret. With firm faith in her support, they vowed that they would dedicate the child to perpetual service in the same monastery of the Virgin Mary's that contains the tomb of the aforesaid Sister Margaret, and that he would be a servant there his whole life long, if the Lord for the sake of her merits, deigned to recall the soul back into the body of the dead boy, and if he mercifully freed the mother from the infamy of having caused the death of the infant by smothering him or by carelessness. As a result of the prayers they poured out continually, the limbs of the cold body began to warm gradually, and at sunrise, after the long hours of a winter night, through the mercy of

usque^a viveret, serviturum. Quibus effusis precibus et continuatis paulisper lineamenta gelidi corporis incalescere ceperunt et circa ortum solis post longum spacium noctis yemalis per Dei clemenciam, suffragiis virginis Margarete imploratis anima rediit rediviva, apertisque oculis vagiens in matrem respicit infantibus^b. Quem mater gaudens eo, quod de mortuis filium vivum receperat, in ulnas suas accepit et benedicens Deum coram omnibus, qui aderant, pro beneficio accepto et luctu in gaudium commutato filium lacte uberum suorum fovebat ut mater. Interea sole altius ascendente, vicinis hinc inde concurrentibus filium, quem mortuum tota nocte planxerat, meritis virginis Margarete gaudentes vivum presentarent^c votumque suum complentes puerum ex mortuis vivum in presencia multitudinis ad sepulcrum sancte Margarete anno secundo transitus sui obtulerunt, eundemque parentes supremi pontificis inquisitoribus incolumem presentarunt.⁸⁴

(44.) Elizabeth, sponsa Thome diocesis Vesprimiensis, cum amore sponsi sui longius agentis urgeretur, et per loca et tempora tenebrosa velud^d vaga, suorum vitans consortium sola circuiret, a demone, qui in forma sponsi sui sibi occurrere visus est, fuit obsessa. Que statim currens in patrem et matrem et fratrem uterinum et in omnes, quos pertingere poterat, atrociter seviebat. Nunc pugno in faciem, nunc dentibus laniando, nunc lapidibus aut fuste crudeliter percuciendo tandem studio et pietate parentum capta fuerit^e et cathenis ferreis constricta, et cum prius nonnisi Ungaricum ydium sciverit, ab obsessionis tempore quinque mensibus continuis Theutonicum, Bavaricum, Sclavicum^f et alia diversa

^a recte quoadusque

^b recte infantulus

^c recte presentarunt

^d recte velut

^e recte fuerat

^f Sclavicum *ed.* Sclavincum

⁸⁴ This miracle, so precious for its details of family life, is told in the *Acts* by the family concerned: by the mother Gunig (70), by the father, Nicholas of Tárnok (71), and by the adult daughter Anguilla (72). On this family of lesser nobility, see Attila Zsol-

God, the living soul returned to the boy as a result of the assistance they had implored from the virgin Margaret. With his baby eyes opened, he looked around and rested his gaze on his mother. The mother, rejoicing over her son because she had received him living from the dead, took him in her arms and blessed God before all those present for the favor she had received, and for the change of her sorrow into joy; she nourished her son with the milk of her breasts, as a mother should. Meanwhile the sun rose higher, and they joyfully showed neighbors running from all sides their son, who was alive through the merits of the virgin Margaret, although they had mourned his death the whole night. They fulfilled their vow, and, when he was two years old, they dedicated the son who had returned from the dead at the tomb of the virgin Margaret in the presence of a large crowd.⁸⁴

(44) Elizabeth, the betrothed of Thomas of the diocese of Veszprém, tormented by love for her long-absent fiancé, kept wandering about through dark places at night like a vagrant. Avoiding the company of her family, she became possessed by a demon who appeared to her in her fiancé's shape; she began at once to rage savagely, attacking her father, her mother, her brother and anyone she could get hands on, striking them in the face with her fist, savaging them with her teeth, or cruelly hitting them with rocks or a stick. Finally, she was caught, thanks to the efforts and piety of her parents, and she was restrained in iron chains. Although originally she had only known Hungarian, throughout the five months of her being possessed she started to speak in German, Bavarian, Slavic, and various other languages. On the third day of her possession, therefore, after they had heard of the miracles and cures which God

dos, "Pest megye az Árpád-korban" [The county of Pest in the age of the Arpads], in *Pest megye monográfiája. A honfoglalástól 1686-ig* [Monograph on Pest County. From the conquest to 1686] (Budapest: Pest Megye Monográfia Közalapítvány, 2001), 69. This miracle is analyzed in detail by József Laszlovszky in his "*Fama sanctitatis* and the Emergence of St. Margaret's Cult in the Rural Countryside." As for the problem and the punishment of parents smothering their babies to death at night in the Middle Ages, see Jean-Louis Flandrin, *Le sexe et l'Occident. Évolution des attitudes et des comportements* (Paris: Seuil, 1981), 151–217.

ydiomata loqui cepit. Tercio itaque obsessionis die, auditis miraculis et beneciis^a sanitarum, que Dominus per merita sancte virginis Margarete ad ipsius sepulcrum operabatur, ad ipsum sepulcrum religata ducitur et cathenata ibidem diucius reservatur rege Stephano, regni baronibus et pene tota curia ipsius regis compacientibus paciendi et de diversitate ydiomatum admirantibus vehementer, presentibus^b itaque pacientis mulieris et omnibus, qui ibi aderant, compacientibus et suffragia eiusdem dicte virginis Margarete ardenti desiderio et devota intentione flagitantibus ecce divina clemencia per merita virginis invocata affuit, et expulso ac fugato inimico in anniversaria deposicionis virginis, die scilicet Sancte Prisce recepta perfecta sanitate ad debitam rediit mansuetudinem et circa omnes actus et sensus integrum rehabuit rationis usum, oblita omnium ydiomatum preter Ungaricum, quod primitus loquebatur, nullo infirmitatis vestigio usque ad ipsam inquisitionis^c iuxta mandatum apostolicum et deinceps apparente in eadem annis iam plus quam duobus.⁸⁵

(45.) Vir quidam honestus, nomine Pousa^d diocesis Vespriensis cum devocione frequenter sepulcrum virginis sororis Margarete visitabat. Hic, cum quadam die suis sociis dixisset: „Eamus nostram facere peregrinationem, salutare Sanctam Margaretam”, audientes hoc quidam religiosi viri eius devocioni verbis pluribus contraria^e suaserunt et a proposito ut hominem secularem facile seducibilem efficaciter revocarunt. Transactis autem diebus duobus dixit idem amicis: „Eamus ad insulam Sancte Marie, domine nostre spaciandi gratia”, prioris devotionis sue penitus oblitus, qui cum navigare cepissent, dextera manus eius vehementi dolore arepta^f, antequam fluvium Danubii transiissent, dolore crescente usque ad

^a bene[fi]ciis (Szovák)

^b parentibus (Nagy)

^c [diem] addidit (Szovák)

^d Ponsa (Bőle)

^e recte contraria

^f ar[r]epta (Szovák)

was performing at the tomb of the holy virgin Margaret through her merits, the afflicted woman was led bound and chained to the tomb and kept there for quite a while. King Stephen, the barons of the kingdom and almost all of the Kings's court were present, and they were amazed by the variety of her languages. The parents of the suffering woman and all who were there had pity on her. With ardent desire and devout intention, they begged for the assistance of the same aforesaid virgin Margaret. Lo! The divine mercy invoked through the merits of the virgin Margaret manifested itself, and on the anniversary of Margaret's burial, that is to say, the feast of St. Prisca, the Enemy was expelled and put to flight, the woman got back perfect health, and returned to her usual mild manner. In all her acts and perceptions, she regained the full use of her reason, and forgot all the languages except Hungarian, which she had spoken originally. No trace of sickness appeared in her again before she appeared that same year at the examination required by papal decree, which is now two years ago.⁸⁵

(45) A certain honest man by the name of Ponsa from the diocese of Veszprém made frequent devout visits to the virgin Margaret's tomb. One day this man said to his companions, "let's go make our pilgrimage and greet Saint Margaret." When certain religious overheard this, they argued fatuously against his devotion. Because he was a layman and easily lead astray, they were successful in swaying him from his purpose. When two days had passed, the same man said to his friends: "Let's go and take a trip to the island of Our Lady the Virgin Mary," completely forgetful of his earlier devotion. When they took the boat, his right hand was seized by a violent pain, which spread to his shoulder before they had crossed the Danube. His right hand became totally numb and stiff, so that he did not have the strength to lift it up or move it down even a little way below his chest. He at once realized that he had been

⁸⁵ This curious story about the fiancée going mad because her bride is far away being related by the girl, Elizabeth herself (73) and by her mother Fera, wife of Acileus (74) in their fragmentary testimony contained in the *Acts*. For a detailed analysis of it see Klaniczay, "Proving sanctity," 134–40. The feast of Saint Prisca is on January 18.

humeros manus tota insensibilis et rigida est facta ita, ut neque sursum levare, neque infra pectus suum submittere aliquatenus valeret, hic statim sue seductionis se penam recepissee sentiens, pavens et tremens ad sepulcrum dicte virginis Margarete accessit, sed misericordiam et beneficium Creatoris nullam accepit eo, quod hesitationis scrupulo nondum, ut debuerat, mente fuerat expurgatus. Tunc corde contritus et humiliatus et in lamenta resolutus veniam a virgine precans sic oravit: „O Beata Margareta Deo devota, de diversis regni partibus venientes infirmi variis languoribus oppressi sanati ad sua cum gaudio revertuntur. Ego autem sanus de domo mea egressus, ecce per incredulitatem meam in perpetuum mei et meorum obprobrium medie arefacto (?) revertar.” Interdum et dolor vehementius augebatur et penitentis lacrimae ad sepulcri fundamenta copiosus^a fundebantur, beneficiumque curacionis instancius petebatur. Sic aucto desiderio acceleratum est et remedium, nam antequam vespere, que cantabantur, finirentur, perfecta omnino sanitate recepta Dei magnalia et virginis sororis Margarete merita suorumque precum instanciam tam querulosa^b omnibus voce plena publicavit, dissuasoresque suos audacter arguens ipse deinceps in devocione debita perseverat sepulcrumque dicte virginis honore debito frequentius, quam prius, studet visitare.⁸⁶

(46.) Vir nobilis nomine Petric de genere Kata,⁸⁷ diocesis Waciensis diversis infirmitatibus annis plus quam tribus in tantum tocus corporis confractione cotidie crescente et tandem in parte tota dextera paralisi percussus torquebatur, quod nec se movere, nec in latus alterum, nisi super lintheamina clientis famuli sui auxilio verti posset. Hic multa devocione et fide plenus de meritis et

^a recte copiosius

^b querulosam (Bőle, Nagy)

⁸⁶ This miracle (absent from the *Acts*) belongs to the archaic type of miracles of punishment. Cf. Gábor Klaniczay, “Miracoli di punizione e *maleficia*,” in *Miracoli. Dai segni alla storia*, ed. Sofia Boesch Gajano and Marilena Modica (Rome: Viella, 1999), 109–37.

⁸⁷ Petrucius of Káta was a notable nobleman in Béla's times, perhaps having the title of cup-bearer-in-chief at the court. About him and his kindred (*gens*), see János Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek a XIV. század közepéig* [Hungarian kindreds until

punished for letting himself be led astray. Fearful and trembling he approached the tomb of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, but he received no mercy or blessing from the creator because his mind had not yet been purified as it ought to have been from the fault of hesitation. Then contrite of heart and humbled, persevering in his laments, he prayed in these words for the virgin's pardon: "O blessed Margaret, consecrated to God, people coming from various parts of the kingdom who are sick and suffer from afflictions of all kinds joyfully return home cured. I, on the other hand, left home healthy, but because of my unbelief I shall return half dried up, to the everlasting shame of me and my family." Meanwhile the pain grew much worse, and the repentant man shed his tears all the more profusely at the base of the tomb, and kept begging for the blessing of a cure all the more insistently. When his petitions had increased in fervor, a cure was not long in coming. For before the Vespers in progress had been completed, he recovered perfect health, and proclaimed to everyone in a loud voice the wondrous deeds of God, the merits of the virgin Sister Margaret and the plaintive insistence of his own prayers. Valiantly defending himself against the men who tried to argue him out of his pious practice, he perseveres anew in his proper devotion. He is eager to visit the tomb of the aforesaid virgin and accord her due honor more frequently than before.⁸⁶

(46) A nobleman named Petric from the Kata kindred,⁸⁷ a resident of the Vác diocese, was afflicted by a variety of illnesses. Declining over more than three years into very great bodily weakness, and finally paralyzed over his whole right side, he was in torment because he was not able to move himself or be carried by someone else, except to be turned on the sheets by a household

the middle of the 14th c.], (Budapest: Magyar Tudományos Akadémia, 1900; repr. Budapest: Nap Kiadó, 1995. Here the three volumes were merged into one and the page numbers were made continuous—we give the page numbers of the new edition in [brackets]), vol. II, 310–16 [767–78]. It is related by several witnesses in the *Acts*—friar Felicianus (91); the tertiary nun beside the Premonstratensian cloister, Margaret (54); a relative of Petrucius, Algent, wife of Andrew of Káta (58); and a friend, Nicholas (75).

suffragiis veniendi ad sepulcrum ipsius sororis virginis Margarete magnum habebat desiderium, decumbensque in stratu suo sepe cum lacrimis, ut affectum suum complere posset, Deum et eius famule meritum flagitabat, sed infirmitate nimia pregravatum nec in curru, neque alio quocunque vehiculo sui movere presumebat.^a Cum sic agerentur, iam dicto infirmo iuxta fidei et devocionis sue meritum ecce in sompnis dicta virgo soror Margareta comitanti-bus se venerabilibus quibusdam personis apparuit et sancta manu sua virginea eum, ut erat, pietate plena, maxime partem paralisi percussam tangens: „Ecce,” inquit, „in nomine domini nostri Iesu Christi secundum fidem tuam optatam recipias sanitatem.” Et sic statim disparuit. Qui evigilans et se totum sanum sentiens de stratu^b egrotacionis sue surrexit et ad sepulcrum virginis so-roris Margarete cum pluribus, ut vir nobilis esset, misericordiam graciameque curacionis acceptam meritis virginis Margarete, sui benefactricis cunctis publice predicavit, nec cessat usque hodie predicare.

(47.) Puer quidam, nomine Iohan filius Feka carpentarii de suburbio montis Budensis gravissime morbo caduco per annum in-tegrum vexatus multas et magnas in facie et in oculis deformitates contraxerat. Quem cum parentes eius ad sepulcrum dicte virginis facto voto ducerent in via coram multis vie comitibus perfectam recepit sanitatem, et sic gaudens Domino et eius ancille, virginis Margarete meritis suam peregrinationem cum cantu exultationis, ut moris est apud nos, pro beneficiis acceptis perfecerunt.

(48.) Adolescens, nomine Andreas filius Simonis diocesis Strigoniensis quatur annis continuis morbo caduco adeo graviter torquebatur, ut omnibus, qui videbant, pro tempore horrore es-set et fuge cause ministraret. Nam quolibet die ter aut quater fre-quenter mortuus putabatur, sicut parentes infirmi et vicini prefato multo iuramento firmaverunt. Hunc precibus et meritis sororis virginis Margarete pari voto parentes et amici ad sepulcrum ad-

^a presumeba[n]t (Nagy)

^b stratu *ed.* statu

servant. This man, deeply devout and full of faith in the merits and prayers of the same Sister Margaret, had a great desire to come to her tomb, and often lying on his bed he tearfully begged to God, through the merits of His servant Margaret, that he might be able to fulfill his desire. He did not dare, however, to travel in a carriage or any other vehicle that he owned, weighed down as he was by too great an infirmity. When the aforementioned sick man was reduced to this condition, behold, in response to his meritorious faith and devotion, the virgin Sister Margaret, with certain venerable persons accompanying her, appeared to him in a dream. Filled with piety as she was, she touched with her virgin hands the part worst affected by the paralysis and said, "In the name of Our Lord Jesus Christ, in accord with your faith, may you receive the health you hoped for." Then she disappeared at once. He awoke and cast off his illness, feeling himself completely well. At the tomb of the virgin Margaret, accompanied by a large train (for he was a nobleman), he publicly proclaimed to all the grace of healing received through the merits of his benefactress, and he has not stopped proclaiming it even to this day.

(47) A certain boy by the name of John, son of the carpenter Feka from the suburb of the Buda hill, was most seriously afflicted with falling sickness for a whole year, and acquired many large scars on his face and eyes. While his parents, in fulfillment of a vow, were bringing him to the tomb of the aforementioned virgin, he recovered perfect health on the road, in the presence of many fellow travellers. Thus, rejoicing in the Lord and the merits of the Lord's virgin handmaiden Margaret, he finished his pilgrimage with a song of exultation, as is the custom among us when blessings have been received.

(48) A youth by the name of Andrew, the son of Simon from the diocese of Esztergom was tormented without respite by falling sickness for four years. So bad were the effects of the disease, that everyone who saw him at that time fled from him in horror. On any given day he was frequently thought to be dead three or four times, as the sick boy's parents and neighbors have affirmed many times under oath. His parents and friends alike made a vow

duxerunt virginis eiusdem suffragiis commendantes. Statimque, ut sepulcrum et eius velum infirmus tetigit, omnino sanus est effectus nullo deinceps eiusdem morbi in eodem vestigio apparente.⁸⁸

(49.) Penitens quedam in civitate Strigoniensi honesta matrona et pro reverentia multis ibidem nota, laminarum auri incisor, nomine Meza tribus annis continuis fluxum sanguinis cum gravissimo capitis dolore omnis sue artis et victus utilitate privata patiebatur. Hec audiens beneficia predictae virginis sororis Margarete^a meritis infirmitatibus oppressis Dei beneficio prestabantur, se poni fecit in currum, ut saltem sic, quia aliter pro nimia infirmitate venire non potuerat, ad sepulcrum dicte virginis, quam mente devota invocabat, veheretur. Que itinere cepto vix unius miliaris spatio procedens peregrinationis sue comitibus meliorationis beneficium in semetipsa sensisse exclamavit. Venientesque^b ad locum sepulcri et velo ipsius tacto ab omni, qua tenebatur, infirmitate liberata perfectam recepit sanitatem. Itaque ex tunc annis plus quam duobus nullum eiusdem passionis in se sensit vestigium.⁸⁹

(50.) In villa Sancte Trinitatis, Nicholaus quidam nomine cum quartanam per annum totum adeo graviter passus esset, quod iam toto inflato corpore et morbum ydropicum iudicio medicorum sibi expavesceret imminere et ab eorundem procuracione deflictus ad suffragia sororis virginis Margarete se contulit vovendo, quod si eum ab huiusmodi passione iam a medicis desperatum liberaret, sororibus suis de monasterio sancte Dei genitricis Marie, ibi corpus eiusdem virginis Margarete requiescit, servirer absque aliquo salario uno anno. Hoc voto emissio^c et suffragiis dicte virginis invocatis liberatum sensit se plene a totius molestia

^a [que eius] *addidit* Szovák

^b Veniensque (Nagy)

^c emissio *ed.* omisso

⁸⁸ The above two miracles are absent from the *Acts*. Esztergom is the center of the Hungarian church, archiepiscopal see, and a kind of capital north of Buda around the turn of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries.

to win the prayers and merits of the virgin Sister Margaret for their cause, led the sick boy to her tomb, and commended him to the intercession of the same virgin. As soon as he touched her tomb and her veil he became completely healthy, and no trace of the sickness appeared again in the young man.⁸⁸

(49) A certain penitent in the city of Esztergom known to many there for her piety, an honest matron and engraver of gold called Meza, suffered a hemorrhage with very severe head pains for three years without intermission. She altogether lost the benefit of her skill and of her income. Having heard that, through the merits of the aforesaid virgin Sister Margaret, God's blessings were being given to those weighed down with sicknesses, she had herself placed in a carriage so that in this way she might at least be carried to the tomb of the aforementioned virgin, whom she had called on devoutly. (Otherwise she could not have gone because she was too ill.) When she was scarcely a mile into her journey, she exclaimed to her fellow pilgrims that she felt herself getting better. When they came to the tomb and she touched Margaret's veil, she was completely freed from the illness that had her in its grip, and recovered perfect health. And now for more than two years, she has not felt a trace of sickness.⁸⁹

(50) In the village of Szentháromság, a certain man named Nicholas suffered from quartan fever for a year so severely that his whole body became swollen and he was afraid that he would, as his physicians had concluded, contract dropsy any moment. When he had been removed from the doctors' care, he committed himself to the prayers of the virgin Sister Margaret. He vowed that if she freed him from this illness, despite the physicians, already lost hope, he would become a servant without salary for one year to her sisters in the monastery of the Virgin Mary Mother of God, where the body of the same virgin Margaret reposes. When he had uttered this vow and invoked the prayers of the aforesaid virgin, he felt himself completely freed from the least trace of sickness, and to

⁸⁹ The healing of Meza is related in the *Acts* by Margaret herself (98) and by two other Beguines of Esztergom, Elizabeth (104) and Osanna (105).

pasionis^a votumque suum usque hodie explet studiose, accepta et perfecta gaudens sospitate.

(51.) Anglent, matrona honesta satis, Pauli condam cognomento Albi relicta gravi et diuturna infirmitate detenta facta tremula manibus et pedibus et capite, propter paralysim etiam officio lingue penitus fuerat privata ita, ut nec cibum propriis manibus in os inferre nec incedere vel palpitare aliquid potuisset pedum, manuum et capitis pre timore, nec verba intelligibilia formare, sed famula in os sue domine, dicte Anglent cibum ponebat et utrisque brachiis super humeros suos levatam trahebat potius herentem, quam portaret utcunque palpitantem. Hec auditis pluribus miraculis, que fiebant ad sepulcrum sororis virginis Margarete, procedente populari multitudine ad idem sepulcrum ipsa perfusa maior<e> gaudio repentino, ut cum eisdem pariter procederet, passionis sue, qua decem mensibus continuis alligata tenebatur, omnino miraculose oblita cum pergentibus pariter ire cepit, et ad sepulcrum perveniens ibique preterite passionis recordata et presentis gratie facte non ignara coram omni multitudine, que aderat, stans iuxta sepulcrum dicte virginis in laudes prorupit Creatoris, Deo et eius famule virgini debitas gracularum referens actiones. Hec multis et ydoneis valde testibus coram examinadoribus supremi pontificis sunt probata anno gracie MCCmo LXXIII-o.⁹⁰

(52.) Cum dominus Ladislaus post Sanctum regem Ladislaum rex Hungarorum secundus⁹¹ etate tener annorum circiter XIII diversis et gravissimis infirmitatibus diebus pluribus laborasset, tandem vehementissimo capitis urgente dolore extra se positus omni medicorum, qui aderant, cura et auxilio deficiente vita erat desperatus. Tunc astantibus nobis fratribus et baronibus aliquibus principalioribus cum nobilibus tantum tam adolescentis regis, quam totius regni periculum aspicientibus sororibusque suis proximis et amicis cum aliis omnibus in claustro sancte Dei genitricis Marie, ubi corpus virginis Margarete requiescit, existentibus, quia prope claustrum ipse dominus rex infirmabatur, ne rege ad-

^a pas[s]ionis (Szováák)

⁹⁰ Both miracles are absent from the *Acts*.

this day he is sedulously fulfilling his vow, rejoicing in the perfect health he had received.

(51) Anglent, a gentle matron and the widow of a certain Paul, surnamed "White," was also in the grip of a serious chronic illness. Her hands, feet, and head trembled with paralysis, and she had completely lost the use of her tongue, so that she could not eat with her own hands, walk, or grasp anything. As a result of her feet, hands, and head shaking, she was unable to shape intelligible words; a maidservant put the food into her mistress Anglent's mouth. After she had hoisted Anglent, clinging and gasping, on to her shoulders, the maid would not so much carry as drag her with both arms as best she could. Anglent had heard of the many miracles that occurred at the tomb of the virgin Sister Margaret. When a large crowd was making the pilgrimage to Margaret's tomb, she was suddenly filled with great joy, since she believed she could make the pilgrimage with them. Completely and miraculously freed of the illness by which she had been held fast uninterruptedly for ten months, she set out with the pilgrims. When she was at the tomb, she called her past illness to mind, and not heedless of the favor just done for her, she took her stand next to the tomb of the aforesaid virgin before the great crowd that was present. She burst into praises of God the creator, and rendered to his virgin handmaiden the gestures of thanksgiving which the graces that Anglent had received from her merited. These things were proved in the presence of the papal examiners by many very suitable witnesses in the year of grace 1273.⁹⁰

(52) When the lord Ladislas, second king of the Hungarians to bear that name after St. Ladislas,⁹¹ was about thirteen, he suffered for several days from a number of very grave infirmities, especially a terrible burning headache. When all the care and attention of the attending physicians proved useless, they feared for his life. Then we friars, who stood by along with some of the more important barons and nobles, saw the great danger, both to the young

⁹¹ Error in the text. Ladislas the Cuman (1272–1290) was the fourth Hungarian king bearing this name.

huc parvulo extincto regnum amplioribus, quam tunc, periculis exponeretur, ad placandum Omnipotentem lacrimae pro regis vita fundebantur copiose. Tunc diligencia et devocione de regis sanitate sollicitorum^a velum capitis sancte virginis Margarete, quo capiti eius superposito spiritum emiserat, de claustro festinanter est alatum^b, dicto velo cum capud^c regis in periculo mortis existentis, diligencia provida Anne ducisse, amice^d sue fuisset involutum, omnibus astantibus fide et devocione plena virginis Margarete suffragia invocantibus, ecce continuo infirmus primo in capite deinde in toto corpore sudore salutari perfunditur, sensibusque corporis, quos prius amiserat intelligencia et suorum noticia recuperatis sanitatem perfectam recepit, ipsumque velum iam dictum super capud^e suum cooperiens Deo et eius gloriose genitrici gratias egit recognoscens se ipse dominus rex multis narrantibus, fuis multorum circumstancium precibus ad Deum, per suffragia sororis virginis Margarite, amice^f sue omnino esset curatus^g, post dies paucos confortatus ad plenum, sepulcrum dicte virginis Margarete humiliter, ut peregrinus, pedibus gradiens visitavit gracularumque, ut decebat, retulit actiones.⁹²

(53.) Martinus quidam natione Sclavus de comitatu et provincia Posoga diocesis Quinqueecclesiarum, cum longo deficiens languore ex casu quodam mutus fuisset effectus et contractus manibus utrisque et pedibus, audiens insignia fieri miracula circa sepulcrum sororis virginis Margarete ad monasterium Dei genitri-

^a so[l]licitorum (Szovák)

^b *recte* allatum

^c *recte* caput

^d *recte* amite

^e *recte* caput

^f *recte* amite

^g curatus *ed.* curatum, *recte* esse curatum

⁹² This interesting story, which must have taken place in 1273, is also related by one of the doctors, Gerard (50). The intervention of Margaret's sister, Princess Anne, who provided the miraculous relic, is an interesting example of the family using Margaret's relics. On Anne, see p. 67 n. 38 above.

king and the entire kingdom; so did his sisters closest to his own age, his friends and also everyone from the convent of Mary, the holy Mother of God, where the body of the virgin Margaret rests, because the lord king grew sick near the convent. Copious tears were shed for his life, to placate the Almighty, that He might avert the death of the king, still a child, which would expose the realm to even greater dangers than the ones threatening it at that time. Then through the diligence and devotion of people worried about the king's health, a veil belonging to Sister Margaret, which she was wearing when she had breathed forth her spirit, was quickly brought from the cloister. With far-sighted care the duchess Anne, aunt of the king who was in danger of death, had his head wrapped in the veil, while all present called on the assistance of the virgin Margaret with faith and full devotion. Lo! The sick boy was gradually suffused with a healthy sweat, first on his head, then over his whole body. He recovered his physical senses, which he had lost before, then his understanding and his ability to recognize his own family, and finally he recovered perfect health. Covering his head with the veil already mentioned, he gave thanks to God and to His glorious mother, for the lord King himself acknowledged that, as many had told him, he had been completely cured by the prayers of many bystanders, which had been poured out to God through the intercession of his aunt, the virgin Sister Margaret. He recuperated fully after few days, and, going humbly on foot as a pilgrim, he visited the tomb of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, where he performed the appropriate acts of thanksgiving.⁹²

(53) A certain Martin, of Slavic birth, from the county and province of Pozsega, in the diocese of Pécs, was weakened by a long sickness. Somehow he had become mute, and both hands and feet had been crippled. Hearing that notable miracles were being worked near the tomb of the virgin Sister Margaret at the monastery of Mary Mother of God on the Danube island, he had himself brought to the tomb, trusting in God's mercy and Margaret's merits. His parents and friends accompanied him on the very long road, making a journey of fully six days. When he got there, through the grace of God and the help of the virgin Marga-

cis Marie in insula Danubii ad ipsum sepulcrum confidens de misericordia Dei et meritis virginis Margarete, comitantibus ad tam longam viam itinere plene sex dierum parentibus et amicis suis, se fecit perducere. Ubi veniens per gratiam Dei et suffragia meritorum virginis Margarete et loquendi beneficium et manuum suarum ac pedum usum, quibus a Carnisprivio^a usque ad festum Sancti Georgii⁹³ omnino fuerat privatus, continuatis precibus et lacrimis sanitatem optatam est misericorditer consecutus. Quod coram supremi pontificis nunciis, testibus ydoneis perfecte probavit.

(54.) In castro Budensi nobilis cuiusdam civis, Caruli⁹⁴ nepotis, vocabulo agnes duarum acutarum febrium passione gravata in utriusque lateris dolorem incidit vehementem ita, ut quasi contrita decem septimanis continuis de latere in latus sine famularum auxilio vertere se omnino non posset. Vel parentum suorum et mariti diligentia multa in medicos expenderat, nec quidquam levaminis fuerat consecuta tribus medicis ad succurrendum eidem conductis desperantibus penitus de eadem. Qua postmodum mente alienata extreme unctionis plebani ministerio solempniter adhibito sacramento mater et quedam alie persone necessitudine sibi iuncte votum emiserunt, ut suffragia sororis virginis Margarite ipsam de vita desperatam obtinerent apud Dei clementiam vite restitui et sanitati, deposicionis sue diem precedentem in pane et aqua ieiunarent. Quo voto emisso cum suspiriis ex fide et devotione procedentibus ad sepulcrum Margarete virginis infirma desperata est portata et septem diebus continuis procurantibus suis ibidem moram trahenti sanctimoniales de clastro cingulum sancte virginis Margarete matre petente porrigunt. Quo cincta redivivo spiritu sepulcrum tetigit virginis Margarete et in continenti ad instar superpositi honeris in terram cadentis totius sarcina passionis discessit ab infirma ita, ut mox erecta coram magnis et multis testibus sine extraneo amminiculo, que in gestatorio fuerat portata, plena sanitate recepta, anno Domini MCCo septuagesimo secundo propriis viri-

^a Carnisprivio *ed.* carnis primo

⁹³ The feast of Saint George is on April 24. This miracle is absent from the *Acts*.

ret's merits, by means of ceaseless prayers and tears he mercifully received the health that he hoped for, the blessing of speech and the use of his hands and feet, of which he had been completely deprived from Shrove Tuesday until the feast of St. George.⁹³ He demonstrated this convincingly with suitable witnesses before the representatives of the supreme pontiff.

(54) In the city of Buda, one Charles,⁹⁴ a noble burgher, had a granddaughter named Agnes, who was weakened by two acute fevers. She experienced such an excruciating pain on both her sides that, almost worn out by ten continuous weeks of suffering, she was totally unable to turn herself from one side to the other without the help of the servants. Although she had spent a great deal of money (provided by her husband and parents) on doctors, she had found no relief, and the three doctors charged with attending her completely despaired of curing her. When after a while she became unconscious, and the sacrament of extreme unction was administered through the offices of her parish priest, her mother and some other female relatives uttered a prayer that the intervention of the virgin Sister Margaret might, in God's mercy, obtain the return of life and health for this woman on the threshold of death. On the vigil of Margaret's burial, they promised, they would fast on bread and water. They uttered this vow with sighs proceeding from faith and devotion, then carried the sick woman on the point of death to the tomb of the virgin Margaret. The people who were caring for the sick woman prolonged their stay at the tomb for seven days, and the nuns brought the holy virgin Margaret's belt from the convent at the request of the sick woman's mother. When the sick woman was girded with the belt, she touched the virgin Margaret's grave with renewed vitality, immediately the whole weight of sickness departed from the woman, as one bundle placed on top of another falls to the ground. Soon this woman who had been carried in a litter stood upright before many witnesses of high rank,

⁹⁴ Charles, judge of Buda (52) and his granddaughter Agnes (62) personally testify about this story in the second investigation. There some of the doctors concerned are named as well.

bus cum multo gaudio parentum et amicorum pedibus gradiens ad propria remeavit et usque hodie perfecta gaudet sanitate.

(55.) Vir honestus, etate grandevus, ordine sacerdos, moribus maturus, Sochol nomine, ecclesie Waciensis decanus, cum invalescente egritudinis in se molestia mensibus quattuor in ultimo vite articulo positum se sentiret in tantum, ut ultime voluntatis eulogium^a, quasi lingue privatus officio condere iam non posset, et in potentia loquendi, confitendi et ultimi concipiendi vehementius angeretur, Margaretam virginem, de cuius vite meritis fidem habuit, fiducialiter invocavit. Ad cuius invocationem in continenti sompnum quietis consequitur, et evigilans loquendi potenciam divinitus consecutus confessione facta et condito testamento se deferri navigio ad sororis virginis Margarete sepulcrum procuravit, ubi devotis instans precibus plenam corporis meruit recipere sanitatem anno Domini MCCLXXIII-to et cum gratiarum actione oblati victimis labiorum suorum sanus et gaudens ad propria remeavit.⁹⁵

(56.) Ampudino comes clare nobilitatis de genere Guthkeled⁹⁶ pro filio suo infantulo, quem, cum pro teneritudine infantilis etatis, cum^b propter nimiam distantiam habitationis sue, nam distare dicitur plus quam sex diebus equitantibus diocesis episcopatus Sirimiensis, ad sepulcrum sororis virginis Margarete adducere nequit, iuratus deposuit, quod cum filius suus dilectus infantulus nutricis adhuc suggens^c ubera, in sacri baptismati fonte vocatus Iohannes, gravissimo correptus languore diebus continuis duarum septimanarum ageret in extremis ita, ut aura vitalis spiritus in extremo ore vix sentire^d posset, ipse et domina mater pueri^e

^a *recte* eloquium

^b *recte* tum

^c *recte* sugens

^d *recte* senti

^e *meritis addidit* Böle, *suffragiis addidit* Szovák

⁹⁵ This miracle is absent from the *Acts*.

⁹⁶ One of the most powerful lineages of Germanic origin in Hungary from the eleventh to the thirteenth century. This lineage came to Hungary, according to medieval chronicles, either in the times of Saint Stephen, or during the reign of one of his suc-

without any support. In the year of Our Lord 1272, to the great joy of her parents and friends, she returned home under her own strength, walking on foot, and to this day she enjoys perfect health.

(55) There was an honest man of advanced years, a priest of mature character called Sochol, dean of the church of Vác. He had a serious illness that grew steadily worse over four months. So advanced was his decline that, for all practical purposes, he was deprived of speech and could no longer pronounce the initial words of praise required by his last will and testament. He was kept by his extreme suffering from speaking, making his confession and receiving the last sacrament. He piously invoked the virgin Margaret (he had great faith in the sanctity of her life) when he realized he was at the last stage of his life. Upon invoking her, he suddenly experienced a restful sleep. When he woke, he had, by God's power, recovered the ability to speak. After making his confession and composing his will, he had himself carried in a boat to the tomb of the virgin Sister Margaret, where he persevered in devout prayer and earned the grace of recovering his full health in the year 1274. He returned, healthy and happy, to his home after performing acts of gratitude and offering praise from his own lips.⁹⁵

(56) Ampod, the *comes* of outstanding nobility from the lineage of Guthkeled,⁹⁶ made a vow for his infant son of a very young age. He was unable to bring his baby son to the tomb of the virgin Sister Margaret because his home was so far away—it is said to be a distance of six days on horseback from the diocese of Szerém. He made the following deposition under oath on behalf of his infant son: When his beloved little son, christened John at the baptismal font, was still at his nurse's breast, he was seized by illness and spent two weeks on the edge of death, so that the breath of life could scarcely be detected on his lips. The boy's father and

cessors. They received their names from two *comites* (head of the royal county, later just a designation signifying rank) Gut and Keled at the end of the eleventh century. Among others, they are the ancestors of the famous family of the Báthori. Cf. Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek*, Vol. II, 19ff [475 ff]. About Ampod, who had the title of *ban* of Slavonia, see Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 41, 283. The miracle is absent from the *Acts*.

sororis virginis Margarete puerum in ultimo spiritu agonizantem commendaverunt, velumque ipsius apud sororem suam uterinam, Annam ducissam, eiusdem comitis dominam cum devocione debita servatam dicti infantuli parentes petiverunt, et obtento infantuli^a involverunt. Qui in continenti oculos aperiens et quasi quodammodo vultu exilaratus suggerere^b mammas nutricis oblatas cepit, quasi iam IIII-or diebus continuis proxime anteactis erat impotens ad suggendum, et sic infantulus meritis et suffragiis Sancte Margarete anno transitus sui quarto, presente domina Anna ducissa et eius familia copiosa ad monasterium Sancti Yrenei⁹⁷ sanitati per omnia restitutus, usque in presentem diem plena semper fretus fuit et nunc fruitur sospitate.

(57.) Iacobus^c dictus Michael, comes Nitriensis, vir eximie nobilitatis⁹⁸ iuratus deposuit et testimonio nobilium sociorum suorum efficaciter firmavit, quod cum ipse primo incipiente dolore in tempore dextro augmentumque^d capiente dolore per continuum spatium trium mensium a principio Februarii usque exitum mensis Aprilis vehementissimo totius capitis et oculi dextri et quasi incredibili, ut asseruit, cruciatu augetetur^e, visum in oculo dextro omnino amisit ita, ut nec digitum ante positum, nec quicquam aliud sinistro oculo clauso poterat intueri, dolorque capitis vehementius augebatur. Hic de medicorum auxilio desperatus ad suffragia sororis virginis Margarete confugit, ad cuius sepulcrum facta mora quattuor dierum cum sincera cordis devocione, anno transitus eiusdem virginis tertio, tam in oculo, tam^f in toto capite plenam recepit sanitatem.

(58.) Domina Anna, ducissa de Macho pro barone suo tunc, cum ipsa sepulcrum virginis Margarete visitavit, in expeditione

^a infantulum (Gombos); [caput] infantuli (Böle)

^b recte sugere

^c Iacobus *ed.* Iacobi

^d augmentumque *ed.* augmentum quod

^e augetetur (Nagy)

^f quam (Nagy)

mother commended him in his last agony to the virgin Sister Margaret, and they begged for Margaret's veil, which had been preserved with all due reverence by the duchess Anne,⁹⁷ Margaret's own sister and liege lady of the same *comes*. They got the veil, and wrapped the infant in it. Suddenly he opened his eyes, and, with what might be called a happy expression on his face, he began to suck the breasts which his nurse offered to him, although for the four days preceding he was unable to nurse. Thus, in the fourth year after Margaret's death, in the presence of the royal Duchess Anne and his large family, the infant was fully restored to health at the monastery of Saint Irenaeus, and up to the present day he has continued to enjoy full health.

(57) Michael, son of James, *comes* of Nitra, a man of outstanding nobility,⁹⁸ made the following deposition under oath and supported it convincingly with the testimony of his noble companions: He first felt a pain in his right temple; it worsened without interruption for three months, from the beginning of February until the end of April; it grew (as he asserted) into an almost unbelievable pain over his whole head and in his right eye. He thus completely lost vision in his right eye, so that he could not see a finger placed in front of it, or indeed anything else, if his left eye was closed, and his head pain grew powerfully worse. Having despaired of help from his physicians, he took refuge in the intercession of the virgin Sister Margaret, and when he had passed four days at her tomb with sincere, heartfelt devotion, in the third year after the same virgin's death, he recovered full health in his eye and over his whole head.

(58) Lady Anne, Duchess of Macsó, testified to the following under oath on behalf of one of her barons who was away

⁹⁷ On Princess Anne, see p. 67 n. 38 above.

⁹⁸ Michael, *comes* of Nitra (a northern county of Hungary) between 1270 and 1276, belonged to the lineage Rosd—Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek*, vol. III, 20–22 [930–32]. Cf. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 176, 331. There is a relative of this family in the convent, sister Frosia (15); she, however, does not speak about this miracle, which is absent from the *Acts*.

existente iurata deposuit, affirmatibus^a Nicholao preposito Sirimiensi^b et Ompid bano de Bozna, quod cum idem baro suus, nomine Albricus wanus^c de Chuchet⁹⁹ prius vehementem multorum dierum langorem toto corpore fuisset inflatus et ydropicus publice teneretur, nec morbus esset ope medicorum curabilis, seipsum penitus desperatum meritis sororis virginis Margarete instinctu dicte ducisse, domine sue et amicorum et necessitudine sibi vi[n]ctorum totum se voto emisso coram astantibus et sue calamitati compacientibus commendavit, quia mirum in modum infra eiusdem noctis spacium divina operante clemencia, suffragantibus meritis virginis invocate et ab horrende^d inflacionis vicio et ab omni doloris sui molestia liberatus in totum sanus et incolumis permaneret usque modo.

(59.) Puella quedam, filia patris familias, nomine Petronella, diocesis Vesprimiensis, cum adhuc annorum esset circiter duorum, nimio dolore precedente^e duas un^f quolibet, id est simul IIII-or maculas sive albugines in utroque oculo tollerans lumen omnino amiserat oculorum, et sic continuis quinque annis ab etate tam tenera, quasi a nativitate ceca permansit. Hec auditis, tam parentibus, quam aliis referentibus, beneficiis, que divina clemencia meritis sancte virginis sororis Margarete ad eiusdem sepulcrum variis langoribus oppressis prestabat, pedibus^g parentum suorum provoluta, ut ad sepulcrum dicte virginis recuperandorum luminum gracia^h duceretur, peremitⁱ et impetravit. Que fide et devotione debita facto voto, quod diem curacionis sue, si eam curare dignaretur, quo adveniret,^j ieiunaret, ecce coram parentibus suis

^a recte affirmantibus

^b Sirimiensi *ed.* Swiminiensi

^c recte banus

^d recte horrende

^e precedente *ed.* procedente

^f recte in

^g *ed. add.* parentum suorum sepulcrum variis langoribus oppressis prestabat pedibus

^h gracia *ed.* gratiam

at war when she visited the tomb of the virgin Margaret. As also witnessed by Nicholas, Provost of Szerém, and Ompud, Ban of Bosnia, this baron of hers, named Alberic, Ban of Kucso,⁹⁹ had become swollen over his whole body with a violent sickness that lasted many days, and he was believed by everyone to have dropsy; doctors could not cure the disease. At the prompting of the aforesaid duchess, his liege lady, of his friends and of his relations, he uttered a vow and entrusted himself completely, in complete desperation, to the merits of the virgin Sister Margaret, in the presence of many who sympathized with him. In a wonderful way, during that very same night, by the working of divine mercy, while the merits of the virgin whom he had invoked worked on his behalf, he was completely freed from the horrible deformity of the swelling, and from every pain of his sickness. He remained healthy and safe from that day until this.

(59) A certain girl named Petronella, daughter of a householder in the diocese of Veszprém, when she was still around two years old, after a serious illness had developed sores in both eyes and lost her sight altogether. From that tender age—very nearly from birth—she remained blind for five years. Having heard from her parents and others about the cures which divine mercy, through the merits of the virgin Sister Margaret, had worked at the saint's tomb on people oppressed by various illnesses, the girl cast herself at her parents' feet, and she begged that she be brought to the tomb of the aforesaid virgin to recover her eyesight. Her wish was granted. With due faith and devotion, she made a vow that, if Margaret would deign to cure her, she would regularly observe the day of her healing as a fast day. And lo, in the presence of her parents and of many bystanders at Margaret's tomb, her eyes sud-

ⁱ *ed.* pervenit

^j *quoad viveret?*

⁹⁹ There might be confusion with these denominations. Ampudinus was *ban* of Slavonia (cf. n. 96 above), and the *ban* of Kucsó is called Gergely (Gregorius) in these years, see Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 52.

et multis circumstantibus ipsum sepulcrum, quasi ebullientibus subito lacrimis copiosis macule amborum oculorum, velut squame quedam, de oculis ceciderunt, statimque perfectum lumen recepit oculorum, anno transitus sui secundo et, quoniam sabbatum erat, quando lumen recipere meruit, ipsum diem sabbati cunctis vite sue^a constituit^b ieiunare. Hanc sic perfecte meritis virginis Margarete illuminatam parentes et vicini iurati cuncta seriatim narrantes venerabilibus patribus episcopis, ipsam eciam puellam illuminatam presencialiter presentaverunt.^c

^a *ed. add.* diebus

^b *recte* constituit

^c Previous editions (Bőle, Gombos, Szovák) have included here a last paragraph, to be found in the codex: "Explicit legenda supradicta, licet alia pulcior et complecior

denly filled up with tears, the sores on both her eyes fell from them like scales, and at once she recovered perfect eye-sight, in the second year after Margaret's death. Because it was Saturday when she was found worthy to receive her sight back, she resolved to fast on Saturday for the rest of her life. Her parents and neighbors swore that the girl's sight had been perfectly restored in this way, through the merits of the virgin Margaret. They reported everything that happened step by step to the venerable father bishops. They also presented in person the girl whose sight had been restored.

inveniat, que est in libraria conventus Sanctorum Ioannis et Pauli in quodam volumine cum una alia legenda Beate Agnetis de monte Policiano etiam sanctimonialis Ordinis Predicatorum," but this is clearly an additional comment by the copist and not part of the original legend, so we decided to drop it.

III

ACTS OF THE CANONIZATION PROCESS

INQUISITIO SUPER VITA, CONVERSATIONE ET
MIRACULIS BEATAE MARGARETHAE VIRGINIS,
BELAE IV. HUNGARORUM REGIS FILIAE,
SANCTIMONIALIS MONASTERII VIRGINIS
GLORIOSAE DE INSULA DANUBII, ORDINIS
PRAEDICATORUM, VESPRIMIENSIS DIOCESIS



INVESTIGATION ON THE LIFE, BEHAVIOR,
AND MIRACLES OF THE BLESSED VIRGIN
MARGARET, DAUGHTER OF KING BÉLA IV OF
HUNGARY, AND A NUN IN THE MONASTERY
OF THE GLORIOUS VIRGIN ON THE ISLAND
IN THE DANUBE, OF THE ORDER OF
PREACHERS, IN THE DIOCESE OF VESZPRÉM

In nomine Domini Amen. Anno a nativitate eiusdem millesimo ducentesimo septuagesimo sexto, indictione quarta,¹ primo anno pontificatus domini Innocentii pape quinti,² in Hungaria apud monasterium virginis gloriose de insula Danubii Vesprimiensis diocesis, die Jovis vigesima tertia mensis Julii.

I

Domina Catharina priorissa monasterii predicti virginis gloriose de insula Danubii, ordinis predicatorum Vesprimicensis diocesis,³ iuravit ad sancta Dei evangelia, dicere et respondere meram et puram veritatem super vita et conversatione recolende memorie virginis Margarethe, sanctimonialis eiusdem monasterii, et miraculis, que ad invocationem ipsius Deus dicitur ostendisse, remoto odio, amore, timore, pretio, et precibus, speciali utilitate, et damno suo vel alieno.

Que iurata et interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento respondit et dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha delata fuit monasterio sancte Catharine Vesprimicensis,⁴ predicti ordinis predicatorum, per dominam Mariam, matrem suam, uxorem regis Bele.⁵

¹ July 23–October 20, 1276. Indiction: A unit of calculating time, in cycles of 15 years, within which the years are numbered from 1 to 15 but the indictions themselves are not numbered, so alone they cannot give the precise date. Including the year of indiction was obligatory in all official documents, from Late Antiquity through the middle ages. If we add 3 to 1276 and divide the sum by 15, the remaining number after the decimals is the indiction of that year. (1276+3=1279; 1279:15=85, with 4 remaining.)

² Innocent V, the first Dominican pope (January 21, 1276–June 22, 1276)

³ This testimony is the only document concerning Saint Catherine's life. She recounts that she had been in different monasteries from the age of seven. She admits to being seventy years old in 1276. Her first monastery could not have been Saint Catherine's in Veszprém, which was founded later (cf. *Legenda vetus*, 46–47 n. 9), but perhaps the nearby monastery of Veszprémvölgy. Cf. Elemér Lovas, "B. Margit történetének rész-

In the name of the Lord. Amen. In the twelve hundred and seventy-sixth year from the Nativity, in the fourth indiction,¹ and in the first year of the pontificate of our lord Pope Innocent V,² in Hungary in the monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the Island in the Danube, in the diocese of Veszprém, on Thursday, the twenty-third of July.

1

Lady Catherine, prioress of the aforesaid monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the Island in the Danube, of the Order of the Preachers in the diocese of Veszprém,³ swore on the holy gospels to speak and answer the pure truth about the life and behavior of the virgin Margaret of revered memory, a nun of the same monastery, and about the miracles which she is said to have shown forth at the call of God Himself. She swore to do so without constraints of hatred, love, fear, bribery, urgent requests, special interests, or of any loss to herself or to another.

Questioned and sworn-in about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she replied under oath that the said virgin Margaret was sent to the monastery of Saint Catherine of Veszprém,⁴ of the aforesaid Order of the Preachers, by Lady Mary, her mother, wife of King Béla.⁵

letes forráskritikája” [Detailed source-criticism of the history of Blessed Margaret], *A Pannonhalmi Főapátság Főiskolai Évkönyve az 1915-1916-diki tanévre* (Pannonhalma, 1916), 215. On the Dominican convent on the Island see *Legenda vetus*, 48 n. 11–12.

⁴ The convent of Saint Catherine of Veszprém was founded in 1240 by Bartholomew, bishop of Veszprém; see *Legenda vetus*, 46–47 n. 9.

⁵ Mary Laskaris (ca. 1205–1270), daughter of the emperor of Nicaea Theodore Laskaris I and the Greek princess Anne. She was betrothed to Béla in 1218 and married to him in 1220. She played an active role in the politics of the Hungarian kingdom.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod predicta puella delata fuerat predicto monasterio, ut dicit, respondit, quod ipsa vidit per oculos suos.

Interrogata, quot annorum erat tunc dicta puella, respondit: «Habebat quatuor annos non completos, et non poterat adhuc bene loqui»

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod erat predictae etatis tunc temporis, respondit, quod videbat iam quod non poterat loqui plene, et sciebat tempus quando nata fuit.⁶ Item dixit, quod quando puella erat dicte etatis, ipsa tenebat eam et docebat eam, et propterea cepit stare cum aliis puellis, sociis suis, in dicto monasterio. Et dixit, quod dicta puella accepit unam crucem et querebat, quid erat hoc, et alie puellae, socie sue dixerunt, quod erat noster Dominus, qui fuit martyrizatus pro gente, et tacite dicta puella incepit plangere.

Interrogata, quomodo istud scit, respondit, quod audivit a dictis puellis, quae erant discipulae sue.

Interrogata de nominibus illarum (respondit): «Judith, Johaleta». Item dixit, quod dicta puella, sicut tempus ibat in ante, incepit legere addiscere et cantare cum aliis puellis, et ipsa testis docebat eam; et dixit, quod ipsa puella dabat magnam [diligentiam]^a ad aptandum altaria, ad serviendum, sicut poterat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia videbat. Item dixit, quod dum dicta puella haberet septem annos, vel parum plus, vel minus, sicut credit, ipsa puella involvit de loco cuiusdam sororis unum cilicium, et posuit in dorso super camisam, sub aliis vestibus, et quando dicta magistra sua⁷ vidit hoc, dimisit eam portare istud per totam diem, et in (nocte) accepit illud cilicium, quia timebat, ne posset sustinere tantam penitentiam. Item dixit, quod nolebat videre patrem suum, nec sibi loqui, et cum matre parum loquebatur, quando veniebat ad dictum monasterium.

^a diligentiam *suppl. ad sensum* Fraknói

⁶ Margaret was born on 27 January 1242, in Klis.

When asked how she knew that the aforesaid girl had been sent to the monastery in question, as she says, she replied that she had seen her with her own eyes.

When asked how old the girl was at that time, she replied, "She was in her fourth year, and she still could not speak well."

When asked how she knew that the girl was that old at that time, she replied that she saw at that time that she could not yet speak well, and she knew the time she was born.⁶ Likewise, she said that when the girl was of the aforesaid age, she herself looked after her and taught her, and therefore she began to take her place with the other girls, her companions in the said monastery. And she said that the said girl received a crucifix and asked what it was, and the other girls, her companions, said that it was our Lord, who was martyred for the people, and the girl began to weep silently.

When asked how she knew this, she replied that she had heard it from the said girls, who were her pupils.

When asked their names, she replied, "Judith, Johaleta." Also, she said that the aforementioned girl, as the time passed, began to learn to read and chant with the other girls, and the witness herself taught her; and she said that the girl paid great attention to laying out the altar, and serving at it, to the best of her ability.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid matters, she answered, because she had seen them.

Also, she said that when the girl was seven, or a little younger or older, as she believed, the girl wrapped herself into a hair-shirt she took from the place of a certain sister, and placed it on her back over her shirt, beneath her other clothing, and when the said *magistra*⁷ saw this, she allowed her to wear it during the day; and at night she tried on the hair-shirt, because she was worried if she could bear such a heavy penance. Also, she said that the girl refused to see her father or speak with him, and spoke but little with her mother on the occasions when she came to the monastery.

⁷ Lady Olimpiades, widow of Thomas of Bodomér, see her testimony as Witness 14 below.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, respondit, quod videbat. Item dixit, quod dicta puella quodam die venit flendo ad dictam magistram suam, et ad alias dominas, et ipsa interrogaverunt eam. «Quid fles?» Respondit quod delata erat et infamata, quod dictum fuit ei quod erat filia regis. Item dixit, quod dum esset circa dictam etatem, induit se habitu, quem portabant sorores, et ivit ante altare cum quibusdam aliis puellis sociis suis, et ceperunt cantare et psaltere plane: 'Veni Creator spiritus'.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quod ipsa puella cum aliis puellis venerunt ad ipsam magistram suam et alias dominas et dixerunt, quod sic fecerunt, et ipsa testis vidit sibi vestes in dorso. Item dixit, quod ipsa puella rogabat dominas super professione sua, et domine noluerunt tunc eam recipere ad professionem, quod erat nimis iuvenis, et tunc dicta puella cepit plangere.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia audivit ab ea et vidit. Item dixit, quod postquam habuit octo annos, et ab illo ipso^a tempore, ut antea magis stabat in servitio et orationibus, et quanto (erat) magis sapiens, tanto plus stabat in servitio Dei.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia videbat. Item dixit, quod dicta puella, quando habuit decem annos vel circiter, venit de dicto monasterio sancte Catharine ad standum in dicto monasterio gloriose virginis de insula Danubii⁸ quod monasterium factum erat pro ipsa puella per dominam Mariam, matrem suam et uxorem regis Bele.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta puella predicto tempore venit ad standum in dicto monasterio de insula Danubii, respondit, quia venit cum ipsa et cum multis aliis sororibus suis ad standum in dicto monasterio. Item dixit, quod dicta puella in duodecimo anno, vel circa fecit professionem suam in dicto monasterio.

^a alio pro ms.

⁸ In 1252 eighteen nuns moved into the new convent on the Danube Island. The Dominican friar Michael (who is Witness 43) was the one who took Margaret to the monastery. Two years later Margaret made her vow to the *generalis* Humbertus de Romanis.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she had seen it. Also, she said that one day she came weeping to the said *magistra* and to other ladies, and they personally asked her, “Why are you crying?” She answered that she had been defamed, in that it had been said to her that she was the king’s daughter. Also, she [the witness] said that when she [Margaret] was about the aforesaid age, she put on the habit which the sisters wore, and went before the altar with certain other girls who were her friends, and they began to sing in plain chant *Veni Creator Spiritus*.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid matters, she replied that the girl herself came with other girls to her *magistra* and other ladies, and they said that this is what they had done, and she herself [the witness] had seen the garments on her back. Also, she said that the girl had asked the ladies whether she could take her vows, but the ladies were unwilling to receive her into the order at that time, because she was too young, and at that the said girl began to weep.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied that she had heard it from her and seen it. Also, she said that on her eighth birthday, and from that time onwards, she took her place, as previously, at service and orisons, but with increased devotion, and the wiser and maturer she became, the more she attended God’s service.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, because she had seen it. Also, she said that when the girl was about ten, she went from the Monastery of St. Catherine to join the Monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the Island in the Danube,⁸ which monastery had been created for the girl herself by Lady Mary, her mother and the wife of King Béla.

When asked how she knew that the said girl came at the aforesaid time to join the monastery on Island in the Danube, she answered, because she had come with the girl herself and many others of her sisters to join the aforesaid monastery. Also, she said that when the girl was about twelve years old she took her vows in the said monastery.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit, quia presens fuit. Item dixit, quod post dictam professionem suam aliquando in tantum intenta erat in oratione et servitio Dei, quod nolebat dimittere orationes suas pro aliqua re, nec videre parentes suos, et quando dicebatur sibi, quod frater suus⁹ petebat eam, nolebat dimittere orationem suam, et licet frater ibat quandoque et vocabat eam.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia videbat predicta.

Interrogata, quot annorum erat dicta (puella) quando sic erat intenta in orationibus suis, respondit: «Postquam habuit duodecim annos et ultra». Item dixit, quod tamdiu stabat in orationibus suis in sero, donec alie sorores intrabant ectum, et vix scire poterant alie sorores quando ibat ad lectum suum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia videbat. Et dixit ipsa testis, quod sepe ibat ad lectum suum ad querendum et videndum eam, et inveniebat ipsam iacentem iuxta lectum suum in terra. Item dixit, quod in quolibet tempore multum affligebat corpus suum in ieiuniis, in orationibus, in fletibus, et in tota septimana magna multo plus hoc faciebat, et quod in tribus ultimis diebus predictae septimane et de nocte stabat in ecclesia orando, flendo et verberando se, et hoc fecit usque ad mortem suam. Item dixit, quod intenta Deo lavabat pedes omnibus sororibus et servitilibus, que stabant cum eis in claustrum¹⁰ suo. Item dixit, quod postquam professa fuit, portabat cilicium in dorso subter omnes alias vestes, scilicet continue per totam quadragesimam, et hoc fecit usque ad mortem suam.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia videbat. Item dixit, quod quando elevabatur corpus Christi ad altare, illud aspiciebat magna devotione et lacrymis, et multo magis quando recipiebat istud. Item dixit, quod sepe faciebat sibi legi et exponi passionem Christi et aliorum sanctorum, et cum devotione magna audiebat hoc.

⁹ Prince Stephen, later King Stephen V (1239–1272), cf. *Legenda vetus*, 45 n. 4.

¹⁰ The words *claustrum*, *monasterium*, *conventus* are used synonymously in the Latin text; in English the modern equivalents are used, disregarding the distinctions.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she was there in person. Also, she said that after her [the girl's] vows she was sometimes so intent on prayer and the service of God that she was unwilling to give up her prayers for any other activity or to see her parents; and when she was told that her brother⁹ was asking for her, she refused to put off her prayers, even though her brother would sometimes come and call for her.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid things, she replied, because she had seen them.

When asked how old the girl was when she was thus intent upon her prayers, she answered, "After she was twelve." Also, she said that she [Margaret] would stand praying for a long time in the evening, while the other sisters went into eat, and the other sisters could hardly determine when she went to bed.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, because she had seen it. And the same witness said that she would often go to her bed, to look for her and to see her, and she would find her lying on the ground beside the bed. Also, she said that at all times she would greatly afflict her body by fasting, by praying and weeping, and during the whole of Holy Week she did much more than this, and in the last three days of the aforesaid week she also used to stay at night in the church praying, weeping, and scourging herself, and she continued this practice until her death. Also, she said that, intent on serving God, she would wash the feet of all the sisters and of all the servants who were with her in her convent.¹⁰ Also, she said that after she had taken her vows, she used to wear a hair-shirt on her back under all her other clothes for the full forty days of Lent, and she did this right up to her death.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she had seen it. Also, she said that when the body of Christ was raised at the altar, she would gaze upon it with tears and great devotion, and much more so when she received it. Also, she said that she often ordered to be read to her, with commentary, the passion of Christ and the other saints, and she would listen with great devotion.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia vidit. Item dixit, quod in qualibet septimana gloriose virginis Marie¹¹ faciebat mille venias,¹² cum salutatione beate Marie.¹³

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit, quia videbat eam tunc. Item dixit, quod quando aliquae sorores habebant male, ipsa cum suis manibus faciebat eis coquinam, et dabat eis ad manducandum et bibendum, et trahebat aquam de puteo, et faciebat eis balneum, et balniabat eas, et faciebat eis lectos, et radebat eis capita quando oportebat, et portabat eas ad necessarium, et scopabat casam,^a et lavabat scutellas et ollas, et predicta omnia faciebat cum magna (patientia) et humilitate sine aliquo radiumento^b; et quando aliqua alia de sororibus debebat in septimana sua lavare scutellas, ipsa rogabat illam, quod dimitteret eam facere illud servitium; et sic lavabat scutellas pro illa.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia videbat. Item dixit, quod pro persona sua semper portabat peiores vestes, quam alie sorores, et quando dabatur sibi bona vestis per matrem suam, vel aliam personam, ipsa dabat illam bonam vestem alicui de sororibus, et accipiebat et portabat peiorem, et quando dabatur sibi velum subtile, dabat illud aliis sororibus, et grossum recipiebat, et portabat.

Interrogata, quomodo predicta scit, respondit, quia vidit. Item dixit, quod cum sorores quandoque vellent (?) sibi facere aliquod avantagium,^c dando sibi maiorem mensuram, vel meliorem, vel melius vinum, quia erat filia regis, irascebatur et nolebat recipere.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia videbat. Item dixit, quod in vigiliis de maioribus festivitatibus querebat parabolam a maioribus suis, quod possit comedere et bibere

^a casa *ital.*

^b radiumento *ital.*

^c avantage *fr.*

¹¹ The Marian feast days are the following: the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, 8 September; Her Assumption into Heaven, 15 August; Her Immaculate Conception, 8 December; the Purification of the Virgin, 2 February; the Annunciation, 25 March; the Name day of the Virgin Mary, 12 September.

When asked how she knew this, she answered, because she had seen it. Also, she said in any week sacred to the glorious Virgin Mary¹¹ she would make a thousand *veniae*¹² while greeting the Virgin Mary.¹³

When asked how she knew this, she replied that she saw her doing it at the time. Also, she said that when some sisters were ill, she cooked for them with her own hands, and gave them food and drink, and drew water from the well, filled a bath for them, and bathed them, made their beds, and shaved their heads when it needed to be done, carried them to the latrine, swept the house, washed the plates and pots, and did all the preceding with great patience and humility, without anyone helping her; and when it was the week for another of the sisters to do the dishes, she would ask her to let her do this service for her, and would wash the dishes in her place.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, because she had seen it. Also, she said that for her own body she always wore worse clothing than the other sisters, and when a good gown was given to her by her mother or somebody else, she would give that gown to one of the sisters, and get and wear a worse one, and when a fine-spun veil was given to her, she used to give it to the other sisters and get a rough one and wear it.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she had seen it. Also, she said that when the sisters would sometimes want to give her some privilege, such as a larger or better helping, or better wine, because she was the daughter of a king, she became angry and would refuse to accept it.

Asked how she knew this, she replied, because she had seen it. Also, she said that in the vigils associated with the major festivals she used to ask permission from her superiors to eat and drink only bread and water, and then she would eat in seclusion, so as

¹² A *venia* is performed by extending the whole body on the ground, on the right side. Traditionally, the *venia* is made for one of two reasons: to show acceptance of obedience or to ask forgiveness.

¹³ That is, while praying the *Ave Maria*.

tantummodo aquam et panem, et comedebat tunc in occulto, ne videretur ab aliis. Item dixit, quod dum pater et mater sua dicerent sibi, quod volebant eam maritare regi Bohemie¹⁴ occasione pacis, quam volebant facere simul, ipsa dicta Margaretha multum irata fuit, et (turbata), et dixit, quod nullo modo hoc faceret, et de monasterio non exiret unquam, et quod prius vellet servire Deo, cui erat data, quam alicui homini; et tunc fecit se consecrari ab archiepiscopo Strigoniensi,¹⁵ ne maritaretur ipsi regi, nec aliquid de hoc volebat audire.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia vidit et presens erat. Item dixit, quod melius et strictius servaverit, regulam et ordinem usque ad mortem suam, quam aliqua de aliis; et in horis, quando dicitur officium, ipsa (prima) erat in intrando ecclesiam pro maxima parte temporis, et ultima in exeundo.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta respondit, quia videbat eam sic facientem. Item dixit, quod multa alia bona (posset dicere) de dicta sorore Margaretha, quod nimis esset longum dicere.

Interrogata, que sunt alia illa bona, respondit: «Per alias sorores, que plus stabant cum ea, et sequebantur eam, poteritis scire ea». Item dixit, quod quidam frater predicator,¹⁶ nomine Benedictus predicasset presentibus dicta puella et aliis sororibus, et (cum) recedere vellet, dicta puella rogavit eum, quod non recederet, quia libenter audiebat predicationem suam, et cum frater ille porro vellet recedere, dicta puella rogavit Deum, quod currus frangeretur, ita quod non possit recedere; et cum frater ille recederet, currus suus fractus fuit, et rediit frater ipse ad dictum monasterium.

Interrogavit, qui erant presentes, quando rogavit ipsum fratrem, quod non recederet, et quando rogavit Deum, quod frangeret currum suum, ne posset recedere, respondit: Soror Olimpia-

¹⁴ This proposed marriage, whereby Ottokar Přemysl II, King of Bohemia (1253–1278) sought to obtain Margaret as his wife in 1261, is described in greater detail in the *Legenda vetus* (cf. p. 64–65 n. 35 and 37).

¹⁵ Philip, archbishop of Esztergom (1262–1272); the consecration took place in the convent, in front of the altar dedicated to Saint Elisabeth, as Eliana (Witness 2) mentions. Cf. *Legenda vetus*, 68–69 n. 41.

not to be seen by the others. Also, she said that when her father and mother spoke to her about their wish to marry her to the king of Bohemia,¹⁴ on the occasion of the peace that the two sides wanted, the said Margaret was very angry and distressed, and said that she would under no circumstances do it, and would never leave the monastery, and that she preferred to serve God, to whom she had been given, rather than any man; and then she caused herself to be consecrated by the archbishop of Esztergom¹⁵ so that she would not be wedded to the king [of Bohemia], and she wanted to hear no more about the matter.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, because she had seen it and had been present. Also, she said that she observed the rule and order better and more strictly right up to her death than any of the others; and at the hours when the office is said, she was usually the first to go into the church, and the last to leave.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied that she had seen her acting in this manner. Also, she said that she could say many other good things about the said Sister Margaret, but it would take too long.

When asked what those other good things were, she replied, "You can learn this from the other sisters, who were closer to her and followed her around more." Also, she said that a certain Preacher friar¹⁶ by the name of Benedict had preached in the presence of the said girl and the other sisters, and when he wanted to leave, the said girl asked him not to go, because she was listening with pleasure to his sermon, and when that friar again tried to leave, the said girl asked God that his carriage would be broken, so that he could not leave; and as that friar was leaving, his carriage was broken, and the friar returned to the said monastery.

When asked who were present when she asked the friar not to go, and when she asked God to break his carriage so that he

¹⁶ The Latin uses exclusively the terms *Ordo Predicatorum* and *frater predicator*, but in the translation for stylistic reasons we use by turns "Order of the Preachers" and "Dominicans."

des¹⁷ et multe alie de sororibus suis, de quibus non recordatur; et dixit, quod tunc dicta puella erat in etate octo annorum, vel circa.

Item dixit ipsa testis, quod ipsa habebat ita magnum dolorem capitis, quando obiit ipsa soror Margaretha,¹⁸ quod non poterat ire in ecclesiam ad exequias, que fiebant in dicta ecclesia pro ea, et tunc ipsa testis rogavit Deum, quod tolleret sibi malum illud, ita quod possit ire ad illum officium. Et dixit, interrogata, quod nulla de sororibus erat presens, quando rogavit Deum, ut supra dixit.

Interrogata, quot annorum erat dicta soror Margaretha, quando obiit, respondit: «Triginta annorum duobus minus».

Interrogata quot annorum erat testis, respondit, quod bene habebat septuaginta annos.

Interrogata, per quot annos stetit in dictis monasteriis, respondit: Quando data fuit primo monasterio¹⁹ habebat septem annos, vel parum plus, vel minus. Item dixit, quod dicta soror Margaretha in morte sua habebat ita viles vestes in dorso, quod ipsa priorissa et sorores noluerunt ipsam sepelire cum dictis vestibus, sed alias meliores vestes posuerunt sibi in dorso. Item dixit, quod infirmas de qua obiit duravit sibi per octo dies.

Interrogata, si confessa fuit tunc, respondit: «Sic, bis cum priore provinciali eiusdem ordinis predicatorum,²⁰ et petiit corpus domini, et cum magna devotione et reverentia recepit illud, et oleum petiit,²¹ et sibi datum fuit».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia fuit presens cum aliis sororibus.

¹⁷ This same miracle is also described by Olimpiades (Witness 14), but in her testimony two friars are involved.

¹⁸ Margaret died on January 18, 1270.

¹⁹ That is, to the monastery of Veszprém.

could not leave, she replied: Sister Olimpiades¹⁷ and many others of her sisters that she could not recall; and she said that the girl was eight years old or so.

The witness also said that she had such a headache, when Sister Margaret died,¹⁸ that she could not go to chapel to attend the funeral service that took place for her, and then the witness asked God to take her illness away, so that she could go to the service. And when asked, she said that none of the sisters was present, when she made the abovementioned request of God.

When asked how old the said Sister Margaret was when she died, she replied, "Twenty-eight."

When asked how old she, the witness, was, she replied, "A good seventy years."

When asked how many years she had been in the said monasteries, she replied, when she was given to the first monastery¹⁹ she was seven, not much older or younger. She also said that at death the said Sister Margaret had such cheap clothing on her back that the prioress herself and the sisters refused to bury her in the said garments, but put others of better quality on her back. She also said that the illness from which she died lasted eight days.

When asked if she had made confession at that time, she replied, "Yes, twice with the Provincial prior of the same Order of the Preachers,²⁰ and she asked for the Lord's body, and received it with great reverence and devotion, and she had asked for the oil²¹ and it was given to her."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied that she had been present with the other sisters.

²⁰ As we learn from Witness 43, the prior provincial on the second occasion was Michael.

²¹ That is, the sacrament of the sick, the ointment with the sacred oil.

DIE JOVIS TERTIA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM

Interrogata, si scit, quod soror Catharina, filia domini Marci de Simogio²² post obitum virginis Margarethe habuit febrem quartanam anno preterito et dimisit eam hoc anno, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogata, quot menses sunt, quod dimisit eam, respondit: «Duo menses; et dixit mihi infirmaria, quod ipsa promisit dare testimonium de beata Margaretha ante istos inquisitores, qui veniebant, quod facere noluit ante alios inquisitores,²³ et per hoc dixit, quod statim sanata fuit».

Interrogata, quot menses sunt, quod dixit sibi predicta verba, respondit: «In illa die, in qua sanata fuit, vel sequenti, hoc mihi dixit».

Interrogata, in qua hora hoc sibi dixit, respondit: «Post nonam ante vespas».

Interrogata de presentibus, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, respondit: «Non».

DIE VENERIS VIGESIMA QUARTA MENSIS JULII

II

Domina Eliana soror et monialis dicti monasterii virginis gloriose de insula Danubii iuravit ad sancta Dei evangelia dicere et respondere meram et puram veritatem super vita et conversatione recolende memorie Margarethe virginis sanctimonialis dicti monasterii, et super miraculis, que ad invocationem ipsius sororis Margarethe Deus dicitur ostendisse.

²² Catherine is Witness 33.

²³ The 1272 group of investigators constituted by the order of Pope Gregory X, whose leader was first Archbishop Philip of Esztergom and after his death Lodomer, bishop of Várad (Oradea), included among its members the bishop of Vác and the

ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3

When asked if she knew that after the virgin Margaret's death Sister Catherine, the daughter of Lord Marcus of Somogy,²² had a quartan fever the previous year and was cured of it this year, she replied, "Yes."

When asked how many months it had been since she had been cured of it, she replied, "Two months; and the nurse told me that she promised to give testimony about the blessed Margaret before these inquisitors who were coming, a thing which she was unwilling to do before the other inquisitors,²³ and by this she said she was immediately restored to health."

When asked how many months it had been since she said the aforesaid words to her, she replied, "She told me this on the day she was cured on the day after."

When asked at what hour she had said this, she replied, "After nones before vespers."

When asked about who was present, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked if she had been coached, she replied, "No."

ON FRIDAY, JULY 24

2

Lady Eliana, sister and nun of the said monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the Island in the Danube, swore on the holy gospels of God to speak and answer the pure and unadulterated truth about the life and behavior of the virgin Margaret of revered memory, nun in the said monastery, and about the miracles which God is said to have shown forth at the invocation of the same Sister Margaret.

abbot of Zirc; see the *Canonization correspondence*, nr. 1, in this volume, and *Introduction*, 19 n. 45.

Que iurata et interrogata sub iuramento dixit, quod domina Maria, uxor regis Bele dedit dictam Margaretham, filiam suam, que tunc poterat habere tres annos et dimidium et plus, monasterio sancte Catharine de Vesprimio.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit, quia vidit, et erat monialis et custos ipsius monasterii sancte Catharine.

Interrogata, si scit, qualiter dicta puella data fuit per dictam matrem suam dicto monasterio, respondit: «Ut esset monacha ipsius monasterii, et serviret Deo, sicut mater dicebat sua.» Item dixit, quod dum esset puella in etate predicta, incepit legere, et sicut tempus procedebat, incepit cantare; et dixit, quod domina Catharina, que nunc est priorissa istius monasterii sancte Marie de insula, erat sua magistra.

Interrogata quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia fiebat ante me». Item dixit: «Stando in dicto monasterio sancte Catharine serviebat in ecclesia, scopando ecclesiam et faciendo alia servitia, que facere poterat, quando habuit sex annos, et circa etatem illam».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia videbat. Item dixit, quod postea, donec fuit in monasterio, cantabat et legebat et cum aliis in ecclesia predicta in matutinis, missis et aliis horis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia stabat cum ea et videbat eam. Item dixit, quod dicta puella, dum esset in etate septem annorum, vel circiter, quadam die duxit dictam testem et sororem Beatam, que mortua est, ante altare dicti monasterii sancte Catharine Vesprimiensis, et incepit eis dicere, quomodo debebat rogare Deum. Item dixit, quod predicta domina Maria, mater sua fecit fieri monasterium istud virginis gloriose sancte Marie de insula Danubii occasione dicte puelle sue, et quod dicta puella, postquam habuit decem annos vel circa, venit ad standum in isto monasterio gloriose virginis de insula Danubii, et dixit, quod bene venerunt cum ea decem et octo sorores dicti monasterii sancte Catharine.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia veni cum ipsa et cum aliis sororibus».

Being sworn and questioned under oath, she said that Lady Mary, wife of King Béla, gave the said Margaret, her daughter, who at that time was perhaps just over three and a half years old, to the Monastery of St. Catherine of Veszprém.

When questioned how she knew this, she replied, because she had seen it, and she was a nun and custodian of the monastery of St. Catherine.

When asked if she knew why the said girl was given by the said mother to the said monastery, she answered, "So that she might be a nun of the monastery, and serve God, just as her mother said she should." Also, she said that while she was a girl of the aforesaid age, she began to read, and as time went by, to sing; and she said that Lady Catherine, who is now prioress of this monastery of Virgin Mary on the Island, was her *magistra*.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because it happened in front of me." Also, she said, "As a member of the said monastery of St. Catherine, she used to serve in the church, sweeping it and performing such other tasks as she was capable of at the age of six or so."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, because she had seen it. Also, she said that later, as long as she was in the monastery she sang and read, together with others in the aforesaid church, at matins, Mass, and the other hours.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid things, she replied, because she was in the community with her and saw her. Also, she said that the aforesaid girl, when she was about seven years old, one day took the said witness and Sister Beata, who is now dead, in front of the altar of the monastery of St. Catherine of Veszprém, and began telling them how one ought to pray to God. Also, she said that the aforesaid Lady Mary, her mother, caused this monastery of the Glorious Virgin Mary on the Island in the Danube to be built for the sake of her daughter, and that the said girl, after she was about ten years old, came to join the community of this monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the Island in the Danube, and she said that there came with her eighteen sisters of the said monastery of St. Catherine.

Interrogata de nominibus dictarum sororum, respondit: «Soror Catharina, Olimpias, Benedicta, Cecilia et alie, quarum nomina non recorder modo».²⁴ Item dixit, quod dicta puella de licentia suarum maiorum aliquando recipiebat a fratre suo domino rege Stephano aliquas marcas argenti, de quibus faciebat eleemosinas, et missas cantare.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit, quia vidit. Item dixit, quod dicta puella fecit professionem in dicto monasterio de insula Danubii, quando habebat undecim annos et dimidium, vel plus usque ad duodecimum. Item dixit, quod semper dicta virgo Margaretha portabat malas vestes, et volebat semper stare in paupertate propter Deum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quomodo non debeo scire, quia stabam cum ea in clauistro, et videbam eam». Item dixit, quod dicta soror Margaretha ieiunabat sicut alie sorores et satis plus, et multoties stabat in mensa, ubi alie comedebant, cooperiendo sibi faciem cum velamine, dicendo aliquas orationes, sicut apparebat, et sic stabat, donec alie comederent primam menestram,^a et aliquando plus vel minus.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit, quia secum comedebat ad mensam et videbat eam. Item dixit, quod iacebat super una stora et super una sclavina et parvum plumacium tenebat subtus caput, nisi quando erat ammalata,^b et detinebat ad dorsum unam pellem, in qua erant multi piglii, nec volebat, quod tollantur de dicta pelle, ut maiorem penitentiam sustineret. Item dixit, quod serviebat infirmis in faciendo lecto eis, et dando eis bibere et comedere, inungendo eas et balneando^c eas, quando oportebat.

^a minestra *ital.*

^b ammalata *ital.*

^c blancando *ms.*

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I came with her and the other sisters."

When asked about the names of the said sisters, she answered, "Sisters Catherine, Olimpiades, Benedicta, Cecilia, and others whose names I don't remember now."²⁴ Also, she said that the girl, with the permission of her superiors, once received from her brother, the lord King Stephen, some silver marks, from which she gave alms and had masses sung.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she had seen it. Also, she said that the girl took her vows in the said monastery on the Island in the Danube when she was eleven and a half or somewhere between that age and twelve. Also, she said that the aforesaid virgin always wore shabby dresses, and wanted always to live in poverty to honor God.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "How could I not know it, because I was in the cloister with her, and saw her?" Also, she said that the said sister Margaret used to fast like the other sisters, and to an even greater degree, and many a time she would stand at the table where the others were eating, with her face covered in a veil and to all appearances praying, and go on standing that way until the others finished their first course, and sometimes longer or on occasions not that long.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she used to take meals with her at table and see her. Also, she said that she lay on a straw mattress and a long cloak and that she kept a small feather pillow beneath her head, except when she was ill, and would keep one animal skin to cover her back, in which there were many lice, and she refused to have them removed from the skin, so that she might suffer greater penance. Also, she said that she served the sick by making their beds and giving them food and drink, and by rubbing salves on them and bathing them when necessary.

²⁴ See their depositions below: Catherine of Esztergom (21), Olimpiades (14), Benedicta of Caboli (7), and Benedicta of the Canac kindred (24).

Interrogata, si faciebat hoc de mandato sue priorisse, vel propria voluntate, respondit: «Sua voluntate». Item dixit, quod lavabat pedes sororum servitium,²⁵ que stabant in claustris, quolibet anno in cena domini, nisi quando erat infirma.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia vidit, et sibi testi lavit sepe pedes. Item dixit, quod portabat cilicium supra carnem subtus alias omnes vestes, nisi quando sentiebat sibi malum, et in quadragesima semper portabat illud.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit, quia vidit. Item dixit, quod multum verberabat se cum una scoriata.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, respondit, quia audivit hoc a Sabina socia et secretaria sua²⁶ et dixit, quod dictum cilicium et scoriata adhuc sunt in dicto monasterio, «et in illo poteritis videre, si vobis placet».

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit, quia vidit hoc. Item dixit, quod pater suus, rex Bela volebat eam maritare duci Polonie,²⁷ quando erat in predicto monasterio sancte Catharine, et ipsa dicebat, quod prius absunderet sibi nasum, quam tolleretur maritum;²⁸ et postquam fuit in isto monasterio de insula Danubii, dictus pater suus voluit maritare eam regi Bohemie,²⁹ pro pace quam volebat facere secum, et dixit, quod prius volebat mori et prius abscondere sibi nasum, quam exiret de claustris, et acciperetur maritum, et tunc fecit se consecrari per archiepiscopum Strigoniensem, ne pater suus eam maritaret.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quod hoc fuit ante ipsam testem, et quod audivit et vidit.

²⁵ This interesting information concerning the presence of *sorores servitiales* shows the aristocratic character of this Dominican convent.

²⁶ Sabina is Witness 10.

²⁷ Eventually Margaret's sister, Constance, married Leo, Duke of Galicia, around 1251, cf. *Legenda vetus*, 66–67 n. 38.

²⁸ The idea of the threat to cut off her nose, thus making herself so ugly as to prevent any kind of marriage plans, is probably taken from the legend of her aunt, Saint Elizabeth (cf. Introduction, 14 n. 30); it is also included in the *Legenda Aurea* of James of Voragine; cf. Iacopo da Varazze, *Legenda aurea*, ed. Giovanni Paolo Maggioni (Florence: SISMEL–Edizioni del Galluzzo, 1998), vol. 2, 1164. Nine other nuns confirm

When asked if she did this under orders from her prioress, or by her own free will, she replied, "Of her own free will." Also, she said that every year at Easter, except when she was ill, she used to wash the feet of the serving sisters²⁵ who were in the monastery.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, because she had seen it, and that she had often washed her [the witness's] feet. Also, she said that she wore a hair-shirt next to her flesh underneath all her other clothes, except when she felt ill, and she always wore it during Lent.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she had seen it. Also, she said that she frequently scourged herself with a leather whip.

When asked how she knew this, she said she had heard it from Sabina, her friend and confidante,²⁶ and she said that the said hair-shirt and leather whip were still in the said monastery, "and you can see them there, if you want."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she had seen it. Also, she said that her [Margaret's] father, King Béla, wanted to marry her to the Duke of Poland,²⁷ when she was in the aforesaid monastery of St. Catherine, and she herself said that she would rather cut off her own nose than put up with a husband²⁸; and after she was in this monastery of the Island in the Danube, her father wanted to marry her to the king of Bohemia,²⁹ for the sake of the peace he wanted to make with him, and she said that she would rather die or cut off her own nose than leave the cloister and take a husband, and at that time she had herself consecrated by the archbishop of Esztergom, lest her father should marry her.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, because it took place before herself as a witness, and because she had seen and heard it.

that Margaret uttered these threats: Jolent (3), Margaret of Macsó (6), Elizabeth of Badobroa (8), Elizabeth of Bodomér (13), Judith (18), Benedicta of the Canac kindred (24), Candida (30), and Elizabeth of Salon (31).

²⁹ King Ottokar II eventually married King Béla IV's grand-daughter, Cunegond, on October 25, 1261.

Interrogata, que erant alie tunc presentes, respondit: Soror Olimpiades, monialis istius monasterii et multe alie, de quibus non recordatur.

Interrogata de loco, in quo fuit, consecrata, respondit: «Ante altare sancte Elisabeth in ecclesia dicti monasterii de insula». Item dixit, quod quando alie sorores exhibant de ecclesia post officium, ipsa soror Margaretha remanebat in ecclesia post eas, et ante altare faciebat venias et orationes cum magna devotione et humilitate, osculando pedes crucifixi et amplexando, et multum stabat ibi.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit, quia videbat hoc quolibet die. Item dixit, quod postquam intravit monasterium istud, servavit suum ordinem et suam regulam magis fortiter quam alie sorores in tota vita sua, et melius faciebat officium suum in ecclesia quam alie. Item dixit, quod postquam venit ad istud monasterium de insula Danubii, non exivit de predicto monasterio, et ibi finivit vitam suam.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit, quia vidit et erat tota die cum illa. Item dixit, quod non posset dicere totam devotionem et reverentiam, quam habebat in Deo. Item dixit, quod cum dicta testis haberet magnum malum in quodam digito manus sue dextere, ita quod non poterat quiescere, ipsa testis ivit ad lectum dicte sororis Margarethe, et invenit eam stantem prope lectum suum in oratione, et ostendit sibi digitum, dicens, quod non poterat dormire et quiescere, et si haberet aliquam petram, que haberet virtutem, sibi mutaret, et ipsa soror Margaretha tunc strinxit sibi digitum, et dixit: «Vade ad pausandum, quia tu eris cito liberata»; et tunc ipsa testis tornavit^a ad lectum suum, mire et statim fuit guarita;^b et dixit, quod in hora completorii istud malum incepit sibi, et quando debebat ire ad lectum, ivit ad dictam sororem Margaretham et dixit sibi, ut dictum est, et dixit, quod omnes alie sorores iverant ad dormiendum, et mane dixit eis.

^a tornare *ital.*

^b guarita *ital.*

When asked who were the others present at the time, she replied, "Sister Olimpiades, a nun of this monastery, and many others" that she "had no recollection of."

When asked about the place in which she was consecrated, she replied, "In front of the altar of St. Elizabeth in the chapel of the said monastery of the Island." Also, she said that when the other sisters left the church after the office, Sister Margaret used to stay behind in the church after they were gone, and pray for pardon before the altar with great devotion and humility, kissing and embracing the feet of the crucifix, and she would stay there a long time.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she used to see it every day. Also, she said that after she entered this monastery, she kept to its order and rule more firmly than any other sisters all her life, and she used to perform her office in the church better than they did. Also, she said that after she came into this monastery on the Island in the Danube, she did not leave the aforesaid monastery, and ended her life there.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, because she had seen it, and that she was with her all day. Also, she said that she could not express all the devotion and reverence which she had for God. Also, she said that when she, the said witness, had a severe pain in a certain finger of her right hand, such that she could not get rest, the witness went to the bed of the said Sister Margaret, and found her standing in prayer beside her bed, and she showed her her finger, saying that she could not sleep or get rest, and if she had any stone with virtue in it, to lend it to her, and Sister Margaret then personally stroked her finger and said, "Go and take rest, because you will soon be free"; and then the witness returned to her bed, and was at once miraculously cured; and she said that this ailment came upon her at the hour of the last office of the day, and that instead of going to bed she went to the said Sister Margaret and said to her what has already been said, and she said that all the other sisters had gone to sleep, and she told them in the morning.

Interrogata, quantum tempus est, quod hoc fuit, respondit: Per tres annos ante mortem dicte sororis Margarethe, sed de mense et de die non recordatur.

Interrogata, quantum tempus est, quod dicta soror Margaretha mortua est, respondit, quod non recordatur.

Interrogata, quot annos habebat tempore mortis sue, respondit: «Viginti octo annos, parum plus, vel minus».

Interrogata ipsa testis, quot annos habet, respondit: Sexaginta annos, sicut credit, et plus. «Et sunt quadraginta anni, quod monacha sum (in) predictis duobus monasteriis».

Interrogata, si est docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE MARTIS PRIMA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM

Interrogata, si recordatur, quod aliquo tempore, dum esset in dicto monasterio de Vesprimio, duo fratres predicatorum venirent illuc, qui vellent recedere, respondit: «Sic, et bene recordor, quando volebant recedere, quod virgo Margaretha rogabat eos, quod non recederent, et ipsi dixerunt, quod non poterant stare; et ipsa dixit: ‚Ego rogabo Deum, quod faciat pluiere tam fortiter, quod non possitis recedere‘, et ipsi dixerunt: ‚Nulla pluvia posset nos tenere‘, et recesserunt, et ipsa beata Margaretha, que tunc poterat esse decem annorum, intravit ecclesiam, et rogavit Deum quod plueret, et facte sunt pluvie tam magne, quod ipsi fratres redierunt, et non potuerunt recedere, et steterunt nocte illa in illa civitate, sed nescio ubi».³⁰

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non bene scio, sed recordor, quod fuit in autumnis».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post prandium cito».

³⁰ The story involving the Dominican friars is also told by Jolent (3) and Olimpiades (14), but the latter says that Margaret was seven years old at that time.

When asked over what time period this was, she replied, over the three years prior to the death of the said Sister Margaret, but she did not remember the month and the day.

When asked how long it was since Sister Margaret had died, she replied that she did not remember.

When asked how old she was at the time of her death, she replied, "Twenty-eight, more or less."

When the witness was asked how old she herself was, she replied, sixty, she thought, and more. "And it has been forty years that I've been a nun in these two monasteries."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1

When asked if she remembered an occasion when she was in the said monastery of Veszprém when two Dominican brothers went there, and wanted to leave, she replied, "Yes, and I well remember that when they wanted to leave, the virgin Margaret went and asked them not to leave, and they said that they could not stay; and she said, "I shall ask God to make it rain so hard that you can't leave," and they said, "No rain could stop us," and they left, and the Blessed Margaret, who could have been ten at the time, entered the church and asked God for it to rain, and there were such heavy rains that the brothers came back and could not leave, and they stayed that night in the town, but I don't know where."³⁰

When asked how many years it had been, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked about the month, she replied, "I don't rightly know, but I recall it was in autumn."

When asked about the day, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked about the hour of the day, she replied, "Soon after the midday meal."

When asked who were present, she replied, "Catherine, who is now the prioress, and Olimpiades; I don't remember the others."

Interrogata de presentibus, respondit: «Catharina, que est priorissa modo et Olimpiades, de aliis non recordor».

Interrogata, in quo loco erant tunc, quando sic rogavit dicta virgo Margaretha dictos fratres, respondit: «In domo capituli».

Interrogata, quale tempus erat, quando rogavit fratres, quod non recederent, respondit: «Serenum tempus multum».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicti fratres redierunt, respondit: «Thomas presbyter noster nobis dixit».³¹

Interrogata si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit simpliciter: «Non».

EADEM DIE³² VENERIS VIGESIMA QUARTA MENSIS JULII. III

Domina Jolent, soror et monialis dicti monasterii virginis gloriose de insula Danubii iuravit ad sancta Dei evangelia dicere, et respondere meram et puram veritatem super vita et conversatione recolende memorie predictae Margarethe virginis sanctimonialis olim dicti monasterii et super miraculis, que ad invocationem ipsius sororis Margarethe virginis Deus dicitur ostendisse.

Que iurata et interrogata sub iuramento dixit, quod dicta soror Margaretha, dum haberet tres annos et dimidium, data fuit per patrem et matrem monasterio sancte Catharine Vesprimiensi, ut monacha esset, et Deo serviret.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit, quod vidit et presens fuit, quando monacha erat dicti monasterii. Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha incepit legere et addiscere, postquam fuit [...];^{a, 33} soror Catharina, que nunc est priorissa in isto monasterio de insula Danubii, erat sua magistra, que docebat eam «Ave Maria», «Pater noster» et «Credo» memoriter, et ex tunc incepit ieiunare in die Veneris sancta.

^a [annos quattor] suppl. ad sensum ex ed.

³¹ On *Thomas presbyter noster*, see *Legenda vetus*, 46–47 n. 9.

³² The same day means the day of the first deposition of the previous witness.

When asked where they were at the time, when the said virgin Margaret asked her question of the two brothers, she replied, "In the chapter house."

When asked what the weather was like when she asked the brothers not to leave, she replied, "It was quite clear."

When asked how she knew that the said brothers had returned, she replied, "Our priest Thomas told us."³¹

When asked if she had been coached or asked [to give this testimony] she replied simply, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY,³² FRIDAY, JULY 24

3

Lady Jolent, sister and nun of the said monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the Island in the Danube swore on God's holy scriptures to speak and answer the pure and unadulterated truth about the life and behavior of the aforesaid Margaret of blessed memory, virgin and former nun of the said monastery, and about the miracles, which God is said to have shown forth at the invocation of the virgin sister Margaret.

When sworn and questioned under oath, she said that when the aforesaid Sister Margaret was three and a half years old, she had been given by her father and mother to the Monastery of Saint Catherine of Veszprém, to be a nun and to serve God.

When questioned about how she knew this, she replied, because she had seen it and she was present when she was a nun in the said monastery. She also said that the virgin Margaret began to read and learn, after she was [four years of age];³³ Sister Catherine, who is now the prioress in this monastery on the Island in the Danube, was her *magistra*, who taught her the *Ave Maria*, the *Pater Noster*, and the *Credo* by memory, and after that she began to keep the fast on Good Friday.

³³ Two words are missing in the original, but according to her legends she must have been four years of age at the time.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit, quia erat socia sua. Item dixit, quod passato^a medio anno dicta virgo Margaretha incepit tam bene addiscere officium sancte Marie, quod mirabantur moniales eiusdem monasterii, et postquam edocta est, imparavit^b officium, dicebat horas de sancta Maria, sicut alie sorores, sed non surgebat ad matutinum, quia iuvenis erat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit, quia erat cum illa die noctuque, et videbat hoc. Item dixit, quod dum esset ita puella, faciebat altare et in eo orabat, et hoc videbatur gaudium suum, ludus suus.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit; quia vidit et erat presens. Item dixit, priusquam habuit septem annos, stando in dicto monasterio Vesprimiensi, quando videbat fratres et sorores, ipsa ponebat se cum eis et orabat.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit, quia sepe vidit. Item dixit, quod quando dicta puella habebat sex annos, parum plus vel minus, videns crucem, que ostendebatur sibi, dimandabat,^c quid sit hoc; et tunc sorores respondebant: «Filia mea, hoc est sicut Christus fuit mortuus pro nobis, et sparsit sanguinem suum»; et tunc puella incipiebat flere.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit, quod «(In) presentia mea fuit hoc». Item dixit, quod dum haberet septem annos, rogavit dictam testem, sociam suam, et quasdam alias, quod darent sibi scapularium, et tunc clausurunt ostium, duxerunt eam coram altari, et ceperunt cantare plane: «Veni Creator», et posuerunt scapulare in dorso suo. Item dixit, quod postquam habuit novem annos, quasi furtim discedebat a monialibus et sociis dicti monasterii, et intrabat ecclesiam in loco occulto et orabat, et quando magistra sua inveniebat eam et vocabat ipsam, ipsa dicebat: «Dimittas me adhuc aliquantulum stare hic.»

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit, quia quando ipsa et alie querebant ipsam, videbant et audiebant hoc. Item dixit,

^a passato *ital.*

^b imparare *ital.*

^c dimandare *ital.*

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she was her companion. She also said that after half a year the aforesaid virgin Margaret began to learn the office of the Virgin Mary so well, that the nuns of that same monastery were amazed, and after she had learned it thoroughly, she learned the office, and said the hours of the Virgin Mary, just like the other sisters, but she did not rise at dawn, because she was young.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she was with her day and night, and she used to see it. She also said that while she was still a child, she used to make an altar and pray at it, and this seemed to be her joy and play.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she saw it and was present. She also said that before she became seven, while at the same monastery of Veszprém, when she saw the brothers and sisters [prostrating themselves and praying], she would join them and pray alongside them. When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she had often seen it. She also said that when the said girl was about six, seeing a cross which was shown to her, she asked what it was, and then the sisters replied: "My daughter, this means Christ died for us and shed his blood"; and then the girl began to weep.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "It happened in my presence." She also said that when she was seven years old, she asked the said witness, her companion, and certain others to give her a scapular, and then they closed the door, led her to the altar, and began to sing *Veni creator*, and they placed the scapular on her back. She also said that after she was nine, she [Margaret] would almost stealthily leave the nuns and her associates in the said monastery, enter a hidden part of the church, and pray, and when her *magistra* would find her and summon her, she used to say, "Let me stay here just a little while longer."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because when she herself and others used to look for her, this is what they saw and heard. She also said that when she was about that same age, Margaret personally swept the house, church, and refectory, and served the sick, as best she could, very willingly, and she cleaned the latrines.

quod cum esset in dicta etate, vel circiter, ipsa Margaretha scopabat domum, ecclesiam et refectorium, et serviebat infirmis, sicut poterat, multum libenter, et necessaria purgabat.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit, quia cum ipsa testis et alie quedam purgarent ex necessitate necessaria sua, ipsa puella rogabat eas, quod dimitterent eam intrare cum eis ad purgandum dicta necessaria, et contra voluntatem earum intrabat et purgabat cum eis. Item dixit, quod rex Bela, pater dicte Margarethe virginis voluit illam maritare duci Polonie, dum adhuc esset in dicto monasterio sancte Catharine, et ipsa puella nolebat et dicebat: «Si aliter non possum scampare,^a truncabo nasum meum.»

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit, quia presens erat et audivit. Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha habebat decem annos, quando venit de dicto monasterio sancte Catharine ad istud monasterium de insula Danubii.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit, quia pater suus et mater fecerunt ipsam venire ad istud monasterium, et ipsa testis cum multis aliis sororibus dicti monasterii sancte Catharine venerunt cum ea. Item dixit, quod postquam venit ad dictum monasterium, pater suus, rex Bela voluit eam maritare regi Bohemie, sed illa noluit consentire, dicendo, quod prius lassaret^b se occidi, quia volebat servire Deo, et flebat multum, quando dicebatur sibi hoc, et ne pater suus posset illam maritare, fecit se consecrari ab archiepiscopo Strigoniensi coram altare sancte Elisabethae dicti monasterii de insula Danubii.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Ego scio pro vero, quia ego eram tunc ipsi presens ibi». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha fuit de tam bona vita, quod non posset dici per linguam hominis.

Interrogata, de quo fuit de tanta bona vita, respondit: «In serviendo infirmis, lavando capita eis, et servitilibus illud faciebat, et dabat eis comedere et bibere, et faciebat eis lectos et balnea, et

^a scampare *ital.*

^b lasciare *ital.*

When asked how she knew this, she replied that when she, that is to say the witness, and certain others were cleaning their latrines, as they had to, the girl asked them to let her go in with them to clean the said latrines, and unwilling though they were, she would go in and do the cleaning with them. She also said that King Béla, the father of the said virgin Margaret, wanted her to marry the Duke of Poland, at a time when she was still in the said monastery of Saint Catherine, and the girl herself refused and said, "If I can't get out of it any other way, I'll cut off my nose."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she was present and heard it. She also said that the said virgin Margaret was ten when she came from the said monastery of Saint Catherine to this monastery on the Island in the Danube.

When asked how she knew this, she replied that her father and mother made her come to this monastery, and the witness, and many other sisters of the said monastery of Saint Catherine came with her. She also said that after she came to the monastery, her father, King Béla, wanted her to marry the King of Bohemia, but she would not agree to it, saying she would rather let herself be killed, because she wanted to serve God, and she cried a great deal when this was said to her, and so that the king could not marry her off, she had herself consecrated by the archbishop of Esztergom before the altar of Saint Elizabeth in the monastery on the Island in the Danube.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid things, she replied, "I know it for a fact, because I was there myself at the time." She also said that the said virgin Margaret led such a good life that the tongue of man could not describe it.

When asked in what respect she led such a good life, she replied, "In serving the sick, and washing their heads. And she did this for the servants, and gave them food and drink, and made their beds and prepared their baths, and shaved their heads when it needed doing, and scrubbed the infirmary, and did such other services as she could, and she was the one who visited the sisters and servants when they were ill, and consoled them, and asked respectfully about their illnesses, and used to say, 'Is there anything

radebat eis capita, quando oportebat, et scopabat infirmariam, et alia servitia que facere poterat, et erat que visitabat sorores et servitiales infirmas, et consolabatur eas, et querebat humiliter de infirmitate earum, et dicebat: ‚Quid placet vobis’, et faciebat eis invenire medicinas ad infirmitates suas, in quantum ipsa poterat, et stabat ad custodiendas eas infirmas usque ad matutinum».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit, quia ipsa et alie sorores id videbant. Item dixit, quod nunquam vidit personam aliquam, que tantum oraret et rogaret Deum, quantum ipsa virgo Margaretha faciebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, ad hoc respondit, quod ipsa et alie sorores videbant. Item dixit ipsa testis, quando surgebat, ut videret, si esset hora matutina, quia erat sacristiana, frequenter ibat ad lectum dicte virginis Margarethe, et semper inveniebat ipsam iuxta lectum stantem in oratione, et hoc vidit per novem annos, in quibus fuit sacrestana. Item dixit, quod quando nunciabatur nativitas Dei et gloriose virginis et ipsius annunciatio et assumptio, sicut fit in capitulo, ipsa virgo Margaretha audiebat hoc cum tota devotione, quod sternebat se ad terram cum lacrymis et orationibus, et dixit, quod in qualibet predictarum festivitatum faciebat mille venias, dicendo orationes suas, sed nescit, quales.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit, quia videbat eam in ecclesia facientem hoc. Item dixit, quod semper ieiunabat in pane et aqua vigiliis beate Marie virginis.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit, quia videbat. Item dixit, quod ab illa Dominica quadragesime, qua cantatur: «Judica me»³⁴ faciebat sibi legi passionem Christi usque ad Saba-thum sanctum, et illam audiebat cum lacrymis³⁵ et magna devotione, et semper stabat tunc in pedibus. Item dixit, quod in cena domini lavabat pedes omnibus sororibus et servitilibus claustrii dicti monasterii, et pedes illarum sugabat cum velo capitis sui, et nihil comedebat, nec bibebat in die passionis domini.

³⁴ Judica Sunday was the fifth Sunday of Lent, which marked the last two weeks of Lent, called Passiontide.

I can do for you?' and she saw to it, as much as she was able, that medicines would be found to treat their illnesses, and she used to stand watch over the sick until dawn."

When asked how she knew this, she replied that she herself and other sisters had seen it. She also said that she had never seen anyone address as many prayers and supplications to God as Margaret did.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid things, she answered that she herself and other sisters had seen them. The same witness also said that when she would rise to see if it was time for matins, she being the sacristan, she often went to the bed of the said virgin Margaret, and she always found her beside the bed praying, and she saw this throughout the nine years she was a sacristan. She also said that when the Birth of God was announced, and the Nativity of the Glorious Virgin, and the Annunciation and the Assumption, as is done in the chapter, the virgin Margaret would hear this with total devotion, inasmuch as she would prostrate herself on the ground with tears and prayers, and she said that on any one of the aforesaid feast days Margaret would make a thousand *veniae* in the course of saying her prayers, but she did not know what prayers.

When asked how she knew this, she replied that she had seen her doing it in church. She also said that she would always eat nothing but bread and water during the Vigils of the Blessed Virgin Mary.

When asked how she knew this, she replied because she had seen it. She also said that from the first Sunday in Lent on which the *Judica me* is sung³⁴ right up to Holy Saturday she had the story of Christ's Passion read to her, and she listened to it with tears³⁵ and great devotion, always on those occasions standing upright. She likewise said that at Holy Thursday she would wash the feet of all the sisters and the servants in the cloister of the monastery, and dry their feet with the veil from her own head, and she would neither eat nor drink on the day of the Lord's Passion.

³⁵ Cf. Nagy, *Le don des larmes au Moyen Âge*.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia ego et alie sorores videbamus hoc, et mihi testi lavit pedes et sugavit, et hoc incepit facere, quando incepit habere bonum sensum, et bonam cognitionem, et hoc fecit usque ad mortem suam quolibet anno», sicut ipsa testis vidit. Item dixit, per totam quadragesimam et per totum adventum et qualibet septimana a die Jovis usque ad Sabathum portabat cilicium supra carnem.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, respondit, quia vidit per oculos suos: «Et dictum cilicium poteritis videre, si volueritis». Item dixit, quod per decem annos, sicut credit, ante mortem suam dicta virgo Margaretha quolibet mane in hora prima faciebat sibi dici penitentiam, et non poterat videri per aliquam de sororibus, nisi quando ad videndum corpus Christi exibat de loco suo, in quo morabatur occulte et private, et postea revertebatur in dictum locum, et stabat ibi quousque incipiebatur missa conventualis, et tunc exibat et ibat ad chorum, et stabat ibi cum aliis dominabus multum devote usque ad finem misse, et completa missa revertebatur ad illum locum suum secretum, et stabat ibi usque ad horam prandii.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit, quia vidit: «Et dictum locum poteritis videre, si volueritis.» Item dixit ipsa testis, quod quando erat sacrestana, et volebat claudere ostia chori, dicto completorio, dicta virgo Margaretha sepe dixit ei in vigilia sanctorum, quod ipsa sacrestana clauderet eam in choro, et rogabat eam, quod veniret ad standum cum ea, et hoc factum fuisse pluries. Quadam nocte in vigilia omnium sanctorum stabat ante altare in orationibus, et cum multum stetisset ita, dicta soror Margaretha cecidit, quod videbatur quasi mortua, et tamdiu stetit sic, donec predicta testis legit sibi totum psalterium, faciendo in quolibet psalmo unam veniam, et quamvis pluries faceret signum et sonitum, ut ipsa surgeret, ipsa tamen non surrexit, nec sibi loquuta fuit, et tunc dicta testis dubitans, ne mortua esset, ivit ad Olimpiadem magistram suam, et privatim dixit sibi supradicta, et tunc ipsa magistra sua cum dicta teste statim redierunt ad locum, ubi eam omiserat ipsa testis coram altari, et viderunt eam sic iacentem, et cum approximarent ad eam, dicta virgo Margaretha surrexit, et dicta Olimpiades magistra sua cepit eam reprehendere et dicere: «Quid

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because other sisters and I used to see it, and she washed and dried my own feet, and she began to do this when she was mentally and emotionally mature, and she did this every year right up until she died," just as the witness had seen for herself. She also said that throughout the whole of Lent and Advent and every week from Thursday until Saturday she wore a hair-shirt next to her flesh.

When asked how she knew this, she replied that she had seen it with her own eyes: "And you can see the hair-shirt, if you want." She also said that throughout the ten years, she thought, before her death the said virgin Margaret every morning at the first hour had a penance prescribed for her, and she could not be seen by any of the sisters, except when she left her place, in which she stayed hidden, to see the body of Christ, and afterwards she would return to the said place, and stay there until it began to be time for the conventual mass, and then she would go out and enter the choir, and stay there with the other ladies very devoutly until the mass was over, and when it was, she would return to her private place, and stay there until the breakfast hour.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, because she had seen it: "And you can see the place I spoke of, if you want." The same witness also said that when she was sacristan and wanted to close the gate of the choir after compline had been sung, the said virgin Margaret often asked her as sacristan to shut her in the choir on saints' vigils, and to stay with her there, and that this had happened on many occasions. One night on the vigil of All Saints she stayed praying at the altar, and when she had done this for a long time, the said sister Margaret fell and seemed as one dead, and she remained like this until the aforesaid witness had read the whole book of psalms to her, asking for one act of pardon at every psalm, and although she made frequent signals and sounds asking her to get up, she did not in fact do so, nor did she speak to her, and then the aforesaid witness, wondering if she was dead, went to her *magistra* Olimpiades and privately told her the aforesaid facts, and then the *magistra* and the said witness together immediately returned to the place where the witness had left her in front of the

facis, tu vis te interficere?» et statim rediit, «et ego dixi sibi: „Qualiter me turbasti?“ et ipsa virgo Margaretha subridens cepit manum meam dicens: „Noli turbari, quia parum steti sic»³⁶.

Interrogata, quot anni sunt quod hoc fuit, respondit: Hoc fuit per unum annum ante mortem suam; et dixit, quod septem anni sunt quod sit mortua.

Interrogata, in qua die fuit illud festum omnium sanctorum, respondit: «Ego non recordor».

Interrogata, in qua hora predictae noctis hoc fuit, respondit: Ante matutinum, scilicet priusquam surrexerunt, nam incontinenti pulsatum fuit ad matutinum.

Interrogata, num alie sorores monasterii sciverunt predicta, respondit: «Mane sequenti ego dixi hoc domine Candide, de tunc priorissa, que mortua est, et aliis dominabus de isto monasterio».

Interrogata de nominibus aliarum dominarum, respondit: «Non recordor». Item dixit, quod diligebat paupertatem et in paupertate vivere, in portando veteres vestes et velum vetus, et numquam novas vestes portare volebat, licet sibi darentur, et in cibo et in potu et in omnibus aliis; et libenter subveniebat pauperibus in omnibus, in quibus poterat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia videbam oculis meis». Item dixit, cum quadam die plueret fortiter, dicta virgo Margaretha dixit cuidam servituali, quod debet ire et portare sibi tunicam suam, quam habebat quedam alia servitialis, et cum iret dicta servitialis pro predicta tunica, cecidit in quemdam puteum, et cum nimis staret et non tornaret, dicta virgo Margaretha querebat de dicta servitiali, et tandem, cum non inveniret eam, ipsa et alie sorores invenerunt eam in puteo, nam ceciderat, et cum ipsa non posset eam extrahere de puteo, ad fenestram fecerunt signum, et dixerunt hoc fratribus, et fratres intraverunt et iverunt ad puteum; et cum magistra dicte virginis Margarethe reprehenderet et diceret, quod male fecerat et occiderat illam servitalem, quia mittebat eam pro tali tempore per curiam, ipsa virgo Margaretha

³⁶ On Margaret's cathartic art of praying and ecstasies, see *Legenda vetus*, 51 n. 15.

altar, and they saw her lying thus, and when they got close to her, the said virgin Margaret stood up, and the said *magistra* Olimpiades began to scold her, saying, "What are you doing? Do you want to kill yourself?" and after this she went away. "And I said to her, 'How you have scared me!'" And the virgin Margaret took her hand with a smile, saying, "Don't be alarmed; because I only stayed like this for a short time."³⁶

When asked over how many years ago this had happened, she replied that it had been for one year before her death, and she said it had been seven years since she had died.

When asked on what day that feast of All Saints had fallen, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked at what hour of the aforesaid night this had happened, she replied, before matins, that is to say before they got up, for the wake-up call came immediately before matins.

When asked whether any other sisters of the monastery knew the aforesaid, she replied, "On the morning of the next day I told this to Lady Candida, then prioress, who is dead, and to other ladies of this monastery."

When asked about the names of the other ladies, she replied, "I don't remember." She also said that she [Margaret] loved poverty and the life of poverty, in wearing old clothes and an old veil, and never wanting to wear new clothes, even though they were given to her, and in her food and drink and everything else; and she gladly aided the poor in all things, insofar as she was able.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid things, she replied, "Because I saw them with my own eyes." She likewise said that one day when it was raining heavily the said virgin Margaret told a certain servant girl that she was to go and fetch her tunic for her, which a certain other serving girl had, and when the said serving girl went for the aforesaid tunic, she fell into a well, and when she had been there for a long time and had not come back, the said virgin Margaret inquired about the serving girl, and finally, not finding her, she herself and other sisters found her in the well, for she had fallen in, and when she could not get her out of the well on her own, she made a signal at the window, and told the broth-

cepit rogare Deum, quod scamparet eam a tali blasmo^a: et tunc dicta servitialis, que tunc iverat usque ad fundum putei, venit supra aquam, et cepit hydriam, cum qua trahitur aqua, et tunc fratres et sorores traxerunt eam superius, (et) liberata est.³⁷

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor». Dixit tamen, quod hoc fuit in quadam die resurrectionis.

Interrogata, qua hora fuit hoc, respondit: «De sero».

Interrogata, si tunc iam cepit obscurum, vel clarum, respondit: «Obscurum».

Interrogata de nomine predictae servitialis, respondit: «Agnes, que adhuc vivit».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta Margaretha precepit dicte servitiali, quod portaret sibi dictam tunicam, respondit, quia hoc audivit postea a dicta virgine Margaretha.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod magistra predictae virginis Margarethe reprehenderet eam, respondit: «Ego et alie sorores hoc audivimus iuxta predictum puteum».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod predicta virgo Margaretha rogavit Deum, ut superius dixit, respondit: «Ego et alie sorores hoc audivimus».

Interrogata de nominibus fratrum, qui traxerunt dictam servitalem de dicto puteo, respondit: «Ego non recordor».

Interrogata, que fuerunt ille sorores, respondit: «Olimpiades, magistra predictae virginis Margarethe et Elisabeth,³⁸ filia sua, Margaretha,³⁹ filia domini Gulielmi⁴⁰ et Femia et multe alie, de quibus non recordor», et dixit, quod omnes predictae sorores vivunt et sunt in dicto monasterio.

^a biasimo *ital.*

³⁷ She is Witness 16 below, her case is narrated by three other sisters.

³⁸ She is Witness 13 below.

³⁹ She is Witness 6 below.

⁴⁰ For William, Duke of Macsó, grandson of King Béla III, see note 49 below.

ers about it, and the brothers came in and went to the well; and when the *magistra* of the said virgin Margaret remonstrated with her and said that she had done a bad thing and killed that serving girl, because she had sent her through the courtyard at such a time of day, the said virgin Margaret began to ask God to save her from this blame, and then the said serving girl, who had sunk to the bottom of the well, grabbed hold of the bucket by which the water is drawn up, and then the brothers and sisters pulled her to the surface, and she was freed.³⁷

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied "I don't recall."

When asked about the month, she replied, "I don't recall." She did say, however, that it happened one Easter day.

When asked at what time it happened, she replied, "Late in the day."

When asked if it was light or already dark, she replied, "Dark."

When asked the servant's name she replied, "Agnes, who is still living."

When asked how she knew that the aforesaid Margaret had ordered the aforesaid serving-girl to bring her the tunic in question, she answered that she had later heard it from the aforesaid virgin Margaret.

When asked how she knew that the aforesaid virgin Margaret's *magistra* reprimanded her, she replied, "The other sisters and I heard it, by the aforesaid well."

When asked how she knew that the aforesaid virgin Margaret had addressed a request to God, as she had previously said, she replied, "The other sisters and I heard it."

When asked the names of the brothers, who had hauled the aforesaid serving-girl from the well, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked who those sisters of Bodomer were, she replied, "Olimpiades, *magistra* of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, her daughter, Elisabeth,³⁸ Margaret,³⁹ the daughter of Lord William⁴⁰ and Femia, and many others, whom I don't recall," and she said that all the aforementioned sisters were alive and in the said monastery.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta servitialis tunc ivit usque ad fundum putei, respondit: A dicta servitiali audivit, quando tracta fuit de puteo.

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit, quadraginta annos, et per triginta tres annos semper in monasterio fuerat.

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Die lune sequenti⁴¹ rediit dicta testis, soror Jolent, et dixit, volens corrigere dictum suum, quod per errorem dixerat, quod fratres fuerunt presentes ad trahendum predictam servitalem de dicto puteo, quia non fuerunt ibi, sicut postea recordata est.

DIE MERCURII SECUNDA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM

Interrogata, si recordatur, quod duo fratres predicatorum venissent ad monasterium Vesprimiense, quando ibi erant, et dum ipsi recedere vellent et recedere incepissent, pluit fortiter, et non potuerunt tunc recedere, respondit: «Scio, quod semel venerunt duo fratres predicatorum, et unus frater habebat nomen Herbart, sed nomen alterius non scio, et ipsa beata Margaretha rogabat eos, quod non recederent, et ipsi dixerunt: ‚Nos non possumus stare, volumus recedere’, et ipsa beata Margaretha dixit: ‚Ego rogabo Deum, quod pluat sic fortiter, quod non possitis recedere’, et ipsi dixerunt: ‚Pluvia non posset nos retinere’, et recedebant, et ipsa beata Margaretha, que habebat forte decem annos, sed nescio pro certo, intravit ecclesiam, et rogavit Deum, quod faceret pluiere tam fortiter, quod ipsi fratres non possent recedere, et venit pluvia incontinenti tam magna, quod dictum fuit nobis, quod steterunt in civitate illa de Vesprimio».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio pro certo, sed bene scio, quod fuit in autumnus».

⁴¹ On July 27.

When asked how she knew that the said serving-girl sank all the way to the bottom of the well, she replied that she had heard it from the said serving-girl, when she was hauled from the well.

When asked how old she was, she said forty, and that she had been in the monastery continuously for thirty-three years.

When asked if she had been coached or asked to give this testimony, she answered, "No."

On the following Monday,⁴¹ the said witness, Sister Jolent, returned and said that she wanted to correct her statement, because she had erroneously said that the brothers were present at the pulling-out of the girl from the said well, and that they were not there, as she later remembered.

ON WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2

When asked if she remembered two brothers from the Order of the Preachers coming to the monastery at Veszprém, and when they were preparing to leave, a heavy rainstorm coming on while they were attempting to do so, and their not being able to, she replied, "I know that two preaching brothers once came, and one was called Herbart, but I don't know the other one's name. The blessed Margaret asked them not to leave, and they said: 'We cannot stay, we want to leave'; and the blessed Margaret said: 'I will ask God to make it rain so hard, that you cannot leave'; and they said: 'Rain cannot keep us,' and they did leave; and the blessed Margaret herself, who was maybe ten years old, I can't be sure, went into the church and asked God to make it rain so hard that the brothers couldn't leave; and at once the rain came in such a flood, as it was told to us, that they stayed in the town of Veszprém."

When asked how long ago this happened, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know for sure, but I am certain that it was in the autumn."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't know."

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Statim post prandium».

Interrogata de presentibus, respondit: «Multi erant, et bene recorder quod ibi erat soror Olimpiades (et) soror Catharina, que modo est priorissa».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod oravit in ecclesia, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidimus eam orare et flere ante nos, et intravit ecclesiam, et credo, quod ibi oravit similiter.»

Interrogata, a quibus audivit, quod dicti fratres redierunt et steterunt in civitate illa, respondit: «Presbyter Thomas, qui stabat in ecclesia nostra, hoc dixit nobis».

Item interrogata, si scit, quod domina Elisabeth, filia quondam regis Stephani⁴² habuit aliquam infirmitatem, postquam mortua fuit ista virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Habuit infirmitatem acutam, et credebamus eam mori, et apposuimus scapularium et velum, que portabat ista sancta Margaretha, super eam, et lavimus capillos istius sancte Margarethe, et illam lavaturam dedimus sibi ad bibendum, et statim incepit sudare, et meliorata et sanata est».⁴³

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod predictae vestes posite sunt super eam et lavatura capillorum data fuerit ei ad bibendum, respondit: «Scio, quia sedebam ad caput eius».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod incepit sudare, et meliorata et sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego eram ibi et cooperiebam ipsam».

Interrogata, si alique alie erant presentes, respondit: «Soror Olimpiades, que portavit vestes predictas, et ego et multe alie».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, respondit: «Hoc anno circa pentecosten».

⁴² For Elizabeth, Margaret's niece, daughter of King Stephen V, see note 56, at her testimony as Witness 5.

⁴³ This is a precious testimony on how the nuns made use of Margaret's relics shortly after her death. Elizabeth's healing is also related by herself (5), by Margaret of Macsó (6), and by Olimpiades (14). In her *Vita* we also encounter the *velum* guarded by her

When asked what hour of the day, she replied, "Immediately after the midday meal."

When asked who was present, she answered, "There were many, and I well remember that Sister Olimpiades was there, and Sister Catherine, who is now the prioress."

When asked how she knew that [Margaret] had prayed in the church, as she had said, she replied, "We saw her praying and weeping in front of us, and she entered the church and, I believe, prayed there in the same way."

When asked from whom she heard that the two brothers had come back and stayed in the town, she answered, "The priest Thomas, who was staying in our church, told us that."

Likewise, when asked if she knew that Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the late King Stephen,⁴² had some illness, after the virgin Margaret's death, she replied, "She did have a severe illness, and we thought she was dying. We laid on her a scapular and veil which Saint Margaret herself used to wear, and we washed this holy Margaret's hair and gave her the wash-water to drink, and at once she began to sweat, got better, and was cured."⁴³

When asked how she knew that the aforesaid items of clothing were placed upon her and that the water in which the hair had been washed had been given to her to drink, she replied, "I know it, because I was sitting by her head."

When asked how she knew that she began to sweat, got better, and was cured, as she said, she replied, "I was there and I covered her [with the veil and scapular]."

When asked if there were any other women present, she replied, "Sister Olimpiades, who brought the aforementioned clothes, and myself, and many others."

When asked what year this happened, she answered, "This year, around Pentecost."

sister, Princess Anne, and used for the healing of Margaret's nephew, King Ladislas IV; cf. *Legenda vetus*, 128 n. 97. The use of the *lavatura* of Margaret's hair for healing is mentioned in the testimonies of several witnesses: Sabina (10), Elizabeth of Bodomer (13), Olimpiades (14), Cecilia (19), Lucy (20), Elizabeth daughter of *comes* Adrian (32), Jordanus (42), and Mary of Megyer (76).

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «De illo mense pentecostes».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non possum recordari».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Circa horam vespertinam».

Interrogata, que verba dicebant tunc, respondit: «Orabamus beatam Margaretham, quod liberaret eam».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Presbyter Petrus, prior ecclesie sancte crucis de calidis aquis de ordine cruce signatorum,⁴⁴ et Artolus mercator, qui stat Venetiis,⁴⁵ iuraverunt, interrogare dominas istius monasterii et alias personas in lingua hungarica, sicut eis dicerent predicti inquisitores, et fideliter eis referre ea, que intellexerint ab ipsis, scilicet predictus prior in latino sermone et Artolus in sermone italico, sicut intelligerent in hungarico a predictis dominabus et aliis personis; remotis odio, amore et timore, pretio et precibus, spirituali utilitate et damno suo et alieno, ad bonam fidem et sine fraude, sic Deus eos adiuvaret ac ista sancta Dei evangelia; (et) sicut superius scriptum (est) in dictis predictarum dominarum interpretati fuerunt.

DIE SABATHI VIGESIMA QUINTA MENSIS JULII IV

Domina Margaretha, filia domine Anne, sororis coniugis regis Stephani,⁴⁶ soror et monialis dicti monasterii virginis gloriose de insula Danubii iuravit ad sancta Dei evangelia dicere et respon-

⁴⁴ The Knightly Order of the Hospital of Saint John of Jerusalem was founded in 1113 to attend the needs of sick pilgrims in the Holy Land. Cf. Zsolt Hunyadi, *The Hospitallers in the Medieval Kingdom of Hungary c. 1150–1387* (Budapest: Metem–CEU, 2010).

⁴⁵ The reference to this Venetian merchant, who was capable of translating from Hungarian, is an interesting evidence of economic relations between Hungary and Venice. Cf. Zsuzsa Teke, *A velencei-magyar kereskedelmi kapcsolatok a XIII–XV. században* [Economic relations between Venice and Hungary in the 13th to 15th centuries] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1979), 12–28.

When asked the month, she replied, "In the month of Pentecost."

When asked the day, she replied, "I can't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "Around vespers."

When asked what was said on that occasion, she replied, "We were praying to blessed Margaret to deliver her."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to give this testimony, she answered, "No."

The priest Peter, prior of the church of the Holy Cross of Felhévíz, of the Order of Saint John,⁴⁴ and the merchant Artolus from Venice,⁴⁵ have sworn to interrogate the ladies of this monastery and other persons in Hungarian, just as the aforesaid inquisitors told them to, and to translate faithfully to them what they understood others to be saying, the aforesaid prior translating into Latin and Artolus into Italian, just as they understood what was said in Hungarian by the aforesaid ladies and other persons. They have sworn without hatred, love, or fear, bribery or entreaties, or spiritual advantage to themselves or loss to themselves or anyone else, in good faith and without fraud, so help them God and his holy gospels; and they have interpreted as has been written above the words of the aforesaid ladies.

ON SATURDAY, JULY 25

4

Lady Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, sister of the wife of King Stephen,⁴⁶ sister and nun of the said monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the Island in the Danube, swore on God's holy gospels to

⁴⁶ Lady Anne was not the sister of King Stephen's wife, but the daughter of Stephen's (and Margaret's) sister, Anne, and Rostislav, Duke of Tshernigov. Cf. *Legenda vetus*, 66 n. 38. She was given to the nunnery in 1252, when the new convent on the Island of Hares was founded. In 1290 she is mentioned as *priorissa* of the convent; Gusztáv Wenzel, *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus*, (Pest 1860, Budapest 1889), vol. IX, 519.

dere meram et puram veritatem super vita et conversatione recolende memorie predictae Margarethe virginis, sanctimonialis olim dicti monasterii de insula Danubii et super miraculis, que ad invocationem ipsius sororis Margarethe virginis Deus dicitur ostendisse.

Que iurata et interrogata sub iuramento dixit, quod vidit dictam virginem Margaretham, quando primo venit de monasterio de Vesprimio ad istud monasterium de insula Danubii, et dixit, quod tunc dicta Margaretha poterat habere undecim annos, sicut audit; et dixit, quod ab eo tempore quasi semper fuit socia sua, et multum stabat secum in dormitorio et in aliis locis; et dixit, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha fuit bone vite et sancte, quia semper rogabat Deum, et libenter subveniebat pauperibus, in quibus poterat, et habebat magnum amorem ad Deum et proximum, et erat magne humilitatis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc, sicut illa que eram socia sua, et quotidie eram secum». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha a mane usque ad prandium stabat in orationibus et in missis, (et) ita erat intenta in orationibus, quod nolebat exire de choro per aliquem nuncium patris, vel matris, vel alterius persone, cum vocaretur a priorissa sua.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam, et lectus meus vicinus erat». Item dixit, quod post completorium pro maiori tempore stabat in oratione iuxta lectum suum, donec galli cantabant, nisi quando erat infirma.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam et lectus meus erat iuxta lectum suum». Item dixit, quod predicta virgo Margaretha in septimana sua lavabat scutellas et pignatas, et aliquando erat tam magnum frigus, quod quando squaminabat pisces et lavabat, manus sue tremebant ex nimio frigore, propter glaciem et frigus magnum. Item dixit, quod super totum hoc serviebat infirmis, faciendo coquinam earum, dando eis bibere et comedere, lavando eis capita, et radendo et portando et iuvando eas ire ad necessarium.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia videbam et serviebam cum ea». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Marga-

speak and answer the pure and unadulterated truth about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret of revered memory, once a nun of the said monastery on the Island in the Danube, and about the miracles, which God is said to have shown forth at the invocation of sister Margaret.

Sworn and questioned under oath, she said that she saw the said virgin Margaret when first she came from the monastery at Veszprém to the monastery on the Island in the Danube, and she said that at that time the said Margaret might have been eleven years old, as she heard; and she said that from that time on she had been her almost constant companion, and she stayed frequently around her in the dormitory and elsewhere; and she said that the virgin Margaret led a good and holy life, because she was always praying to God, and she generously helped the poor, insofar as she could, and had a great love for God and for her neighbor, and was very humble.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid things, she replied, "Because I saw it as her companion and as one who was with her every day." She also said that the virgin Margaret used to stay on from early morning until lunch-time, praying and attending mass, and was so intent on her prayers that she did not wish to leave the choir for any message from her father or mother or anyone else, when she was summoned by her prioress.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it, and my bed was near hers." She also said that after compline she would stay for a very long time by her bed, praying, until cock crow, except when she was sick.

When asked how she knew this, she answered, "Because I saw it, and my bed was next to hers." She also said that the aforesaid virgin Margaret washed the plates and the pans when it was her week, and sometimes it was so cold that when she was scaling and washing fish, her hands trembled from the extreme cold, because of the ice and great frost. She also said that over and above all this she tended the sick, cooking for them, giving them food and drink, washing their heads and shaving them, and carrying them and helping them go to the latrine.

retha ab eo tempore circiter, quando vidit et cognovit eam in isto monasterio de insula Danubii per totam quadragesimam et per totum adventum portabat cilicium super carnem, et a die Jovis usque ad diem Dominicum per totum annum. Item dixit, quod portabat cingulum de ferro subtus dictum cilicium, et quod erat tota cargata^a de pediculis, et nolebat quod pediculi tollerentur, ut propter hoc affligeret corpus suum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi oculis meis, et cilicium et dictum cingulum adhuc sunt in isto monasterio». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha petiit in obedientiam a priorissa, quod posset lavare pedes omnibus sororibus et servitilibus eiusdem monasterii in cena domini quolibet anno, et sic habuit illam obedientiam, et quolibet anno in dicta die lavabat pedes predictis sororibus et servitilibus cum magna humilitate, et cum velo capitis sui sugabat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et audiui et mihi testi lavit pedes meos». Item dixit, quod in vigilia nativitatis, in parasceve, in vigilia assumptionis et in aliis magnis vigiliis verberabat se cum virgultis de spinis aliquando, et quandoque cum quadam scoriata de pelle gritii, ita quod sanguis exhibat, et quando non poterat hoc facere propter debilitatem brachii sui, et quod habuit malum per quatuor annos vel circiter in finibus vite sue, faciebat se verberari per sororem Sabinam, monacham eiusdem monasterii.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi, et illud poteritis a dicta sorore Sabina scire». Item dixit, quod: «Quodam die, dum dicta virgo Margaretha stetisset in oratione attenta, os suum spalle sue^b exivit de loco, ita quod magnum dolorem habebat, et priorissa et alie sorores multum dolebant et querebant medicinas, quomodo possent eam sanare, et ego testis incepti dicere inter me quidem hoc, quod de religiosa ista habetur tanta cura pro istis medicinis, et quasi deridendo inter me hoc dicebam, et statim

^a caricata *ital.*

^b spalla *ital.*

When asked how she knew the aforesaid things, she replied, "Because I saw them and served with her." She also said that the said virgin Margaret, about that time when she saw and knew her in the monastery on the Island in the Danube, used to wear a hair-shirt next to her flesh for all of Lent and Advent, and throughout the whole year from Thursday to Sunday. She also said that she wore an iron belt beneath the said hair-shirt, and that she was completely infested with lice, and refused to have the lice removed, so that by means of them she should punish her body.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it with my own eyes, and the hair-shirt and the said belt are still in this monastery." She also said that the said virgin Margaret asked the prioress, as an act of obedience, to be allowed to wash all the sisters' feet and those of the servants of the same monastery every year at the feast of the Last Supper of our Lord, and in this way she obtained that permission and each year on the aforesaid day she washed the feet of the aforesaid sisters and servants with great humility and dried them with her veil.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it and heard it, and she washed my own feet as well." She also said on Christmas Eve, on Good Friday, on the eve of the Assumption, and on other great feasts, she flogged herself, sometimes with thorny branches, sometimes with leather thongs made from the skin of a hedgehog, such that blood would come out; and when she was unable to do this, because of weakness in her arms, and because she was ill for about four years towards the end of her life, she had herself beaten by sister Sabina, a nun of the same monastery.

When asked how she knew this, she answered, "Because I saw it, and you can find out about it from the said sister Sabina." She also said, "On a certain day, when the said virgin Margaret stood in intense prayer, a bone became displaced in her shoulder, so that she was in much pain, and the prioress and the other sisters were sorry for her and went searching for medicines to cure her, and I, witnessing this, began saying to myself, 'What a fuss is being made about medicines for a nun and I said this with a kind of secret mockery. Immediately I began to experience a terrible pain in my shoulder-

dolorem magnum incepti habere in spatula mea in eo loco, in quo habebat illa, et tunc incontinenti ivi ad pedes illius virginis Margarethe, et ei dixi, sicut cogitaveram, et quod evenerat mihi, dicendo meam culpam, et quod parceret mihi, et statim dicta virgo Margaretha dixit: ‚Dominus parcat tibi‘, et statim liberata fui». ⁴⁷

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hec fuerint, respondit: «Ego non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de presentibus, respondit: «Non habeo in mente, sed postquam fui liberata, hoc dixi sorori Margarethe, ⁴⁸ filie quondam domini Gulielmi, ducis de Macotisa ⁴⁹ et sorori Elisabeth, que fuit filia regis Stephani et sorori Marie, ⁵⁰ filie domini Michaelis et aliis de quibus non recordor». Item dixit, quod in tantum crevit flumen Danubii quadam die, quod intravit cortem, ubi stant sanctimoniales eiusdem monasterii, et elapsis octo diebus frater Marcellus, ⁵¹ provincialis predicatorum in Hungaria venit ad dictum monasterium, et predicta virgo Margaretha dixit ei: ‚Sic aqua Danubii creverat et intraverat cortem nostram‘ predictam; sed frater noluit ei credere dicens: ‚Quomodo potuit hoc esse?‘ et dicta virgo Margaretha dixit: ‚Oh sancta Maria, tu bene scis, quod de ore meo non consuevit exire mendacium, unde ostendas fratri Marcello, quod sit verum quod dico‘, et ita incontinenti crevit in tantum aqua, quod intravit domos monasterii, ita quod frater Marcellus ascenderit super quoddam lignum, propter illam aquam. ⁵²

⁴⁷ This type of miracle, where an offender is punished by the saint, is called a miracle of vengeance; cf. Gábor Klaniczay, “Miracoli di punizione e *malefizia*,” in *Miracoli. Dai segni alla storia* (Rome: Viella, 1999), ed. by Sofia Boesch Gajano, and Marilena Modica, 109–37. This story is also told by Elizabeth, daughter of Stephen V (5), Margaret of Macsó (6), and Mary (37).

⁴⁸ She is Witness 6.

⁴⁹ The son of Princess Margaret, daughter of King Béla III, born from her third marriage. After Princess Margaret became a widow and returned from Byzantium to Hungary, she received the region of Macsó, in the southwest of the Hungarian Kingdom, cf. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 50; hence her son is called Duke of “Macotisa” or “Maconia.”

blade, in the very spot she had hers, and then I immediately cast myself at the feet of that virgin Margaret and told her what I had been thinking and what had happened to me, excoriating myself and asking her to pardon me; and at once the said virgin Margaret said, 'May the Lord forgive you,' and I was immediately cured."⁴⁷

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't know." When asked who were present, she replied, "I cannot recall, but after I was cured, I told this to Sister Margaret,⁴⁸ the daughter of the late Lord William, Duke of Macsó,⁴⁹ and to sister Elizabeth, who was the daughter of King Stephen, and to Sister Mary,⁵⁰ daughter of Lord Michael, and to others I don't remember."

She also said that one day the Danube rose to such a height that it entered the main hall, where the nuns of the monastery stay, and after eight days had gone by, Brother Marcellus,⁵¹ the provincial of the Order of the Preachers in Hungary, came to the said monastery, and the aforesaid virgin Margaret told him that the Danube had risen in this way and had entered their main hall; but the brother refused to believe her saying, "How could this have happened?" and the said virgin Margaret said, "O Virgin Mary, you know well that lies are not wont to leave my lips; please show Brother Marcellus that I am speaking the truth," and immediately the water rose to such a level that it invaded the living quarters of the monastery, so that Brother Marcellus climbed on to a wooden beam, because of the water.⁵²

⁵⁰ Mary is witness 37.

⁵¹ Marcellus was Margaret's confessor. On him see Introduction, 22 n. 59, 60. He is the presumed author of Margaret's *Legenda vetus* included in this volume, cf. Introduction, 21 n. 51, 52, 22 n. 56, 57. He is also witness 38 in the *Acts*. He entered the Dominican order in 1234. Marcellus became prior provincial of the Dominican Order around 1250 and he fulfilled this office—with some interruptions—for an extended period, between 1258 and 1269.

⁵² The miracle of making the Danube inundate is told by several witnesses (4, 5, 6, 7, 14, 22); the most detailed account is that of Marcellus himself.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et presens fui».

Interrogata de presentibus, respondit: «Dictus frater Marcellus et unus alius socius suus».

Interrogata de nomine illius fratris, respondit: «Ego non recordor».

Interrogata, si alie persone erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Sic quedam alie sorores istius monasterii, sed non bene recordor de nominibus illarum».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Per tres annos, sicut credo, ante mortem ipsius virginis Margarethe».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Non habeo in mente». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha regulas et ordinem suum melius observavit et strictius, quam alie sorores eiusdem monasterii.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod quando fecit professionem, habebat circiter duodecim annos, et tunc pater suus voluit sibi dare maritum, regem Bohemie, et illa dixit, quod prius taliaret^a sibi nasum cum labiis, quam aliquando maritum acciperet, et dixit, quod presens erat soror Elisabeth; et tunc fecit se consecrari per archiepiscopum Strigoniensem, ne ulterius possit habere maritum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et audiui».

Interrogata, quot annos habet illa testis, respondit: «Viginti octo annos, et viginti quatuor annos fui in isto monasterio».

Interrogata, quot annos habebat dicta soror Margaretha, respondit: «Viginti octo.»

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod obiit, respondit: «Septem anni erunt in Februario, sicut credo».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

^a tagliare *ital.*

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I was present and saw it."

When asked about those present, she replied, "The said Brother Marcellus and one of his associates who was with him."

When asked about that brother's name, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked if there were any others present at that time, she replied, "Yes, some other sisters of this monastery, but I'm not sure of their names."

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "Three years or so, I believe, before the death of the virgin Margaret."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the time of day, she replied, "It's not coming to my mind." She also said that the virgin Margaret observed the rule of the order better and more strictly than did the other sisters of the same monastery.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that when she [Margaret] made her profession she was about twelve, and at that time her father wanted to marry her off to the king of Bohemia, and she said that she would rather cut off her nose and lips than ever take a husband, and she [the witness] said that Sister Elizabeth was present; and then she had herself consecrated by the archbishop of Esztergom, so that she could not have a husband after that.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw and heard it."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Twenty-eight, and I have been in this monastery for twenty-four years."

When asked how old the said Sister Margaret was, she replied, "Twenty-eight."

When asked how many years it had been since her death, she replied, "It will be seven years in February, I believe."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

DIE VENERIS ULTIMA MENSIS JULII.

Predicta domina Margharita iuramento interrogata, si unquam audivit, quod dicta virgo Margharita dixit sorori Stephane,⁵³ filie quondam domini Pause, quod si esset tempus persecutionis, libenter permetteret se martirizari pro amore Jesu Christi, respondit: «Sic, et hoc dixit predicta virgo Margaretha».

Interrogata, in quo loco dixit hoc predictae domine Stephane, respondit: «Non recordor, sed in istis locis audivi hoc ab ore dicte sancte Margarethe».

DIE MARTIS⁵⁴ SECUNDA MENSIS SEPTEMBRIS.

Interrogata, in quo loco erat, quando rogaverat beata Margaretha, quod Danubius cresceret et crevit, ut dixit, respondit: «In quodam parvo campo, qui est ante loquutorium».

Item interrogata, si aliquo tempore audivit a dicta virgine Margaretha, quod ipsa dixerit aliquid de morte sua, de ultima die, antequam moreretur, respondit: «Intravimus quamdam domum, que habet nomen hospitale, et ipsa beata Margaretha dixit: ,Cito moriar, et rogo vos, quod me faciatis sepelliri in choro nostro ante altare sancte crucis, aut in loco, ubi consuevi orare’, et dixit: ,Ne timeatis, quod ullus fetor exibat de corpore meo’.»⁵⁵

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod audivit predicta verba a dicta virgine Margaretha, respondit: «Septem anni erunt circa Februarium, qui modo venit.»

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Die Jovis».

⁵³ Stephana is Witness 12. The desire for martyrdom, associated in this period with the fear of the renewed coming of the Tartars, is a typical trait of late medieval female saints, cf. Miri Rubin, “Choosing death? Experiences of martyrdom in late medieval Europe,” in *Martyrs and Martyrologies*, Studies in Church History vol. 30, ed. by Diana Wood (Oxford: Blackwell, 1993), 153–83; Anneke B. Mulder-Bakker, “Gendering medieval martyrdom: Thirteenth-century lives of holy women in the Low Countries,” in Johan Leemans, *More Than a Memory: The Discourse of Martyrdom and the Construction of Christian Identity in the History of Christianity* (Leuven, Paris, and Dudley MA: Peeters, 2005), 221–41.

ON FRIDAY, THE LAST DAY OF JULY

The aforesaid Lady Margaret, having been asked under oath if she ever heard that the said virgin Margaret told Sister Stephana,⁵³ daughter of the late Lord Pausa, that if there were a time of persecution, she would gladly let herself be martyred for the love of Jesus Christ, she replied, “Yes, the aforesaid virgin Margaret did say that.”

When asked where she said it to the aforesaid Lady Stephana, she replied, “I don’t remember, but in these very surroundings I have heard it from the mouth of the said saint Margaret.”

ON TUESDAY,⁵⁴ SEPTEMBER 2

When asked where she was when the blessed Margaret had asked for the Danube to rise, and it rose, as she said, she replied, “In that little yard, which is in front of the parlor.”

Likewise, when asked if at any time she heard the said virgin Margaret say something about her death or about the day of her death before she died, she replied, “We went into a certain building called the hospital, and the blessed Margaret herself said, ‘I’ll die soon, and I ask you to have me buried in our choir in front of the altar of the Holy Cross, or in the place where I usually prayed,’ and she said, ‘Don’t be afraid that any bad smell will come from my body.’”⁵⁵

When asked how many years it had been since she heard the aforesaid words from the said virgin Margaret, she replied, “Seven, around this February coming.”

When asked the day, she replied, “A Thursday.”

⁵⁴ In fact this date was a Wednesday.

⁵⁵ The “odor of sanctity,” that is to say, the corpse of the saint spreading a delightful rather than a bad odor, is one of the typical signs of sanctity in the Middle Ages, see Vauchez, *La sainteté*, 499–507; Jean-Pierre Albert, *Odeurs de sainteté. La mythologie chrétienne des aromates* (Paris: EHESS, 1990). It is mentioned in other depositions as well: 6, 14, 18.

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Hora tenebrarum».

Interrogata de presentibus, respondit: «Soror Elisabeth, filia regis Stephani.»

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit «Non».

DIE DOMINICA VIGESIMA SEXTA MENSIS JULII.

V

Domina Elisabeth, filia clare memorie regis Stephani Hungarie,⁵⁶ soror et monialis dicti monasterii de insula Danubii iuravit, ut supra.

Que sub iuramento dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha tenuit talem vitam, quod ab aurora usque ad prandium stabat in choro ecclesie in orationibus ante altare, et quando missa conventus dicebatur, ipsa stabat in stallo suo cum aliis sororibus, et cantabat cum eis. Item dixit, quod quando corpus (Christi) levabatur, ipsa flectebat genua, et ponebat se in terra, et cum maxima devotione videbat ipsum corpus Christi, et lacrymabatur multum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia videbam eam». Item dixit, quod post completorium dicta virgo Margaretha quadam vice intravit in capitulum dicti monasterii, et posuit se in orationem ante crucifixum, «Et in tantum stetit ibi, quod me tedeat, et dimisi eam ibi, et ivi ad dormiendum». Item dixit, quod dicta soror Margaretha portabat cilicium in dorso.

⁵⁶ Elizabeth, fourth daughter of Stephen V, born around 1260, had an adventurous life. In imitation of her aunt's vocation she was given to the cloister around the age of four. During the reign of King Ladislas IV, the presence of "his dearest sister Elizabeth" was the one of the principal justifications of continued donations to the convent on the Island of Hares. In 1278, two years after the canonization investigation we hear of her as prioress of the convent—see Fejér, ed., *Codex diplomaticus*, vol. II, 446. It was during her office as prioress that the convent became one of the richest ecclesiastical institutions of the country. In 1288, however, she was the protagonist of a scandal: following the wishes of her brother, King Ladislas IV, she left the cloister to marry a Bohemian magnate, Zavi Rosenberg, who was a widower of her cousin, Cunegond, formerly wife of Ottokar II. Lodomer, archbishop of Esztergom, called her because of

When asked the hour of day, she replied, "The hour when darkness came."

When asked about those present, she replied, "Sister Elizabeth, the daughter of King Stephen."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to give this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON SUNDAY, JULY 26

5

Lady Elizabeth, daughter of King Stephen of Hungary of illustrious memory,⁵⁶ a sister and nun of the said monastery on the Island in the Danube, took the oath, as above.

She said under oath that the said virgin Margaret kept to such a life that from dawn to the midday meal she stayed in prayer before the altar in the choir of the church, and when the conventual mass was being said, she stood in her stall with the other sisters and sang along with them. She also said that when the body of Christ was being elevated, she would go down on her knees and prostrate herself on the ground, and look with the utmost devotion upon the body of Christ itself, and weep much.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid things, she replied, "Because I saw her." She also said that one time after compline the said virgin Margaret entered the chapter house of the said monastery, and put herself in an attitude of prayer before the crucifix, "and she stayed there so long that I got bored, and left her there and went to sleep." She also said that the said Sister Margaret used to wear a hair-shirt on her back.

this an "*antimonialis*" instead of being a "*sanctimonialis*." Cf. János Karácsonyi, "A mérgeges vipera és az antimonialis. Korkép Kun László idejéből" [The venomous viper and the antimonialis: A panorama from the times of Ladislas the Cuman], *Századok* 44 (1910): 1–24. She became a widow in 1290, and from Bohemia she moved to Naples, to the court of her sister, Mary of Hungary, wife of King Charles II; there she became a nun again, in the Dominican convent of Santa Maria dei Castelli, but at the end of her life she returned to Hungary and died in the convent on the Island of Hares.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Scio, quando eram parva puella, ibam ad eam ridendo et solatiando, et quando ponebam manum ad dorsum eius, sentiebam cilicium, et ipsa dicebat: ‚Fac te retro’.

Interrogata, quot annos tunc poterat habere dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Novem, vel decem».⁵⁷ Item dixit, quod ipsa soror Margaretha faciebat coquinam per septimanam suam, sicut aliqua alia, lavando scutellas et ollas, scopando domum, et aliquando parando pisces cum tanto gelu, quod pellis manuum crepabat, et inde sanguis exibat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit quod «Eram secum in septimana». Item dixit, quod quolibet anno lavabat et osculabatur pedes omnibus sororibus eiusdem monasterii et sanctimonialibus claustrum nostri, et cum velo capitis sui sugabat pedes ipsarum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Ego vidi hoc, et mihi pedes lavit, et sugabat cum velo capitis sui, et sollicita fuit, et hoc petierat pro obedientia a priorissa, et tunc ipsa priorissa hoc sibi concessit, me vidente et presente.» Item dixit, quod: «Secunda die post festum pentecostes nuper preteritum ego eram graviter infirma, et credebam mori, et tunc precavi beatam Margaretham, quod ipsa oraret pro me, et feci mihi portari quoddam scapularium et velum, quod fuerat dicte Margarethe, et cepi osculari ipsum et velum cum magna devotione, et statim cepi sudare, et per sudorem statim liberata fui».

Interrogata, si aliqua de sororibus scivit hoc, respondit: «Soror Olimpiades, que portavit mihi predictum scapularium et velum».

Interrogata, per quot dies stetit infirma, respondit: «Per quindecim dies». Item dixit: «Jam est unus annus elapsus, quod ego habebam magnum malum in gola, quod vix poteram comedere, et non poteram cantare, et tunc ivi ad sepulcrum dicte Margarethe, et posui golam super predictum sepulcrum ipsius, et rogavi

⁵⁷ Elisabeth probably gives her own age here, since she was not even in the convent when Margaret was at that age.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I know, because when I was a little girl, I used to go to her laughing, and when I put my hand on her back to comfort her, I felt the hair-shirt, and she used to say, 'Stay away.'"

When asked how old the said virgin Margaret was at that time, she replied, "Nine or ten."⁵⁷ She also said that when it was her week, Sister Margaret did the cooking, just like anyone else, washing plates and pots, sweeping the building, and sometimes preparing fish in such icy conditions that the skin on her hands got chapped, and blood oozed out.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I was with her on her duty-week."

She also said that every year she washed and kissed the feet of all the sisters of this same monastery and of all the nuns of our cloister, and she dried their feet with the veil from her own head.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it, and she washed my own feet as well and dried them with the veil from her head, and she was so intent that she had also asked permission from the prioress to do this as an act of obedience, and the prioress at the time granted it to her, in my sight and presence." She also said, "Recently, on the second day after the feast of Pentecost, I was gravely ill and thought I would die, and at that time I prayed to the blessed Margaret, asking her to pray for me, and I had brought to me a certain scapular and veil, which had belonged to the said Margaret and I began kissing it and the veil with great devotion, and at once I started sweating and was immediately delivered by means of the sweating."

When asked if any of the sisters knew about this, she replied, "Sister Olimpiades, who brought me the aforesaid scapular and veil."

When asked how many days she remained sick, she replied, "For fifteen days." She also said, "A year ago I had a terrible pain in my throat, so that I could hardly eat, and I couldn't sing, and then I went to the tomb of the said Margaret and placed my throat upon her tomb, and I asked the blessed Margaret to cure and de-

beatam Margaretham, quod curaret me et liberaret me, et sana fui per merita ipsius sancte Margarethe».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «In die assumptionis beate Marie».

Interrogata de hora, respondit: «Hora completorii, dum cantaretur ‚Salve regina’».

Interrogata, per quot dies habuit illud malum in gola, respondit: «Per duos dies, vel per tres».

Interrogata, quantum duravit sibi illud malum, postquam posuit gulam super predictam sepulturam, ut dixit, respondit: «Quando ego surrexi ad matutinum, sanata eram, et cantavi cum aliis.» Item dixit, quod visitabat infirmas sorores et sanctimonialiales, et multum erat intenta ad faciendum eis illa servitia, que poterat.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Quia videbam eam, quod sic faciebat». Item dixit, quod «Danubius ita crevit quodam tempore, ut cortem sanctimonialium istius monasterii intraret, et stetit ibi per tres dies, ut credo, et postea frater Marcellus, qui tunc erat provincialis fratrum predicatorum in Hungaria, venit ad istud monasterium, et cum dicta Margaretha diceret ipsi fratri Marcello, quod Danubius ita creverat, quod intraverat predictam cortem, respondit ipse frater Marcellus, hoc non posse esse, nec posse credere, et tunc dicta virgo Margaretha dixit: ‚Oh beata virgo, rogo te, quod ostendas fratri Marcello, quod verum hoc sit, quod ego sibi dixi’, et tunc statim dictum Danubium in tantum crevisse per dictam curiam et totum claustrum dominarum, quod aqua tantum fuit alta, quod dictus frater Marcellus ascendit quoddam lignum».

Interrogata de tempore, respondit: «Non recordor, sed credo, fuit ante tres annos ante mortem ipsius beate Margarethe, et hoc melius poteritis scire per alias dominas».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, respondit: «Frater Marcellus predictus et socius suus, nomen cuius nescio, et soror Olimpia-

liver me, and I was made healthy through the merits of saint Margaret herself.”

When asked the month, she replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked the day, she replied, “The day of the Assumption of the Blessed Mary.”

When asked the hour, she replied, “The hour of compline, while the *Salve Regina* was being sung.”

When asked how many days she had that sore throat, she replied, “For two or three days.”

When asked how long her soreness lasted after she placed her throat on the aforesaid sepulcher, as she said, she replied, “When I got up for matins, I was cured, and I sang with the others.” She also said that she [Margaret] used to visit the sisters and nuns when they were sick, and she was very attentive about doing for them whatever she could.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, “Because I saw her doing it.” She also said, “Once the Danube rose so high, that it came into the courtyard of the nuns of this monastery and stayed there for three days, I think, and then Brother Marcellus, who at that time was the provincial of the Dominicans in Hungary, came to this monastery, and when the said Margaret told Brother Marcellus that the Danube had risen so high that it had come into the aforesaid courtyard, Brother Marcellus answered that this could not be true nor could he believe it, and then the said virgin Margaret said, “O blessed Virgin, I ask you to show Brother Marcellus that what I told him was true,” and immediately the said Danube rose so much throughout the said courtyard and the whole cloister of the ladies, and the water got so deep, that the said Brother Marcellus climbed up on a certain wooden beam.”

When asked the time, she replied, “I don’t remember, but I believe it was three years before the death of the blessed Margaret. But you can learn this better from the other ladies.”

When asked the month, she replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked the day, she replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked who were present, she replied, “The aforesaid Brother Marcellus and his associate, whose name I don’t know, and

des, et soror Margaretha, filia domine generose Anne, et multe alie sorores, de quibus non recordor».

Interrogata, in quo loco erant tunc, quando Danubius ita crevit, ut dixerat, respondit: «Ante loquutorium».

Item interrogata, si soror Margaretha, filia domine Anne, sororis quondam regis Stephani, sibi dixit aliquo tempore aliquid, quod factum fuisset in persona ipsius Margarethe per ipsam virginem Margaretham, respondit: «Ipsa sanata fuit a Margaretha (a) dolore quem habebat in spatula sua».

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Ipsa Margaretha dixit mihi, quod deridendo beatam Margaretham illud malum evenerat sibi».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, quod dixit sibi predicta verba, respondit: «Nescio, sed fuit antequam moreretur ista beata Margaretha».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de die: respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Non recordor, ante vespas».

Interrogata, in qua spatula habebat illud malum, respondit: «Nescio bene, sed credo, quod in dextera».

Interrogata, que erant presentes, respondit: «Nulla».

Interrogata, quot annos habet dicta testis, respondit, (quod) fuit in vigesimo primo anno, et «sunt octodecim anni, quod sum in isto monasterio».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est predicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem, vel circiter».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE MARTIS UNDECIMA MENSIS AUGUSTI.

Predicta soror Elisabeth interrogata, si audivit in aliquo tempore, quod aliqua de sororibus istius monasterii diceret: «Non credam, quod virgo Margaretha sit sancta, nisi videam aliquod miracu-

Sister Olimpiades, and Sister Margaret, daughter of the noble Lady Anne, and many other sisters, whom I don't recall."

When asked where they were at the time, when the Danube rose like this, as she had said, she replied, "In front of the parlor."

Again, when asked if Sister Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, sister of the late King Stephen, told her at any time of anything that had happened to her personally through the agency of the virgin Margaret herself, she replied, "She was cured by Margaret of a pain she had in her shoulder blade."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Margaret herself told me that that ailment had come upon her for mocking the blessed Margaret."

When asked how many years ago this happened and she told her the aforesaid, she replied, "I don't know, but it was before the blessed Margaret's death."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "I don't remember — before vespers."

When asked in which shoulder blade she had that soreness, she replied, "I'm not sure, but it was in the right one, I think."

When asked who were present, she replied, "No one."

When the said witness was asked her age, she answered that she was in her twenty-first year, and "I've been eighteen years in this monastery."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she answered, "Seven, or there about."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to give this testimony, she answered, "No."

ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 11

The aforesaid Sister Elizabeth, when asked if at any time she heard any of the sisters of this monastery say, "I shall not believe that the virgin Margaret is a saint, unless I see some miracle," replied,

lum», respondit: «Ego audiui quodam die, quod soror Margaretha, filia domine Anne dixit: ‚Virgo Margaretha, si vis, quod ego credam, quod tu sis sancta, ostende mihi aliquod miraculum’, et tunc vidimus, quod quedam femina contracta intravit ecclesiam, et ivit ad sepulcrum, et surrexit et sanata fuit.»⁵⁸

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, dum fuerunt predicta, respondit: «Soror Stephana et alie, de quibus non recordor».

Interrogata, in qua parte fuit dicta femina contracta, respondit: «Ego nescio, sed vidi, quod trahebat se per terram tantum scagnellisa.

Interrogata, si viderint eam sic contractam, antequam tunc intrasset ecclesiam et sanata fuisset ad sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic, per plures dies».

Interrogata, si vidit eam liberatam, postquam fuit sic liberata, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, ubi erat dicta testis et dicta domina Margaretha, que viderunt dictam feminam intrantem in ecclesiam et trahentem se ad ecclesiam ad sepulcrum, ut dixerat, respondit: «Ad fenestram chori».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Non habeo in mente».

Interrogata, si cognoscebat eam prius, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata de nomine ipsius, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, unde fuit oriunda dicta femina, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si scit, cuius filia fuit, respondit «Nescio».

Item interrogata, si vidit aliquo tempore, quod aliqua alia persona intraret ecclesiam, et haberet brachium contractum, et sanata fuisset apud dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Vidi, quod frater Michael post mensam in predicatione sua dixit: ‚Videatis, videatis’, et

⁵⁸ This interesting story of Sister Margaret’s disbelief in the sanctity of her aunt is mentioned in several other testimonies (Witnesses 6, 12, 15, 25, 28, 76, 77, 78, 79), but she herself did not speak about this in her own account (as Witness 4).

"One day I heard Sister Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, saying, 'Virgin Margaret, if you want me to believe that you're a saint, show me some miracle,' and then we saw a certain cripple woman entering the church, and going to the tomb, and she rose up and was healed."⁵⁸

When asked who were present while the aforesaid events were happening, she replied, "Sister Stephana and others I don't recall."

When asked in what part the said woman was crippled, she replied, "I don't know, but I saw that she dragged herself along the ground by means of supports."

When asked if they saw her crippled in this way before she entered the church on that occasion and was cured at the tomb, as she said, she replied, "Yes, for quite a few days."

When asked if she saw her healthy, after she was delivered in this way, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked where the said witness and the said Lady Margaret were, who saw the said woman entering the church and dragging herself to the tomb in the church, as she had said, she replied, "At the choir window."

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "It doesn't come to my mind."

When asked if she knew her beforehand, she replied, "No."

When asked her name, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked where the woman came from, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if she knew whose daughter she was, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if at any other time she saw any other person entering the church with a withered arm, who had been healed at the said tomb, she replied, "I did, because Brother Michael during his sermon after the meal, said, 'Look, look!' and we looked through the window and saw a young man with a withered hand

nos perspeximus per fenestram et vidimus quemdam iuvenem, quod habebat manum contractam et brachium, et apponebat brachium eius super dictum sepulcrum, et ita sanatus fuit, sicut vidimus».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Circa octavam pentecostes».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio». De hora diei dixit, ut supra.

Interrogata, si aliquae de sororibus erant presentes, respondit: «Sic, multae,^a et iuxta me erat soror Agnes».

Interrogata, si prius viderat dictum iuvenem, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quo nomine vocabatur, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, unde fuit oriundus, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si cognoscebat patrem, vel matrem, respondit: «Non, nec prius ipsum videram, nec postea vidi».

Interrogata, si aliquem tunc cognovit, qui esset tunc circa sepulcrum, et apponeret manum illius iuvenis super sepulcrum, ut dixerat, respondit: «Non, nisi fratrem Michaellem».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE LUNE VIGESIMA SEPTIMA MENSIS JULII.

VI

Domina Margaretha quondam filia^b domini Gulielmi ducis de Maconia,⁵⁹ soror et monialis dicti monasterii virginis gloriose de insula Danubii iuravit, ut supra.

^a iuste *ms.*

^b *recte* filia quondam.

⁵⁹ Sister Margaret entered the nunnery in Veszprém in 1249. Being the great-granddaughter of King Béla III, she was a close relative to Saint Margaret. Duke William was the son of King Andrew II's sister Margaret and her third husband, the Count of Saint-Omer. We do not know about his marriage from which the nun Margaret

and arm putting his arm upon the said tomb, and thus he was healed by doing this, as we saw.”

When asked how many years ago it was, she replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked about the month, she replied “Around the octave of Pentecost.”

When asked about the day, she replied, I don’t know. She stated the hour of the day, as above.

When asked if any of the sisters were present, she replied, “Yes, many, and Sister Agnes was beside me.”

When asked if she had seen the said young man before he was cured, she replied, “No.”

When asked what his name was, she replied, “I don’t know.”

When asked where he was from, she replied, “I don’t know.”

When asked if she knew his father or mother, she replied, “No, and I hadn’t seen him before, nor did I see him afterward.”

When asked if she knew anyone, who was around the tomb at that time and was applying the hand of that youth to the tomb, as she had said, she replied, “No, except for Brother Michael.”

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, “No.”

ON MONDAY, JULY 27

6

Lady Margaret, daughter of the late Lord William, Duke of Macsó,⁵⁹ a sister and nun of the said monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the Island in the Danube, took the oath, as above.

was born. From a grave inscription we know that he accompanied Béla IV to Dalmatia during the Mongol invasion. He was then the fiancé of Béla IV’s second daughter, Margaret, born around 1225. They both died in exile in 1242. Cf. Gyula Pauler, *A magyar nemzet története az Árpádházi királyok alatt* [The history of the Hungarian nation under the rule of the Arpads] (Budapest: Athenaeum, 1899), vol. II, 92.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha fuit bona domina et sancta, et quod multum diligebat sorores magnas et parvas, et quod libenter serviebat eis, et stabat in choro in magnis orationibus cum lacrymis, quando ante altare sancte crucis, quando in suo loco privato, et quando stabat ad fenestram chori, per quam videmus corpus Christi, cum magna devotione et cum magnis lacrymis,⁶⁰ et erat cum aliis sororibus semper in missis et in aliis officiis, nisi esset infirma, et omni die ita stabat et faciebat usque ad horam prandii.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia ego videbam eam».

Item dixit, quod: «Dicta virgo Margaretha a festo sancte crucis usque ad pascha post prandium stabat aliquantulum cum sororibus et postea intrabat chorum, et stabat in orationibus suis cum lacrymis, usque ad horam collationis, sicut sepe ego vidi.»

Dixit, iterum interrogata, dicta soror Margaretha: «Post completorium stabat in dicto choro post alias sorores et orabat cum magna devotione, usque donec claudebatur ostium chori, et postea ibat ad cellam suam, et stabat ante lectum suum in pavimento dormitorii, (in) orationibus usque ad cantum galli».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit: «Sepe vidi eam iacere ad dormiendum ante lectum suum in pavimento dormitorii, et quando dicebam sibi: ,Bona soror, quare facis hoc, quare interficis te?’, et ipsa respondebat: ,Hoc facio, ut plus cito possim surgere ad orationes meas.’» Item dixit, quod in quolibet anno in vigiliis sancte Marie et in vigilia nativitatis domini faciebat mille venias dicendo: «Veni sancte spiritus».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Ego vidi oculis meis, et ipsa mihi aliquando dicebat hoc». Item dixit, quod in duabus septimanis, que precedunt pascha, in tantum affligebat se et humiliabat, et stabat in orationibus et lacrymis, ut semper videret dominum cum oculis in crucifixo, et quod in cena domini la-

⁶⁰ On Eucharistic devotion, see Miri Rubin, *Corpus Christi: The Eucharist in Late Medieval Culture* (Cambridge: University Press, Cambridge, 1991), 316–19, 342–45; cf. *Legenda vetus*, 62 n. 32.

When asked about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she said under oath that the said virgin Margaret was a good lady and a saint, that she loved the sisters, great and small, that she served them gladly, and used to stand in the choir in intense prayer and weeping, when before the altar of the Holy Cross, or in her own private stall, or when standing at the choir window, through which we see the body of Christ, doing so with the great devotion and many tears,⁶⁰ and that she was always with the other sisters at mass and during the other offices, except when she was ill, and she did this every day until the hour of the midday meal.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I used to see her."

She also said, "The said virgin Margaret from the feast of the Holy Cross right up to Easter used to stay a very short time with the sisters after lunch, and then she would go into the choir and stay there praying and weeping until supper time, as I myself have seen often."

When questioned again, the said Sister Margaret said, "After compline she would stay in the said choir after the other sisters and pray with great devotion until it was time for the choir door to be closed, and after that she'd go to her cell and stand on the floor of the dormitory in front of her bed and remain there at prayer right through until cock-crow."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said, "I've often seen her lying down to sleep in front of her bed on the dormitory floor, and when I said to her, 'Good sister, why are you doing this, why are you killing yourself?' she would answer, 'I'm doing it, so I can rise all the sooner to pray.'" She also said that every year on the vigils of the feasts of the Blessed Virgin Mary and the vigil of the Lord's Nativity she made a thousand *veniae*, saying *Veni Sancte Spiritus*.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes, and she sometimes told me so herself." She also said that in the two weeks before Easter she afflicted and humbled herself so much, and remained so much at her prayers and weeping, that she kept her eyes all the time upon the Lord on the

vabat pedes sororum dicti monasterii, que sunt bene septuaginta, (et) servitium de claustro isto, et sugabat pedes ipsarum dominarum et servitium cum velo capitis sui, et postea dictum velum portabat in capite, et dixit, quod dicta virgo rogaverat priorissam, quod daret sibi in obedientiam, quod posset hoc facere omni anno, et ipsa priorissa hoc fecit.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Vidi illam hoc facientem, et audiui, quando priorissa hoc precepit sibi». Item dixit, quod in cena domini post mandatum⁶¹ dicta virgo Margaretha non intrabat lectum suum, sed orabat et legebat psalterium stando in pedibus in choro, sed in matutino et in aliis officiis stabat cum sororibus istius monasterii, et faciebat usque ad matutinum Sabathi sequentis, et in die Veneris sancto nec comedebat, nec bibebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi».

Interrogata, per quot annos fecit predicta, respondit: «Postquam recordor, usque ad mortem suam». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha, quando veniebat sua septimana, faciebat coquinam, lavabat scutellas et ollas, et quandoque squaliabat pisces in tanto frigore et glacie, quod manus sue crepabant, ita quod sanguis exibat. Et dixit, quod libenter serviebat dominabus et servitiis infirmis, et balneabat eas, et faciebat eis lectum, et scopabat domum et purgabat necessaria, et omnia servitia, que poterat facere.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et fui socia sua ad faciendam coquinam et alia servitia et officia». Item dixit, quod si aliquando audiebat aliquam de sororibus lamentari de nocte, tunc ipsa virgo Margaretha statim surgebat, et ibat ad eam et dicebat ei: ‚Soror mea, quid habes? vis tu aliquid?‘ et calefaciebat quandoque vinum, et quandoque pannum ad ponendum super dolorem, et alia servitia, que poterat, serviebat eis.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha diligebat paupertatem, et portabat vestes veteres et repetitas, et habebat multos sextupedes in vestibus et in capite, et libenter portabat eos pro amore Dei et

⁶¹ At the Holy Thursday ceremony the command (*mandatum*) refers to Jesus's words uttered after the washing of the apostles' feet (John 13: 34)

cross, and that at our Lord's Supper she washed the feet of the sisters of the said monastery, a good seventy in number, and the feet of the servants of this cloister, and dried the feet of the ladies and of the servants with her own veil, and after that she wore the said veil on her head; and she said that the said virgin had asked the prioress to grant her, as an act of obedience, the task of doing this every year, and the prioress did so.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I have seen her doing it, and I heard when the prioress gave her this order." She also said that at Lord's supper after the command⁶¹ the said virgin Margaret would not go to bed, but prayed and read the psalm book standing in the choir, but at matins and in other offices she took her place with the sisters of this monastery, and she did this until matins of the next Saturday, and on Good Friday she neither ate nor drank.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it."

When asked for how many years she did the aforesaid, she replied, "As far as I recall, right up until her death." She also said that the said virgin Margaret, when it was her week, did the cooking, washed plates and pots, and sometimes scaled fish in such cold and icy conditions that her hands got chapped so that blood oozed out. And she said that she gladly served sick sisters and servants alike, and bathed them, made their beds, and swept the house and emptied the latrines, and did every service within her power.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it and I cooked alongside her and did other menial services and duties." She also said that if ever she heard one of the sisters crying out in the night, the virgin Margaret would rise on her own and go to her, and say, "My sister, what's wrong? Do you want anything?" and she would sometimes heat up wine, sometimes a cloth to put over the place that was hurting, and she did other services for them, to the best of her ability.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that the said virgin Margaret loved poverty, and wore shabby, old clothes, and had many lice in her garments and

pro penitentia; et non portabat libenter bonas vestes, et si mater sua domina regina Hungarie aliquando mittebat sibi bonas vestes, aliquando portabat eas, ne offenderet matrem suam, sed raro.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha quolibet tempore portabat cilicium per totum adventum usque ad nativitatem et per totam quadragesimam usque ad pascha, et per quamlibet septimanam a die Jovis usque ad diem Dominicam.

Interrogata, qualiter portabat dictum cilicium, respondit: «In dorso super carnem».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia dicta soror Margaretha mihi hoc dicebat, dicendo: ‚Soror mea, sic deberes facere‘.» Item dixit, quod rex Bela, pater ipsius virginis Margarethe voluit maritare ipsam regi Bohemie, postquam fuit professa in isto monasterio, et ipsa Margaretha nullo modo volebat hoc, et dicebat: «Ego faciam me talem, quod ego ero deformata, et scindam mihi nasum et labia.»

Interrogata, quomodo hec scit, respondit: «Hoc fuit ante me».

Interrogata, quot annos habebat ipsa soror Margaretha, quando fecit professionem, respondit: «Non recorder.» Item dixit, quod rex Bela, pater dicte virginis Margarethe quesivit a suprascripta Margaretha, dum esset parva: «Quid faciet pater tuus cum exercitu?» et illa puella tunc respondit, que vix loquebatur: «Pater meus rex occidet adversarium suum et fugabit adversarios suos,» et sic factum fuit.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Audivi hoc dici a matre dicte Margarethe, que mortua est, et a domina Anna sorore ipsius virginis Margarethe».

Interrogata, quo tempore hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recorder.» Item dixit, quod quadam die, dum esset in collatione ante completorium, ipsa virgo Margaretha vocavit ad se sororem Petronillam,⁶²

⁶² In the *Hungarian legend* she is listed as the 40th Witness, but her deposition is missing from the *Acts*. Cf. Dömötör and Pólya, eds., *Szent Margit élete 1510*, 269, 495. On Margaret's reading of others' thoughts see also the depositions of Witnesses 10, 21, 28, 36.

on her head, and she gladly harbored them for the love of God and as penance; and she did not willingly wear good clothes, and if her lady mother, the queen of Hungary, ever sent her good ones, she sometimes wore them, so as not to offend her mother, but only on rare occasions.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that the said virgin Margaret wore a hair-shirt at all times during the whole of Advent right up to the Nativity, and for the whole of Lent up to Easter, and every week from Thursday until Sunday.

When asked how she wore the said hair-shirt, she replied, "On her back next to her flesh."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because the said Sister Margaret used to tell me so, saying, 'My sister, you ought to do so, too.'" She also said that King Béla, the virgin Margaret's father, wanted to marry her to the king of Bohemia after she had made her profession in this monastery, and Margaret herself absolutely refused to do it, and said, "I'll make myself deformed, and slit my nose and lips."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "This happened in my presence."

When asked how old Sister Margaret was when she made her profession, she replied, "I don't remember." She also said that King Béla, father of the said virgin Margaret, asked the above-said Margaret, when she was little, "What will your father do with his army?" and the girl, who could hardly speak at the time, answered, "My father will kill his enemy and put his foes to flight," and that is what happened.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I heard it said by the said Margaret's mother, who is dead, and by Lady Anne, the virgin Margaret's own sister."

When asked how long ago this was, she replied, "I don't remember." She also said that one day, while she was at supper before compline, the virgin Margaret herself called Sister Petronilla⁶² to herself, and said confidently to her, "Do you think you would look very beautiful in those worldly clothes and ornaments you were

et secreto dixit ei: «Num quid apparuisti multum pulchra in istis vestibus et ornamentis mundanis, de quibus cogitabas?» Et illa dixit: «Quid dicitis domina?» et sic verecundata remansit.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Hec audiui postea a dicta Petronilla». Item dixit, quod quodam tempore Danubius ita crevit, quod venit in curtem servitium sororum claustrum monasterii, et stetit ibi per aliquos dies, et postea reversus est ad locum suum. Et frater Marcellus, qui erat tunc prior provincialis fratrum predicatorum in Hungaria, postea venit ad istud monasterium et visitavit sorores, et tunc ipsa virgo Margaretha dixit: «Frater Marcelle, quomodo Danubius creverat, et quomodo intraverat curtem dictarum servitium,» et tunc ipse frater Marcellus dixit: «Quomodo possunt hec esse? Ego non possum credere,» et tunc ipsa virgo Margaretha dixit: «Oh sancta Maria rogo vos, quod vos ostendatis fratri Marcello, quod ego non dixi mendacium,» et tunc Danubius crevit ita, quod aqua intravit claustrum monasterii predicti, ubi erat ipse frater Marcellus et sorores, et fuit aqua ita alta in dicto claustrum, quod frater Marcellus ascendit quoddam lignum, quod erat ibi.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hec, respondit: «Quia ego et domina Elisabeth, filia quondam domini regis Stephani et soror Margaretha, filia domine Anne et multe, de quibus non recordor, eramus ibi».

Interrogata, si aliquis frater erat cum dicto Marcello, respondit: «Sic, duo».

Interrogata de nominibus fratrum, respondit: «Unus vocabatur frater Joannes Lombardus, qui vivit, ut credo, alter vocabatur Tiburtius, qui mortuus est».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Item de die, respondit: «Quodam die Martis inter epiphaniam et quadragesimam».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post horam none.»

Interrogata, si est aliqua servitialis, que vocaretur Agnes, respondit: «Sic, quedam, que cecidit in quemdam puteum istius claustrum, in die resurrectionis domini, in sero, et erat multum obscu-

thinking about?" And Petronilla said, "What are you speaking about my lady?" and she got ashamed.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I heard it later from the said Petronilla." She also said that one time the Danube rose so high that it came into the servants' courtyard in the cloister and stayed there for several days before going back to its place. And Brother Marcellus, who at that time was Prior Provincial of the Order of the Preachers in Hungary, later came to this monastery on a visit to the sisters, and on that occasion the virgin Margaret said to him, "Brother Marcellus, the Danube rose and entered the servants' courtyard," and Brother Marcellus said, "How could that happen? I can't believe it," and then the virgin Margaret said, "O Virgin Mary, I ask you to show Brother Marcellus that I didn't lie," and the Danube rose, so that the water entered the cloister of the aforesaid monastery, where Brother Marcellus himself and the sisters were, and the water was so high in the said cloister, that Brother Marcellus got up on a wooden beam that was there.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I myself, and Lady Elizabeth, the daughter of the late King Stephen, and Sister Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, and many others, whom I don't remember, were there."

When asked if there were any brothers with the said Marcellus, she replied, "Yes, two."

When asked the brothers' names, she replied, "One was called John the Lombard, who's alive, I think, and the other was called Tiburtius, who is dead."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't remember."

Likewise, about the day, she replied, "Some Tuesday, between Epiphany and Lent."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "After nones."

When asked if there was any servant called Agnes, she replied, "Yes, and she fell into a well of this cloister late on an Easter Sunday. The sky was very overcast, and it was raining, when the

rum tempus et pluebat, dum dicta virgo Margaretha mitteret pro quadam sua tunica, et cum dicta servitialis non reverteretur, et quaedam puella clamaret, quod illa ceciderat in puteum, tunc sorores et dicta virgo Margaretha iverunt ad puteum, et soror Olimpiades, magistra ipsius virginis Margarethe incepit multum reprehendere ipsam et dicere: 'Tu occidisti istam servitalem, quia tu mittebas illam tali tempore', et ipsa virgo Margaretha tunc flexit genua et orabat ad dominum et ad sanctam Mariam, quod iuvaret ipsam servitalem, et quod ipsam liberaret de tanto periculo, et dicebat magistre sue: 'Non timeatis, quia servitialis non erit mortua', et ipsa servitialis, que iam per tres vices iverat ad fundum dicti putei, extracta fuit superius per dictas sorores cum fune et hidria putei».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia presens fui».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, si erant ibi aliqui fratres, respondit: «Non, sed sorores monasterii».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta servitialis ivit ad fundum putei, respondit: «Audivi hoc ab ea, postquam extracta fuit de puteo».

Interrogata, de nominibus sororum, respondit: «Soror Olimpiades, Johaleta, soror Elisabeth, filia domine Olimpiadis».

Interrogata de nominibus aliarum, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, quot annos haberet ipsa testis, respondit: «Triginta sex annos, et intravi monasterium quando habui novem annos».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si audivit a predicta Margaretha virgine, quod diceret in presentia sororis Stephane, filie quondam domini Pause, et domine Margarethe, filie domine Anne sororis quondam regis Hungarie, quod libenter permetteret se martirizari pro amore Jesu Christi, respondit: «Sic».

Predicta soror Margaretha interrogata, si scit, quod Margaretha, filia domine Anne aliquo tempore dolorem habuit in aliqua

said virgin Margaret sent for her tunic, and when the said servant didn't come back and some girl started shouting that she had fallen into the well, the sisters and the said virgin Margaret went to the well, and Sister Olimpiades, *magistra* of the virgin Margaret, began chiding her, saying, 'You've killed this serving girl by sending her out in such weather.' Then the virgin Margaret genuflected and prayed to the Lord and to the Virgin Mary to help the servant and free her from such a danger, and said to her *magistra*, 'Don't be afraid, for the girl won't die,' and the servant, who had already gone three times to the bottom the well, was hauled up by the said sisters, using the rope and bucket of the well."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I was present."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked if there were any brothers there, she replied, "No, just the sisters of the monastery."

When asked how she knew that the said servant went to the bottom of the well, she replied, "I heard it from her, when she was taken out of the well."

When asked the sisters' names, she replied, "Sister Olimpiades, Sister Johaleta, and Sister Elizabeth, daughter of Lady Olimpiades."

When asked the others' names, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked how old she, the witness, was, she replied, "Thirty-six, and I entered the monastery when I was nine."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

When asked if she had heard from the aforesaid virgin Margaret that she said in the presence of Sister Stephana, daughter of the late Lord Pausa, and that of Lady Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, the sister of the late king of Hungary, that she would gladly allow herself to be martyred for the love of Christ Jesus, she replied, "Yes."

When the aforesaid Sister Margaret was asked if she knew about Margaret, the daughter of Lady Anne, at any time having

parte sui corporis, respondit: «Dixit mihi predicta soror Margaretha, quod beata Margaretha magnum dolorem habuit in spatula, et ipsa Margaretha, filia domine Anne, deridebat eam in corde suo, dicendo intra se, quid est hoc, quod de ista habetur tanta cura pro medicinis, cum sit religiosa, et incontinenti similem dolorem incepit habere in spatula sua, et tunc ivit ipsa ad sanctam Margaretham, et dixit ei: Jam bene dico, quod vos habetis magnum dolorem in spatula vestra'».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hec dixit sibi predicta soror Margaretha, filia domine Anne, respondit: «Non recordor, (sed) hoc bene scio, quod sancta Margaretha tunc erat viva».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Non scio».

Interrogata si aliquae alie sorores aderant presentes circa, respondit: «Sic, multe, sed non recordor de nominibus earum».

Interrogata, si scit, quod aliqua de dictis sororibus esset infirma quando obiit predicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Sic, soror Elisabeth, que fuit filia Ladislaii,⁶³ fuit infirma a festivitate sancti Laurentii⁶⁴ usque ad mortem beate Margarethe, sed in illa die, in qua mortua fuit dicta sancta Margaretha, ipsa soror Elisabeth erat sanata de illa infirmitate, quia non poterat se movere, nec ire ad locum pro necessitate corporis sui sine adiutorio, et eadem die vidi, quod ipsa Elisabeth posuit in dorsum suum istius beate Margarethe unum scapularium, et servivit in aliis officiis dictum corpus».

Interrogata, si scit, quod ista virgo Margaretha dixisset in aliquo tempore, quod incideret sibi nasum pro aliqua de sororibus; respondit: «Ab ea audiui, quod ipsa dixit sorori Olimpiadi, quod si Tartari venirent, ipsa truncaret sibi nasum, et si hoc non posset facere, rogaret dictam sororem Olimpiadem, quod hoc faceret, ad quod posset servare castitatem suam».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod audivit predicta ab ipsa Margaretha, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de presentibus, respondit: «Soror Olimpiades et alie, de quibus non recordor».

⁶³ Elizabeth of Serenna, Witness 9.

a pain in any part of her body, she replied, "The aforesaid Sister Margaret told me that the blessed Margaret had a severe pain in her shoulder-blade, and Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, said to herself, with mockery in her heart, 'What's all this fuss about medicines, since she's a nun?' and at once she began to have a similar pain in her own shoulder-blade, and then she went to saint Margaret and said to her, 'Now I know for sure that you are having a severe pain in your shoulder-blade.'"

When asked how many years ago the aforesaid Sister Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, told her this, she replied, "I don't remember, but I know for sure that saint Margaret was alive at the time."

When asked the hour of the day, she said, "I don't know."

When asked if there were other sisters around, she replied, "Yes, many, but I don't remember their names."

When asked if she knew any of the said sisters were ill, when the aforesaid virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Yes, Sister Elizabeth, the daughter of Ladislas,⁶³ was sick from the feast of Saint Lawrence⁶⁴ right up until the death of the blessed Margaret, but on the day the said saint Margaret died, Sister Elizabeth was healed of her sickness, because she hadn't been able to move herself, nor go to the latrine without help, and that day I saw Elizabeth herself putting a scapular of the blessed Margaret on her back, and participating in the preparation of her body."

When asked if she knew whether the virgin Margaret had said at any time in front of any of the sisters that she would slit her own nose, she replied, "I heard from her that she had told Sister Olimpiades that, if the Tartars came, she would cut off her own nose, and if she couldn't do it, she would ask the said Sister Olimpiades to do it, so that she could preserve her chastity."

When asked how many years ago she heard the aforesaid from Margaret herself, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked about those present, she replied, "Sister Olimpiades, and others I don't remember."

⁶⁴ August 10.

Interrogata, si audivit, quod aliqua de sororibus istis unquam dixit: «Non credam, quod virgo Margaretha sit sancta, nisi videam aliquod miraculum oculis meis», respondit: «Sic, a domina Margaretha, filia domine Anne; et postea, quando stabam ad fenestram, que est in choro, quedam femina intravit ecclesiam, que erat ita contracta, quod non poterat ire, nisi cum lignis parvis, cum quibus ibat, et sic dicta soror Margaretha, filia domine Anne dixit: ‚Si ego viderem, quod illa femina sanaretur et surgeret, crederem, quod soror Margaretha, que mortua est, esset sancta;’ et quam cito ducta fuit ad sepulcrum, sanata fuit, et ivit cum pedibus suis».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuerit, respondit: «Sicut recorder in primo anno, quo incepit facere miracula».

Interrogata de mense «Augusto».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recorder».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Ante vespas».

Interrogata, si prius cognoscebat ipsam feminam, respondit: «Non, sed eam videram pluries in ecclesia trahentem se ad sepulcrum sancte Margarethe».

Interrogata de nomine, respondit: «Non cognoscebam nec patrem, nec matrem».

Interrogata, si scit de quo loco predicta domina fuit nata, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si vidit eam, postquam sanata fuit, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogata, per quot vices vidit eam sanam, respondit: «Non recorder, sed postea pluries vidi eam sanam».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando dicta soror Margaretha dixit, quod non crederet, quod soror Margaretha que mortua est, sancta esset, respondit: «Ego fui presens tunc, sed inveni ad fenestram sororem Stephanam et sororem Frosiam^a,⁶⁵, et quedam alie erant in choro in illa hora, et quedam femina erat sanata, et ipsam vidi sanatam, et in eadem hora, iuxta dictum sepulcrum».

^a Fuxiam *ms.*

When asked if she had heard about any of the sisters saying at any time, "I won't believe that the virgin Margaret is a saint, unless I see some miracle with my own eyes," she replied, "Yes, I heard it from Lady Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne; and later, when I was standing at the window of the choir, a certain woman entered the church, who was so crippled that she couldn't walk except with little pieces of wood, with which she moved herself along, and the said Sister Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, said, 'If I saw that woman cured and standing up, I'd believe that the dead Sister Margaret was a saint,' and as soon as the woman was led to the tomb, she was cured, and walked on her own feet."

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "As I recall, it was in the first year that she began doing miracles."

When asked the month, she said, "In August."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she said, "Before vespers."

When asked if she had known this woman before, she replied, "No, but I saw her several times in the church, dragging herself up to the tomb of Saint Margaret."

When asked her name, she replied, "I knew neither her father, nor her mother."

When asked if she knew the place where the aforesaid lady was born, she replied, "No."

When asked if she saw her after she was healed, she replied, "Yes."

When asked how many times she saw her healthy, she replied, "I don't remember, but I often saw her healthy after that."

When asked who were present when the said Sister Margaret said that she did not believe that the Sister Margaret who was dead was a saint, she replied, "I was present at the time, but I found Sister Stephana and Sister Frosia⁶⁵ at the window, and at that hour there were some others in the choir, and a certain woman had been healed, and I saw her healed at the same hour, too, next to the said tomb."

⁶⁵ Frosia is Witness 15.

Interrogata, si vidit dictam feminam in illa hora, quando intravit ecclesiam et quando sic sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Non, sed vidi eam illa hora quando sanata fuit; pluries videram eam antea, sicut contractam, ut dixi».

DIE MARTIS SECUNDA INTRANTE SEPTEMBRIS.

Interrogata, si unquam audivit, quod predicta Margaretha virgo diceret: «Ego moriar, antequam aliqua de sororibus, »respondit: Post mortem Beate dixit ista beata Margaretha: «(Ego moriar) antequam aliqua de sororibus», et mortua fuit, antequam aliqua de sororibus, circa finem anni; et erat cum sorore Olimpiade, quando audivit ista verba.

Interrogata in quo loco erant tunc, respondit: «Non habeo in mente».

Interrogata, si fuit docta vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE LUNE VIGESIMA SEPTIMA MENSIS JULII.

VII

Domina Benedicta, filia quondam domini Luce de Caboli,⁶⁶ soror et monialis predicti monasterii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, respondit sub iuramento, «Bene scio, quod ista virgo Margaretha fuit humilis et simplex in domino, et fuit bone vite et sancte».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Bene scio, quia postquam dicta virgo Margaretha habuit decem annos, semper cognovi eam, et steti secum in isto monasterio». Item dixit, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha stabat continuo ab aurora usque ad horam

⁶⁶ The *Hungarian Legend* calls him Buca of Toboli; Dömötör and Pólya, eds., *Szent Margit élete* 1510, 443. The editor of the *Acts*, Vilmos Fraknói, considered the present

When asked if she saw the said woman in the hour when she entered the church and was healed in this way, as she said, she replied, “No, but I saw her in the hour she was healed; I had seen her many times before that, crippled, as I said.”

ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2

When asked if she ever heard that the aforesaid Margaret said, “I shall die before anyone else of the sisters,” she replied, “After Beata’s death, the blessed Margaret said, ‘I’ll die before any of the sisters,’” and she did die before any of the sisters, around the end of the year; and she was with Sister Olimpiades, when she heard these words.

When asked where they were at the time, she replied, “I have no recollection.”

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, “No.”

ON THE SAME MONDAY, JULY 27

7

Lady Benedicta, daughter of the late Lord Luce of Caboli,⁶⁶ a sister and nun of the aforesaid monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she replied under oath, “I well know that the virgin Margaret was humble and simple in the Lord, and was of a good and holy life.”

When asked how she knew this, she replied, “I know it well, because after the said virgin Margaret’s tenth birthday, I knew her always and was in this monastery with her.” She also said that the virgin Margaret stayed at her prayers without a break from dawn

version of his name as more authentic, on the basis of analogous thirteenth-century Hungarian names; see idem, “Bevezetés” [Introduction], in *MRV*, vol. I, CXXII.

prandii in orationibus; nec per nuncium patris, vel matris, vel aliquius persone, que peteret eam, volebat dimittere orationem suam, nisi quando vocabatur per priorissam.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam eam et conversabar cum ipsa in dicto monasterio».

Interrogata, in quo loco stabat in dictis orationibus istius monasterii, respondit: «Aliquando in loco suo secreto, qui est in ipso choro, aliquando ante crucifixum, aliquando ante altare sancte crucis, et semper erat in missis conventualibus cum aliis dominabus».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia illud videbam». Item dixit, quod post completorium, donec galli cantabant, ipsa virgo Margaretha stabat in oratione.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc».

Interrogata, in quo loco, respondit: «In capitulo ipsius monasterii ante crucifixum, et ibi legebat septem psalmos, postea ibat ante lectum in orationibus, donec galli cantabant».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia pluries vidi hoc, et audiui ab aliis sororibus». Item dixit, quod cum priorissa aliqua precipiebat communiter sororibus, si presens erat, tunc ipsa virgo Margaretha magis cito ibat ad faciendum illud, quam aliue de aliis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc». Item dixit, quod ipsa portabat vestes, in quibus erant pediculi multi, et quando se expoliabat de istis vestibus, nolebat, quod ammoverentur isti pediculi; aliquando portabat in dorso quamdam pelliceam, in qua erant tot pediculi, quod non posset dici, nec volebat, quod removerentur de dicta pellicea.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, (respondit): «Quia videbam et sepe fugiebam ab ea, propter illos pediculos».⁶⁷

Interrogata, quare portabat vestes cum tot pediculis, et nolebat quod amoverentur a dictis vestibus, respondit: «Propter maiorem penitentiam».

⁶⁷ For the rejection of bodily hygiene as an ascetic practice, cf. *Legenda vetus*, 55 n. 19.

until the midday meal; and she was unwilling to put off her prayers for any message from her mother or father and from anyone else, except when she was summoned by the prioress.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw her and kept company with her in this monastery."

When asked in what part of the monastery she did the aforesaid praying, she replied, "Sometimes in her own private place in the choir itself, sometimes in front of the crucifix, sometimes in front of the altar of the Holy Cross, and she was always at the conventual masses with the other ladies."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw her." She also said that after compline until the cocks crowed virgin Margaret stayed at her prayers.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw her."

When asked where, she replied, "In the chapter house of the monastery, in front of the crucifix, and there she used to read seven psalms, and after that she'd go to pray in front of her bed until the cocks crowed."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it many times, and I have heard it from the other sisters." She also said that whenever the prioress gave some order applicable to all the sisters, then the virgin Margaret, if she were present, went off to obey it sooner than any of the other sisters.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that she wore clothes in which there were many lice, and when she took these clothes off, she refused to have these lice removed; sometimes she wore a certain hide vest on her back, in which there were so many lice that words couldn't describe it, and she did not want them taken off the said hide.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it and I often fled from her because of those lice."⁶⁷

When asked why she wore clothes with so many lice and refused to have them removed from the said garments, she replied, "For greater penance."

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, (respondit): «Scio, quia aliquando dicebam sibi: Quare portas tales vestes cum tot pediculis?» (et respondebat): ‚Permittas me facere, quia corpus tuum non portat istas vestes’ ». Item dixit, quod quadam die in hyeme, dum esset magnum frigus, ipsa virgo Margaretha, que tunc faciebat septimanam suam in refectorio, vocavit sororem Chingam,⁶⁸ ut iuaret eam portare extra refectorium et evacuare quoddam magnum vas aque, super quo lavabant sibi manus sorores, et illa nolebat ire, et ipsa iterum vocavit eam, et quasi irata fuit, et dum evacuaient illud vas, dicta soror Chinga sparsit aquam super pectus dicte sororis Margarethe, et ipsa cepit ridere, dicens: «Bona soror, quare fecisti hoc?» et tunc illa soror Chinga recessit ab ea.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, respondit: «Quia fui presens». Item dixit, quod portabat cilicium supra carnem suam.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, (respondit): «Quia hoc audiebam dici».

Item dixit, quod in septimana sua faciebat coquinam, lavabat scutellas, scopabat domum et alia, que pertinebant ad septimanam suam.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod in obedientiam petebat a priorissa sua, quod possit servire infirmis, et priorissa hoc precipiebat sibi in obedientiam, et tunc serviebat infirmis, faciendo coquinam et lavando scutellas et ollas, et in omnibus aliis, in quibus eis servire poterat, et pro illis que erant infirme sepe faciebat septimanam, quam debebant facere.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, (respondit): «Quia vidi et audivi predicta».

Item dixit, quod ieiunavit toto tempore secundum regulam, et ultra illud multum ieiunavit, et si priorissa prohibebat ei, ne tantum ieiunaret, timens ne posset hoc sustinere propter debilitatem suam, tunc conturbabatur et flebat, et tunc priorissa permittebat eam facere.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc sciret, (respondit): «Quia hoc videbam et audiebam». Item dixit, quod libenter faciebat elemosinam pauperibus infirmis, quos aliquando videbat per fenestras

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I know because I said to her once, 'Why do you wear clothes like this with so many lice?' and she answered, 'Let me do it, because it's not your body that's wearing these clothes.'" She also said that one day in winter, when it was very cold, the virgin Margaret, who was doing her week in the refectory, called for Sister Kinga⁶⁸ to help her carry a big basin of water in which the sisters had washed their hands, out of the refectory and empty it; and Kinga did not want to go, and she called her again and was rather irritated, and while she was emptying that basin, the said Sister Kinga spilled water over the bosom of the said sister Margaret, and she started to laugh, saying, "Good sister, why did you do that" and then that Sister Kinga left her.

When asked how she knew it, she replied, "Because I was present." She also said that she wore a hair-shirt over her flesh. When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I heard it said." She also said that when it was her week, she cooked, washed dishes, swept the house, and did other duties of the week.

When asked how she knew this, she responded, "Because I saw it." She also said that she [Margaret] asked the prioress if she might care for the sick as an act of obedience, and the prioress granted this to her as an act of obedience. And so she cared for the sick, cooking and cleaning the dishes and pots, and doing everything she could to serve them. And for those who were sick, she often did the weekly chores which they were supposed to do.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw and heard the aforesaid things."

She also said that she fasted at all times in accordance with the rule, and far beyond it, and if the prioress forbade her to fast so much, fearing that she could not stand it on account of her weakness, she would get upset and weep, and then the prioress would let her do it.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it and heard it." She also said that she gladly gave alms to the poor

⁶⁸ Kinga (Cunegond) is Witness 34.

chori, quando erant in ecclesia, dando et de vestibus suis ipsis, de licentia priorisse.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc». Item dixit, quod ab illa Dominica quadragesime, qua cantatur ‚Judica me’ usque ad pascha stabat in orationibus in planctu et fletu cum magna humilitate et devotione, ultra illud quod faciebat aliis temporibus.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam». Item dixit, quod aqua Danubii venit in cortem, in qua stant servitiales dominarum, et postea reversa fuit ad locum suum, et frater Marcellus, qui tunc erat provincialis in Hungaria, venit post illud tempus ad monasterium istud, et tunc dicta Margaretha incepit dicere sibi, sicut aqua fuerat magna, et ille frater dicebat: «Quomodo possum hoc credere, non potest esse», et tunc dicta soror Margaretha rogabat Deum et beatam virginem, quod facerent, quod frater Marcellus videret, quod verum esset id, quod dixerat sibi, et statim aqua Danubii in tantum crevit, quod venit in curiam dictarum servitium et in claustrum dictarum dominarum, et frater Marcellus ascendit quoddam lignum, et intravit capitulum dominarum.

Interrogata, que fuerunt tunc presentes, respondit: «Margaretha, que fuit filia domini Gulielmi et Judit⁶⁹ subpriorissa et multe alie, de quibus non recordor».

Interrogata, in quo loco erant tunc, respondit: «In lebio⁷⁰ ante loquutorium».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, respondit: «Fuit per tres annos ante mortem eiusdem virginis Margarethe».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor, sed fuit inter epiphaniam et carnis levarium».^a

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Non habeo in mente».

^a carnis venalium *ms.*

⁶⁹ Judith is Witness 18.

⁷⁰ The Latin word here is *lebiu*, the meaning of which is unclear, but Garinus still seems to have known it when he reworked the story and used *deambulatorium* as

who were sick, whom she saw from time to time through the choir windows, when they were in the church, and she gave them her own clothes, with the permission of the prioress.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that from the Sunday in Lent, when *Judica me* is sung, until Easter, she kept at her prayers with tears and lamentation, with great humility and devotion, beyond what she used to do at other times.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that the water of the Danube came into the courtyard where the ladies' servants stay, and after it returned to its banks, Brother Marcellus, who was provincial in Hungary at the time, came to this monastery, and when the said Margaret started telling him how high the water had been, and that brother said, "How can I believe this? It cannot be," the said Sister Margaret asked God and the Blessed Virgin to see to it that Brother Marcellus would see that what she had told him was true, and at once the water of the Danube rose so high that it entered the courtyard of the servants and also the sisters' cloister, and Brother Marcellus got up on a certain piece of wood and entered the ladies' chapter house.

When asked who was present at the time, she replied, "Margaret, who was the daughter of lord William, and the sub-prioress Judith,⁶⁹ and many others, whom I don't remember."

When asked where they were at the time, she replied, "In the cloistered yard,⁷⁰ in front of the parlor."

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "It was three years before the death of the same virgin Margaret."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't remember, but it was between Epiphany and Ash Wednesday."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "I have no recollection of it."

equivalent. Later in the text we also learn that there were trees here, so we are clearly dealing with the cloistered yard.

Interrogata, quot annorum sit ipsa testis, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam triginta octo annos, et sunt viginti quatuor anni, quod ego sum soror istius monasterii».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua sit predicta virgo Margaretha, (respondit: «Septem»).

DIE MARTIS VIGESIMA OCTAVA MENSIS JULII.

VIII

Domina Elisabeth⁷¹ filia quondam domini Stephani de Badobora,⁷² soror et monialis dicti monasterii de insula Danubii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione beate virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha fuit bona domina et sancta et bone vite, et libenter stabat in oratione omni tempore.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Bene scio, quia videbam oculis meis». Item dixit, quod habuit magnam devotionem ad crucem, et ubicumque inveniebat crucem, vel videbat, sive in ecclesia, sive in capitulo, sive in casa^a sua, semper flectebat se, et flexis genibus orabat eam.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Bene scio, quia fui sacristiana, et videbam hec». Item dixit, quod dicta soror Margaretha petiit in obedientiam, quod esset sacristiana, ut plus posset tranavare se in servitio Dei.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Hoc audiui, et fui socia sua in sacristia».

Interrogata, quanto tempore fuit ista virgo sacristiana, respondit: «Non recordor bene, quia priorissa noluit, ut tantum se

^a casa ital.

⁷¹ Elizabeth was a nun since the age of 15, one of those who had stayed with Margaret since the very beginning, in Veszprém. At the time of the investigation she was 48. According to the *Hungarian legend* she was the prioress of the monastery at the time of Margaret's death, and she was the confidant of the saint, to whom she gave the key of her casket in which she guarded her instruments of penitence. Dömötör and Pólya, eds., *Szent Margit élete*. 1510, 443–45; cf. *Legenda vetus*, 72 n. 44.

When asked how old she, the witness, was, she replied, "I think I'm thirty-eight, and I've been a sister of this monastery for the past twenty-four years."

When asked how many years ago the aforesaid virgin Margaret died, [she replied, "Seven."]

ON TUESDAY, JULY 28

8

Lady Elizabeth,⁷¹ daughter of the late Lord Stephen of Badobora,⁷² a sister and nun of the said monastery on the Island in the Danube, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the blessed virgin Margaret, she said under oath that the said virgin Margaret was a good lady and a saint and of good life, and she gladly stayed at her prayers at all times.

When asked how she knew this she replied, "I know it well, because I saw it with my own eyes." She also said that she had great devotion for the cross, and whenever she found one, or saw one, in the church, chapter house, or in her own cell, she always went down and prayed to it on bended knee.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I know it well, because I was the sacristan, and I saw these things." She also said that the said Sister Margaret had asked to be made sacristan, as an act of obedience, so that she could immerse herself more in the service of God.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I heard it, and I was her associate in the sacristy."

When asked how long this virgin was a sacristan, she replied, "I don't remember well, because the prioress didn't want her

⁷² Perhaps referring to the locality called Latobar, in Bihar county, see Mór Wertner, "A Margit-legenda genealógiai és földrajzi adatai" [Genealogical and geographical data in the Margaret legend], *Turul* 21 (1903): 33. Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarországnak történeti földrajza*, vol. I, 638.

affligeret». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha quolibet tempore ab aurora usque ad horam prandii stabat in choro ecclesie in orationibus in loco secreto, et audiebat primum missam privatam, et quando dicebatur missa conventus exibat, et stabat cum aliis sororibus in choro in loco suo et cantabat cum aliis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Ego bene scio, quia vidi». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha qualibet die, postquam missa conventus erat dicta, stabat post alias sorores et ponebat se flexis genibus ante altare sancte crucis, ubi pendet corpus Christi, et cum magnis lacrymis orabat, et hoc plus faciebat in diebus Veneris.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia ego et alie volebamus videre, quid faciebat, et sic aspicebamus eam». Item dixit, quod quando priorissa precipiebat aliquid sororibus, ipsa virgo Margaretha volebat esse prima ad faciendum istud, quod priorissa precipiebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha libenter serviebat sororibus et servitialibus, quando erant infirme, faciendo coquinam, et dando eis ad bibendum et comedendum, balneando eas, lavando capita, et iuvando eas, quando volebant ire ad necessaria, et purgando necessaria earum, quando oportebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi, quod sic faciebat».

Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha in septimana sua faciebat coquinam conventus dominarum, coquendo cibaria, quandoque purgando pisces, et lavando cum tanto rigore, quod sanguis exibat ex manibus suis, lavando ollas et scutellas, scopando domum et coquinam, portando aquam, et faciendo alia que erant necessaria ad coquinam.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc, et aliquando fui socia eius in hoc». Item dixit, quod erat ita intenta in orationibus, quando orabat, nolebat se movere, neque propter patrem, neque propter matrem, neque propter aliam personam, nisi propter obedientiam.

to burden herself so much.” She also said that the said virgin Margaret at all times from dawn to the hour of the midday meal stayed in the church choir at her prayers in a place apart, and heard first a private mass, then when the conventual mass was being said, she used to come out and stand with the other sisters in her place in the choir and sing along with them.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, “I know it well, because I saw it.” She also said that every day after the conventual mass had been said the said virgin Margaret used to stay after the other sisters and put herself on bended knee before the altar of the Holy Cross, where the body of Christ hangs, and would pray with much weeping, and she did this even more fervently on Fridays.

When asked about how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “Because other [sisters] and I wanted to see what she was doing, and so we watched her.” She also said that when the prioress gave a command to the sisters, the virgin Margaret wanted to be the first to do what the prioress had commanded.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “Because I saw it.” She also said that the said virgin Margaret gladly served the sisters and the servants, when they were ill, cooking and giving them things to eat and drink, bathing them, washing their heads, and assisting them when they wanted to go to the latrine, and cleaning the latrines, when necessary.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “Because I saw her do this.”

She also said that when it was her week, the said virgin Margaret did the cooking for the ladies’ convent, by cooking food, sometimes cleaning fish, and scrubbing them so hard that blood oozed out of her hands, washing pots and dishes, sweeping the house and the kitchen, carrying water, and doing other things that needed to be done in the kitchen.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “Because I saw it, and I sometimes did it with her.” She also said that she was so intent when she prayed that she did not want to move for her father, her mother, nor for any other person, unless out of obedience.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Bene scio, quia vidi, et audiui illud» et dixit, quod quando rex Bela, pater suus, vel mater, vel frater suus mittebat sibi de uvis passis, vel de similibus, ipsa dicebat priorisse, quod servaret illa pro conventu et pro infirmis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Ego fui presens, et vidi». Item dixit, quod quando pater suus, dominus rex et mater sua et frater mittebant sibi marcas argenti, vel auri, vel pannos, vel purpuram, vel pannos sericeos, vel aurum, ipsa virgo Margaretha de licentia priorisse partim dabat isti monasterio, et partem dabat aliis ecclesiis pauperibus, et (partem) monasterio sancte Catharine fratrum predicatorum in Alba,⁷³ (partem) monasterio sancti Antonii, in quo fecisset fieri altare in honorem sancti Nicolai⁷⁴ in anno illo in quo mortua est, et aliquando aliis monasteriis et ecclesiis ad faciendos calices et vestimenta pro officio ecclesie.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Scio, quia sunt pure vera».

Item dixit, quod diligebat paupertatem, et quod veteres vestes et indumenta libenter portabat, et quando pater suus, aut mater sua, vel frater mittebat sibi bonum pannum ad vestiendum se, vel bonas vestes, ipsa virgo Margaretha de licentia priorisse dabat illud pauperibus.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Bene scio, quia vidi». Item dixit, quod in vestibus suis et in capite habebat multos piglos, [et quando amicabiliter rogabant eam ut vestes suas a talibus permetteret emundari]^a ipsa respondebat et dicebat: «Bona soror, dimitte et noli curare».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi, et ego multoties ei volebam tollere piglos de vestibus suis, et ipsa

^a vacat; et quando amicabiliter rogabant eam ut vestes suas a talibus permetteret emundari add. Fraknói ex Legenda maiore

⁷³ In Székesfehérvár there had been a Dominican convent since 1221, the first one to be founded in Hungary, but that one was dedicated to Saint Margaret. Cf. Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerprovinz*, 26–29; Harsányi, *A domonkosrend Magyarországon*, 81. There was, a second, female convent founded there before 1276, the church of which, however, was dedicated to the Virgin Mary, cf. Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyar-*

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I know it well, because I saw it and heard it," and she said that when King Béla, her father, or her mother or brother, sent her dried grapes or things of that sort, she herself would tell the prioress to keep those things for the convent and for the sick.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I was present, and I saw it." She also said that when the lord king, her father, and her mother and brother sent her silver marks, or golden ones, or cloaks or purple or silk robes or gold, the virgin Margaret, with the permission of the prioress, gave part of it to the monastery, and part to other poor churches and part to the monastery of Saint Catherine of the Order of the Preachers in Székesfehérvár,⁷³ part to the monastery of Saint Anthony, in which, in the year she died, she had caused to be built an altar in honor of Saint Nicholas,⁷⁴ and sometimes to other monasteries and churches to make chalices and vestments for the office of the church.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I know, because it's the pure truth."

She also said that she loved poverty, and that she gladly wore old clothes and when her father or mother or brother sent her a good cloak or good garments to wear, the virgin Margaret, with the permission of the prioress, would give it to the poor.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I know it well, because I saw it." She also said that she had many lice in her clothes and on her head [and when they asked her in a friendly way to allow her clothes to be cleansed of these things,] she replied with the words, "Good sister, let it be, and don't worry about it."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it, and many times I wanted to take the lice off her clothes, and she didn't let me." She also said, "I heard from the sisters who were

ország történeti földrajza, vol. II, 382. So the witness or the scribe must have confused the names here. There were two convents dedicated to Saint Catherine, the male one in Esztergom, founded in 1231 (cf. Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerprovinz*, 31–32; Harsányi, *A domonkosrend Magyarországon*, 81), and the female one from Veszprém, where Margaret has spent her first years as an oblate, cf. *Legenda vetus*, 46 n. 9.

⁷⁴ On the monastery of St. Anthony in Pest, see *Legenda vetus*, 80 n. 57.

non dimittebat». Item dixit: «Ego audiui a sororibus, que erant private sue, quod predicta virgo Margaretha portabat cilicium; per dies tres ante mortem suam dedit mihi, quia tunc eram priorissa, clavem a casa sua, in qua ego priorissa post mortem suam cum aliis sororibus invenimus duas cilicii partes, unam veterem et fractam et aliam quasi novam, et unum cingulum de ferro et unam scoriatam de virgis, que erat cooperta de pelle gritii et duos scofonos cum clavis ferreis parvis intus a latibus, et unam palam de stagna, que habebat multas cordas de piliis ciliciis ad modum retis, quam super pectus subtus vestes portavit, quando erat parva puella.

Interrogata de nominibus sororum, a quibus audivit, quod portavit cilicium, respondit: «A sorore Olimpiade et a sorore Candida, que mortua est». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha habebat lectum magis pauperem quam aliqua de sororibus, et quando priorissa volebat sibi dare bonum lectum, ipsa nolebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et audiui hoc». Item dixit, quod in quolibet anno in cena domini lavabat pedes sororibus et sanctimonialibus, et hoc habuerat in obedientiam a priorissa, ad suam petitionem.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi, et lavit mihi pedes meos». Item dixit: «Ego non possem (satis) dicere de bonitate, et sanctitate ac bona vita sua».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Quinquaginta minus duobus, et per triginta quatuor annos, vel per triginta tres fui in religione ista».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

Frater Martinus, prior ecclesie sancti Michaelis de insula de ordine Premonstratensium⁷⁵ et Martinus Rubini de Buda iuraverunt interrogare dominas istius monasterii et alias personas in lingua hungarica, sicut eis dicerent predicti inquisitores, et fideliter eis referre illa, que intellexerint ab eisdem, videlicet predictus prior (in) latino sermone et Martinus in italico, sicut intelligerent in hungarico a predictis dominabus et aliis personis, remotis odio

⁷⁵ For the Premonstratensian monastery dedicated to St. Michael, see *Legenda vetus*, 78 n. 54.

her intimates that the aforesaid virgin Margaret wore a hair-shirt. Three days before her death, she gave me, because I was prioress at the time, the key to her cell, in which I, as prioress, together with the other sisters found after her death two hair-shirts, one old and torn, the other almost new, also an iron belt and one birch rod covered with the skin of a hedgehog, and a pair of shoes with little iron tacks on the sides inside, and a tin mantle, on which there were strands woven from hairs of *cilicium*, like a net, which she wore on her breast beneath her clothes when she was a little girl.

When asked the names of the sisters, from whom she heard that she wore the hair-shirt, she replied, "From Sister Olimpiades and from Sister Candida, who is dead." She also said that the said virgin Margaret had a poorer bed than any of the other sisters, and when the prioress wanted to give her a good one, she refused.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it and heard it." She also said that every year at the Lord's Supper she washed the feet of the sisters and servants, and she had gotten this as an act of obedience from the prioress, at her own request.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it, and she washed my feet." She also said, "I couldn't say enough about her goodness, holiness, and good life."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Forty-eight, and I have been in this religious life for thirty-three or thirty-four years."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

Brother Martin, prior of the Church of Saint Michael of the Island, of the Praemonstratensian Order,⁷⁵ and Martin Rubini of Buda swore to interrogate the ladies of this monastery and other persons in Hungarian, translating the exact words of the aforesaid inquisitors, and to translate back to the inquisitors what they understood the ladies and the others were saying, the aforesaid prior translating into Latin, and Martin [Rubini] translating into Italian, what they understood to be the meaning of the statements in Hungarian from the ladies and other persons. They swore to do it without considerations of love or hatred, fear, bribery, or entreaty,

et amore, timore, pretio et precibus, spirituali utilitate, vel damno suo, vel alieno ad bonam fidem et sine fraude, sic Deus eos adiuvet, ad sancta Dei evangelia; et sicut superius scriptum est in depositionibus predictarum dominarum, ita interpretati fuerunt.

DIE VIGESIMA NONA MENSIS JULII.

IX

Domina Elisabeth, filia quondam domini Ladislai quondam comitis de Serenna,⁷⁶ soror et monialis dicti monasterii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione ipsius virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit, quod: «Postquam ipsa virgo Margaretha habuit decem annos, cognoscebam eam et conversata fui secum; ab eo tempore circiter semper fuit bona domina et sancta et bone conversationis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod a dicto tempore circiter fuit bona domina et sancta, ut dixit, respondit: «Bene scio, quia stabam cum ea, sicut socia sua et videbam eam».

Interrogata, in quo loco stabat cum ea et conversabatur, respondit: «Primo in monasterio sancte Catharine Vesprimii, et hoc fuit illo anno, in quo intravit illud monasterium de insula et ego secum, et postea conversata fui cum ea in isto monasterio de insula usque ad mortem suam». Item dixit: «Quando eramus scholares in isto monasterio, et iremus ad ludendum quandoque de licentia magistre, ipsa habebat se retro, et ibat ad orandum, nec volebat ludere, et tunc aliquando dicebat mihi et aliis sororibus: 'Venite mecum, melius est ludere cum sancta Maria, quam hic' ».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, quod tunc iret ad orandum, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc».

⁷⁶ The locality "Serenna" is identified to be Szörény, in the county of Pest, by Werten, "A Margit-legenda," 37, but there was no county named after this locality; another possibility is the county of Szerém (Srijem, Croatia, and Serbia). Ladislai is not listed among the documented counts (*comites*) of this county in Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 207. He also had another daughter in the monas-

spiritual gain or loss to themselves or anyone else, in good faith and without fraud, so help them God, and on God's holy gospels; and they were the interpreters in what has been written above in the depositions of the aforesaid ladies.

ON JULY 29

9

Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the late Lord Ladislas, *comes* of Serenna,⁷⁶ a sister and nun of the said monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "After the virgin Margaret was ten, I knew her and spent time with her. From around that time on she was always a good lady, and a saint, and of good behavior."

When asked how she knew that from the said time she was a good lady, and a saint, she replied, "I know it well, because I stayed with her as her companion, and I saw her."

When asked where she was staying and kept company with her, she replied, "First in the monastery of Saint Catherine at Veszprém, and this was in the year she and I entered that monastery of the Island, and later I was her companion in this monastery on the Island until her death." She also said, "When we were pupils in this monastery, and would sometimes go to play, with the *magistra's* permission, she would hold back and go off to pray, and didn't want to play, and at such times she would sometimes say to me and the other sisters, 'Come with me; it's better to play with the Virgin Mary than here.'"

When asked how she knew that she would go off to pray on these occasions, as she said, she replied, "Because I saw it."

tery, Aglent, who is Witness 40. Elizabeth, Witness 9, was 34 years old in the year of the investigation, so she must have been born in 1242, like Margaret, and she was in the cloister from the age of seven—so she too must have started her monastic life in Veszprém.

Interrogata, ad quem locum ibat ad orandum, respondit: «In choro ecclesie». Item dixit, quod de die in diem magis orabat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc». Item dixit, quod quando debebat recipere corpus Christi, ante per diem unum incipiendo a vespere, stabat in orationibus cum magna devotione et fletu, et quando vocabatur, ut iret ad cantandum versum suum, vel aliud, statim veniebat, et postea revertebatur ad orationes suas, et in sero illo post completorium cantabat multum devote, alta voce cum lacrymis: ‚Salve Regina, mater misericordie‘, et eodem modo stabat in matutinis, et post matutinum pausabat, et in aurora iterum veniebat ad orationes suas usque ad missam, et in missa recipiebat corpus Christi, et hoc faciebat per quindecim vices per annum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Bene scio, quia videbam hoc, et sepe vocavi eam, quando cantature eramus, ut ipsa veniret ad cantandum». Item dixit, quod sepe petebat in obedientiam, quod posset servire sororibus et servitilibus et infirmis ipsius claustrum, serviebat eis in eundo per totam curtem claustrum, quando pluebat, et quando nigebat, et quando erat lutum, alzando^a sibi vestes, et sic serviebat, nec separabat se in omnibus servitiis, in quibus potuit servire.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc, et sepe scripsi eam in tabulam, quando cantandum erat, ad hoc serviendum, ad preces suas». Item dixit, quod quando infirme volebant vomere propter infirmitatem suam, et illa tam cito non poterat habere bacile, vel scutellas, statim ponebat manus subtus, et recipiebat in manus suas id quod vomebant, ne deturparent lectum suum; et dixit, quod purgabat illud quod faciebant iuxta lectos propter necessitatem corporis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam». Item dixit: «Vidi, quod purgabat necessaria conventus, et usque ad genua stabat in mlatna, purgando ipsa necessaria, et quando exhibat, alie sorores habebant fastidium ad videndum eam

^a alzare *ital.*

When asked where she used to go to pray, she replied, "In the choir of the church." She also said that as the days went by she prayed all the more.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that the day before she was going to receive the body of Christ, beginning at vespers she would stay at her prayers with great devotion and weeping, and when she was summoned to go and sing her verse, or for something else, she would come immediately, and then return to her prayers, and that evening after Compline she would sing with great devotion and in a high, tearful voice, *Salve regina, mater misericordiae*, and she would be in that position at matins, and after matins she would take a break, and then at dawn she would come again to pray until mass, and at the mass she would receive the body of Christ. She did this fifteen times a year.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I know it well, because I saw it, and I often called her, when we were going to be singing, to come and sing." She also said that she often asked, as an act of obedience, to serve the sisters, servants, and sick of the cloister, rolling up her dress as she went about the courtyard of the cloister in the snow or rain or when it was muddy, and thus she served, without setting herself apart, in doing all duties in which she could help.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it, and at her own request I would often put her on the list for singing, when this service was called for." She also said that when the patients wanted to vomit because of their sickness, and she could not get hold of a basin or vessel, she would unhesitatingly put her own hands beneath and take their vomit into them, so that they would not soil their bed; and she said that she cleaned up what they did at the side of their beds because of their bodily needs.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it."

She also said, "I have seen her cleaning the convent latrines and standing knee-deep in filth while doing it, and when she emerged, the other sisters were disgusted at the sight of her, be-

propter illas immundicitias.» Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha portabat cilicium in dorso; «Et pluries mihi dixit: ‚Quare non portas cilicium?›» et dixit, quod a quinta feria usque ad Dominicam et per totum adventum et per totam quadragesimam portabat cilicium, et hoc incepit facere postquam habuit duodecim annos.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod portabat cilicium, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc, et quando ipsa incepit portare hoc dixit mihi».

Interrogata, quanto tempore portavit dictum cilicium, respondit: «Usque ad ultimum annum mortis sue, et in illo anno in adventu portavit ipsum cilicium».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Bene scio, quia cum essem infirma eodem anno, quo mortua est, ipsa beata Margaretha visitabat me in infirmitate, et ego tangebam (eam), et tunc sentiebatur, quod habebat cilicium». Item dixit, quod: «Pluries post completorium ipsa beata Margaretha rogavit me, et dixit mihi: ‚Venias mecum, et dabitis mihi disciplinam‘, et ego, que eram sola privata socia sua,⁷⁷ tollebam virgas et batebam^a illam, et ipsa dicebat: ‚Des fortiter‘, et ego faciebam lacrymando, sicut ipsa dicebat, et habebam compassionem de ea, et ipsa faciebat me facere in tantum, quod sanguis exibat».

Interrogata, quales erant virge ille, respondit: «Quales sunt ille, cum quibus recipiunt disciplinam alie sorores tali vice, et aliquando erant spinose».

Interrogata, si erant alique alie presentes, respondit: «Non, quia faciebam in secreto».

Interrogata, in quo loco, respondit: «Aliquando in refectorio, firmato bene ostio, et aliquando in capitulo». Item dixit, quod quando ipsa virgo Margaretha habebat quatuordecim annos, vel circa, pater suus voluit maritare eam regi Bohemie, et ipsa dicebat

^a battere *ital.*

⁷⁷ As other testimonies and the *Legenda vetus* attest, Margaret's other close friends (like Sabina or Elizabeth of Bodomér) were also engaged in such extreme penitential practices. For a more general background to this kind of discipline, see Niklas Largier,

cause of the filth." She also said that the said virgin Margaret wore a hair-shirt on her back, "And she often said to me, 'Why don't you wear a hair-shirt?'" And she said that from Friday until Sunday, and for the whole of Advent and the whole of Lent, she wore the hair-shirt, and she began to do this after she reached the age of twelve.

When asked how she knew that she [Margaret] wore a hair-shirt, as she said, she replied, "Because I saw it, and she told me, when she began wearing it."

When asked how long she wore the said hair-shirt, she replied, "Until the last year of her life, and that year she wore the hair-shirt at Advent also."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I know it well, because when I was ill in the same year she died, the blessed Margaret herself came to visit me in my sickness, and I touched her and it felt like she had a hair-shirt on." She also said, "Many a time after compline the blessed Margaret herself asked me, 'Come with me and give me discipline,' and I, who was her only close friend,⁷⁷ used to take rods and beat her, and she'd say, 'Harder!' and I did as she asked, with tears in my eyes and feeling sorry for her, and she made me do it so hard that blood came out."

When asked what kind of rods they were, she replied, "The kind that other sisters take discipline with, and sometimes ones set with thorns."

When asked if there were any other sisters present, she replied, "No, because I used to do it in secret."

When asked where, she replied, "Sometimes in the refectory, with the door tightly closed, and sometimes in the chapter house." She also said that when the virgin Margaret was about fourteen, her father wanted to marry her to the king of Bohemia, and at that time she said to herself, "Lord God, what is this that my

In Praise of the Whip: A Cultural History of Arousal (New York: Zone Books, 2007); Richard Trexler, "The Stigmatized Body of Francis of Assisi: Conceived, Processed, Disappeared," in *Frömmigkeit im Mittelalter. Politisch-soziale Kontexte, visuelle Praxis, körperliche Ausdrucksformen*, ed. by Klaus Schreiner and Marc Müntz (Munich: Wilhelm Fink Verlag, 2002), 463–77; cf. also Introduction, 23 n. 63.

tunc inter se: ‚Domine Deus, quid est istud, quod vult facere pater meus, tolle me de mundo, antequam hoc fiat’, et postea lamentabatur sororibus super hoc, et dicebat eis: ‚Antequam sustinerem hoc, truncarem mihi nasum et labia, quia mihi est melius esse sine labiis in paradiso, quam ire in infernum cum labiis et naso’.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia pressens fui et audiui».

Interrogata de nominibus sororum, quibus hoc dixit, respondit: «Soror Olimpiades, soror Elisabeth et soror Margaretha, filia domini Gulielmi ducis et alie plures».

Interrogata, si aliud vult dicere super vita et conversatione ipsius virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Non recordor modo de aliis».

Interrogata super miraculis, dixit: «Quando obiit dicta beata virgo Margaretha, ego eram ita infirma, quod non poteram me movere, nisi iuvarer per alias sorores, et cogitabam in corde meo, quod libenter essem ad corpus ipsius virginis Margarethe, et statim surrexi sine aliquo adiutorio, et ivi ad corpus virginis Margarethe; et tunc surrexi sine aliquo adiutorio, et cepi servire circa corpus, et traxi sibi scapularium, quod sibi habebat in dorso, quia erat nimis turpe, propter servitia, que fecerat in coquina, et posui aliud scapularium sibi in dorso bonum et mundum, et postea portata fuit in ecclesiam in hora matutini, et stetit Dominica et die Lune, et quando aspiciebamus eam, videbatur esse magis colorata, et magis ultra quam in vita sua, et die Martis sepulta fuit».

Interrogata, quanto tempore duraverat sibi dicta infirmitas, respondit: «A festo sancti Laurentii usque ad festum sancte Prisce, in quo festo ipsa Margaretha obiit».

Interrogata, si postea habuit infirmitatem illam, respondit: «Donec fuit sepulta dicta virgo Margaretha nihil sensi de infirmitate, sed postea sensi me debilem non tantum sicut prius, et postea de die in diem melius fuit mihi, donec liberata fui».

Interrogata, quantum stetit, antequam esset bene liberata, respondit: «Non recordor bene, sed parum fuit».

father wants to do? Take me from the world before it happens!"; and then she lamented to the sisters about it, and said, "Rather than put up with this, I would cut off my nose and lips, because it's better to be without lips in Paradise than to go to Hell with lips and a nose."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I was there and I heard it."

When asked the names of the sisters to whom she said this, she replied, "Sister Olimpiades, Sister Elizabeth, and Sister Margaret, daughter of the Lord Duke William, and many others."

When asked if she wanted to say anything else about the life and behavior of the virgin Margaret herself, she replied, "I don't remember anything else at the moment."

When asked about the miracles, she said, "When the blessed Margaret died, I was so ill I couldn't move without being helped by the other sisters, and I got to thinking in my heart that I'd like to be at the corpse of the virgin Margaret, and I got up at once with no assistance, and began preparing the body, and I pulled off the scapular she had on her back, because it was very soiled from the duties she had been doing in the kitchen, and I put another scapular on her back, a good clean one, and after that she was carried at the time of matins into the church, and there she remained on the Sunday and the Monday, and when we looked at her, she seemed to have a rosier complexion, beyond what she had in life, and she was buried on the Tuesday."

When asked how long her said ailment had lasted, she replied, "From the feast of Saint Lawrence until the feast of Saint Prisca, on which feast Margaret herself died."

When asked if she had that ailment afterwards, she replied, "Until the said virgin Margaret was buried, I felt no effects of that ailment, but afterwards I felt weak, though not so much as before, and from then on things got better with me every day, until I was cured."

When asked how long she stayed without deliverance, she replied, "I don't remember well, but it wasn't long."

Interrogata de sororibus, que iuvabant eam, ut dixit; respondit: «Soror Agleth⁷⁸ et soror Elisabeth, filia sororis Olimpiadis et alie, de quibus non recordor».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha obiit, respondit: «Septem anni»; et dixit, quod postea nullam habuit infirmitatem.

Interrogata, que erant presentes, quando serviebat circa corpus, ut dixit, respondit: «Soror Margaretha, filia domini Gulielmi et soror Olimpiades et soror Elisabet, filia eius et alie, de quibus non recordor».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Triginta quatuor».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod fuit in monasterio, respondit: «Viginti septem».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

DIE JOVIS⁷⁹ VIGESIMA NONA MENSIS JULII.

X

Domina Sabina filia quondam domini Donati de aquis calidis de Buda⁸⁰ soror et monialis monasterii gloriose Marie virginis de insula Danubii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione istius virginis Margarethe, dixit sub iuramento: «Bene scio, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha fuit bona domina et sancta et bone vite, et in vita sua bene conversata fuit, et magna humilitate fuit, et omni die stabat in orationibus magnis cum planctu.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc omni die». Item dixit, quod fuit de magna obedientia sororibus et priorisse, et quando stabat in orationibus, si priorissa vocabat eam, ipsa dimittebat orationem suam, et ibat ad eam.

⁷⁸ The sister of the witness.

⁷⁹ Correctly it was a Wednesday.

When asked about the sisters who helped her, as she said, she replied, "Sister Aglent⁷⁸ and Sister Elizabeth, the daughter of Sister Olimpiades, and others whom I don't recall."

When asked how many years ago the virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Seven;" and she said that afterwards she had had no illness.

When asked who were present, when she was preparing the body, as she said, she replied, "Sister Margaret, daughter of Lord William, and Sister Olimpiades, and Sister Elizabeth, her daughter, and others, whom I don't recall."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Thirty-four."

When asked how many years she had been in the monastery, she replied, "Twenty-seven."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

ON THURSDAY,⁷⁹ JULY 29

10

Lady Sabina, daughter of the late Lord Donatus of Felhévíz in Buda,⁸⁰ a sister and nun of the monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the Island in the Danube, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of this virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "I well know that the virgin Margaret was a good lady and a saint, and of good life, and she was of good conduct in life and of great humility, and every day she prayed much, with lamentation."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it every day." She also said that she was very obedient to the sisters and prioress, and when she was at her prayers, if the prioress called her, she would break off her prayer and go to her.

⁸⁰ On Felhévíz, see *Legenda vetus*, 103 n. 83.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia ego videbam hoc oculis meis». Item dixit, quod ipsa scopabat domum, claustrum, et ecclesiam et cameram privatam purgabat, nec videbatur filia regis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia presens fui et vidi». Item dixit: «Aliquando portabat multum de piscibus, vel satis de farina, vel aliud grave, et ipsa veniebat ad portam claustrum, et in spallis suis portabat illud, (et) non debebat gubernari».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia ego eram portinaria, et hoc videbam, et ipsam iuvabam, quando non poterat portare». Item dixit, quod libenter serviebat infirmis in omnibus, in quibus poterat, nec separabat se propter lutum, pluviam, vel nives, et portabat ligna ad faciendum ignem infirmis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod per septimanam suam faciebat coquinam, lavabat scutellas et ollas, et faciebat omnia alia, que erant necessaria ad coquinam.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc». Item dixit, quod post completorium aliquando stabat in medio dormitorii, et si audiebat aliquam de sororibus, quod lamentaretur, vel gemeret, incontinenti ibat ad eam, et querebat: «Quid vis, vis tu quod ego faciam pro te aliquid?».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia aliquando eram cum ea et hoc videbam». Item dixit, quod: «Quando ego surgebam ad matutinum, ante primum sonum campane, aliquando ibam ad lectum ipsius virginis Margarethe, et videbam eam stare flexis genibus in oratione, et antequam surgerent aliquae sorores, ipsa deponebat se ad lectum, ne videretur a sororibus orasse».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, quod sic orabat et deponebat se ad lectum, ut dixit, ne videretur ab aliis sororibus orasse, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc». Item dixit, quod quando aliquid mittebatur sibi per regem, patrem suum, vel per matrem, vel per alium, illud faciebat portari priorisse, et partem illam, quam sibi mittebat priorissa, ipsam mittebat infirmis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Bene scio, quia quando serviebam in refectorio, per me de illis cibariis mittebat in-

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it with my own eyes." She also said that she swept the house, the cloister, and the church, and she cleaned the latrines, and did not seem like a king's daughter.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I was present, and I saw it." She also said, "Sometimes she carried heavy loads of fish, or more than her share of flour, or some other heavy thing, and she'd come to the gate of the cloister with that on her shoulders, and she would not be dissuaded."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I was the gatekeeper, and I saw this, and I used to help her, when she couldn't carry things." She also said that she gladly served the sick in all things, in what she could, and did not stay away because of the mud, rain, or snow, and she would carry logs to make a fire for those who were sick.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that in her week of duty she did the cooking, washed pots and plates, and did other things that needed to be done in the kitchen.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that after Compline she would sometimes stand in the middle of the dormitory, and if she heard any of the sisters crying or groaning, she would immediately go to her and ask, "What do you want? Do you want me to do anything for you?"

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because sometimes I was with her, and I saw it." She also said, "When I got up towards matins, before the first sound of the bell, I'd sometimes go to the virgin Margaret's bed, and I would see her steadily at prayer on bended knee, and she'd lie down on the bed before the other sisters got up, so as not to be seen praying by the sisters."

When asked how she knew that she prayed in this way and lay down on the bed, as she said, so as not to be seen praying by the other sisters, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that when something was sent to her from her father, the king, or from her

firmis». Item dixit, quod ipsa multum stabat in orationibus super genua et super gombetos, tantum quod vestes rumpebantur in parte illa.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Ego videbam hec», et dixit, quod magistra sua Olimpiades de hoc reprehendebat eam, quod nimis se affligebat.

Interrogata quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Quia audivi et presens fui». Item dixit, quod quadam die Veneris in adventu stabat in tunica et in scapulario ante crucifixum, qui erat in choro ecclesie in quodam loco, ubi consueverat stare in orationibus, et tunc quidam nuncius venit ex parte patris sui, qui petebat eam, et sic fuit quesita et inventa in dicto loco, et erat ita mutata in facie propter frigus, quasi esset mortua, et noluit venire ad nuncium patris sui.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Scio, quia frater Timotheus, qui tunc prior erat, pulsabat ad fenestram, et dixit mihi, sicut ipsa virgo Margaretha petebatur per nuncium patris sui, et tunc ivi et dixi sibi predicta». Item dixit, quod «Pluries ipsa virgo Margaretha rogavit me in secreto, quod ego darem sibi disciplinam, et sic pluries verberavi eam, aliquando cum simplicibus virgulis, aliquando cum spinosis, aliquando cum virgulis ubi erant apposite pelles gritii».

Interrogata, in quo loco verberavit eam, ut dixit, respondit: «In isto loco, in quo sumus modo, et aliquando in refectorio».

Interrogata, si alique alie erant ibi presentes, respondit: «Non». Item dixit, quod semper portabat malas vestes et veteres, et cum illis iacebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc». Item dixit: «Quadam die erat una olla ad focum in coquina, in qua erant gamberi,^a et apparebat, quod tota illa olla arderet, et ego non audebam ponere manum, et illa virgo Margaretha intravit in coquinam, et quando vidit hoc, incontinenti apposuit manum,

^a gamberi *ital.*

mother, or from anyone else, she had it taken to the prioress, and the part the prioress returned to her she sent to the sick.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I know it well, because when I was serving in the refectory, she sent some of the food through me to the sick." She also said that she stayed much at prayer on her knees and leaning on the front of her dress, so much so that her clothes ripped in that part.

Asked how she knew this, she replied, "I saw it," and she said that her *magistra*, Olimpiades, reproached her for her mistreating herself so much.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I heard it, and I was present." She also said that one Friday in Advent she was standing in tunic and scapular in front of the crucifix, which was in the choir of the church in a certain place where she was accustomed to be at prayer, and at that time a certain messenger came from her father, who was asking for her, and so she was sought out and found in the said place, and she was so changed in appearance by the cold, it was as if she were dead, and she did not wish to come to her father's messenger.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I know it, because Brother Timothy, who was prior at the time, rapped on the window and told me how the virgin Margaret was being sought out by her father's emissary, and I then went and told her what had been said." She also said, "The virgin Margaret herself often used to ask me in secret to administer discipline to her, and so I beat her more than a few times, sometimes with plain rods, sometimes with ones set with spines, and sometimes with switches sheathed in hedgehog skins."

When asked where she beat her, as she said, she replied, "In this place, where we are now, and sometimes in the refectory."

When asked if there were any others present there, she replied, "No." She also said that she always wore shabby, old clothes, and slept in them.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said, "One day there was a pot on the kitchen stove, with crayfish in it, and that whole pot seemed to be on fire, and I didn't dare lay my hand on it, and the virgin Margaret came into

et traxit eam de flamma, (et) nec manus, nec vestes sue in aliquo combuste fuerunt».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et presens fui».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Iuxta horam cene».

Interrogata, si alique erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Non». Item dixit: «Quadam die sancta, in quo erat multum obscurum, ego cum dicta virgine Margaretha intravi domum istam, in quo modo estis, et erat ita obscura domus, quod nihil ibi poterat videri tunc, ut faceret se verberari per me in secreto, et depositis vestibis ita resplenduit ista domus, ac si esset in die, et postquam se induit, ita obscura fuit domus, ut prius erat».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recordor, sed hoc erat circa exaltationem sancte crucis».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor». Item dixit: «Quadam die eram multum irata in corde super quodam facto, et de hoc cogitabam et rogabam Deum, quod amoveret a corde meo ipsam iram, et nullus sciebat hoc, et tunc ipsa virgo Margaretha venit ad me et dixit: ‚Noli turbari’, et narravit mihi totum per ordinem, sicut turbata eram».

Interrogata, si alique erant presentes, quando ipsa Margaretha venit ad eam, et dixit sibi predicta, ut dixit, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, respondit: «Illo anno, quo mortua est.

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est, respondit: «Septem anni».

Interrogata, quo mense dicta virgo Margaretha dixit sibi predicta, respondit: «In adventu».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post completorium».

Interrogata, in quo loco erat, quando dixit sibi predicta verba, respondit: «In refectorio».

the kitchen, and when she saw this, she took hold of it at once, and hauled it from the flame, and neither her hands nor her clothes were burned in any way."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it and was present."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "Around supper time."

When asked if there were any present at the time, she replied, "No." She also said, "One Sunday, when it was very overcast, I came with the said virgin Margaret into this house you are in now, and the house was so dark that nothing was visible at the time, so as to get herself beaten by me in secret, and when she took her clothes off, this house lit up as if it was day, and when she dressed again, the house was as dark as before."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "I don't remember, but it was at the time of the exaltation of the Holy Cross."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember." She also said, "One day I was very angry in my heart about something that had happened, and I was brooding on it. I asked God to take this anger from my heart, and no one knew about this; and then the virgin Margaret came to me in person and said, 'Don't worry,' and gave me a detailed account of what I had been upset about."

When asked if there were any present, when Margaret in person came to her and told her the aforesaid, as she said, she replied, "No."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "It was in the year she died."

When asked how many years ago she died, she replied, "Seven years."

When asked in what month the said virgin Margaret told her the aforesaid, she replied, "In Advent."

Interrogata, si velit aliquod aliud dicere, respondit: «Multa alia scio, sed non possum dicere plus».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Triginta sex annos, sicut audiui a parentibus meis».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod est in isto monasterio, respondit: «Viginti quatuor, sicut credo».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE JOVIS TERTIA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM.

Interrogata, si scit, quod soror Lucia⁸¹ post mortem istius virginis Margarethe habuit aliquam infirmitatem, respondit: «Scio, quod infirma fuit usque ad mortem, et ego vidi eam venire ad locum, in quo sancta Margaretha consuevit orare, et posuit caput suum, ubi stabat in orationibus et incontinenti dixit: ‚Meliorata sum’, et dixit: ‚Noli plus mittere pro sacerdote’, et statim fuit sanata, nec postea habuit infirmitatem illam».

Interrogata, cuiusmodi erat infirmitas illa, respondit: «Habeat infirmitatem illam in renibus, aliter nescio».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod predicta fuerunt, respondit: «In hoc anno, postquam venistis».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «In hora meridiei».

Interrogata de presentibus, quando vidit eam venire ad dictum locum, et posuit caput in illo loco, de quo dixit, et meliorata et sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Agilent, que iuvit nos». Item dixit, quod «Dicta soror Lucia circa mortem ipsius Margarethe ita graviter infirma fuit per tres dies, quod non poterat loqui, nec per

⁸¹ She is Witness 20.

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "After compline."

When asked where she was, when she said the aforesaid words to her, she replied, "In the refectory."

When asked if she wanted to say anything else, she replied, "I know a lot more, but I can't say any more."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Thirty-six, as I've heard from my parents."

When asked how many years she had been in this monastery, she replied, "Twenty-four, I think."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3

When asked if she knew about Sister Lucy⁸¹ being ill after the death of this virgin Margaret, she replied, "I know that she was deathly sick, and I saw her come to the place where saint Margaret used to pray, and place her head on the spot she would stay praying, and right away she said, 'I'm better,' and 'Don't send for the priest any more,' and she was cured right away and didn't have that illness afterwards."

When asked the nature of that illness, she replied, "She had a kidney ailment, I do not know anything else."

When asked how many years ago the aforesaid things happened, she replied, "This year, after you came."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "At midday."

When asked who were present, when she saw her coming to the said place and placing her head on that spot she spoke about, and got better and was cured, she replied, "Agilent, who helped us." She also said, "The said Sister Lucy around the time of Margaret's death was so gravely ill for three days that she couldn't speak or

se movere, et tunc dedimus sibi de lavatura capillorum istius sancte Margarethe ad bibendum, et liberata est».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est predicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem anni».

Interrogata de presentibus, quando dederunt sibi lavaturam dictorum capillorum, et sanata est, ut dixit, respondit: «Soror Cecilia».⁸²

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, de quo lavati fuerunt dicti capilli, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, in quo loco iacebat tunc dicta virgo Cecilia, respondit: «In infirmaria».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE JOVIS TRIGESIMA MENSIS JULII.

XI

Domina Elena, filia quondam Hylii de Saserenia, soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe sub iuramento dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha fuit bona domina et sancta, et honeste conversationis et vite.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi, et cum ea steti».

Item dixit, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha tenebat suam septimanam ad serviendum in coquina et in refectorio, et faciebat omnia servitia, que poterat, libenter scopabat refectorium, et cum manibus suis portabat scoporatas extra, lavabat scutellas et ollas, ibat ad cellarium, et cum manibus vinum portabat ad conventum, quando debebant comedere, et pisces purgabat, (et) propter servitia faciendi ibat per lutum cum pedibus nudis, et in nullo se separabat.^a

^a spatabat *ms.*

⁸² She is Witness 19.

move, and then we gave her a drink of water in which saint Margaret's hair had been washed, and she was delivered."

When asked how many years ago the aforesaid virgin Margaret died, she answered, "Seven."

When asked about those present, when they gave her the wash-water of the said hair, and she was healed, as she said, she replied, "Sister Cecilia."⁸²

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked what the said hair was washed with, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked where the said virgin Cecilia was lying at the time, she replied, "In the infirmary."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THURSDAY, JULY 13

11

Lady Elena, a daughter of the late Elias of Seserenia, a sister and nun of the same monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath that the said virgin Margaret was a good lady and a saint, and of honorable behavior and life."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it, and I stayed with her."

She also said that the virgin Margaret in person performed her week's duty in the kitchen and refectory, and did all the service she was capable of, willingly sweeping the refectory and carrying slops outside with her own hands, washing dishes and pots, going to the cellar and carrying wine to the convent with her own hands before meals, cleaning fish, and going on bare feet through the mud to do menial tasks, and in no way singling herself out.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it, and she did it in my presence." She also said that she

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia videbam, et in presentia mea hoc faciebat». Item dixit, quod ita erat intenta in servitio infirmarum sororum, quod ipsa erat prima, que sciebat, quando aliqua soror vel servitialis erat infirma, et quando infirma habebat malum, lectum faciebat sibi bonum, et serviebat eis in omnibus, in quibus poterat, et priorissa dicebat sibi: ‚Quare tantum laboras? Si rex, pater tuus, vel mater tua scirent hoc, ipsi haberent pro malo’; et ipsa respondit sibi: ‚Dimittas me facere pro nomine Jesu’.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et audiui predicta». Item dixit, quod quando priorissa precipiebat aliquid sororibus, ipsa erat prima, que faciebat obedientiam, in lavando lanam et in aliis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod ista virgo Margaretha libenter portabat viles vestes et veteres et cilicium super carnem.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi et audiui». Item dixit, quod quandoque bindam^a grossam recipiebat a servitilibus, et portabat illam in capite, et quando priorissa et etiam magistra sua dicebant sibi: «Tu male facis, quia si pater tuus et mater tua scirent hoc, ipsi confunderent nos», et ipsa respondit eis: «Pro nomine Jesu dimittatis me facere hoc».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Audiui et vidi». Item dixit, quod omni die post completorium intrabat cappellam, et ibi flexis et nudis genibus, cum lacrymis multum stabat in orationibus.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia audiui». Item dixit: «Quadam nocte erat in choro et in loco suo secreto, ubi erat stare et orare privatim, et habebat omnes suos coram se,^b et dixit mihi: ‚Rogo te, ut stes ibi, et nemini dicas, quod ego sim hic, et noli dimittere aliquem venire super me’; et cum multum sic stetisset ipsa virgo Margaretha in orationibus, ego vidi super eius

^a benda *ital.*

was so preoccupied with serving sisters who were sick that she was the first to know when any sister or servant was ill, and when the one who was sick had a pain, she made her a nice bed, and served her in every way she could, and then the prioress used to say to her, "Why do you work so hard? If the king, your father, or your mother knew this, they would think ill of it," and she would answer her, "Let me do it, in the name of Jesus."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw and heard it." She also said that when the prioress gave the sisters some order, she was the first to obey, in washing wool or in other tasks.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that this virgin Margaret gladly wore cheap, old clothes, and a hair-shirt next to her flesh.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw and heard it." She also said that she [Margaret] sometimes took a large head-band from the servants and wore it on her head, and when the prioress and even her *magistra* said to her, "You're wrong to do this, because if your father and mother knew it, they would come down on us," and she replied, "In Jesus's name, let me do it."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I heard and saw it." She also said that she [Margaret] went to the chapel every day after compline, and stayed there for a long time in prayer, kneeling on her bare knees and shedding tears.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I heard about it." She also said, "One night she was in her separate place in the choir, where it was possible to stay praying in private, and she had all her things in front of her, and she said to me, 'I ask you to stay there and tell no one that I'm here, and don't let anyone come over to me,' and when the virgin Margaret herself had remained thus praying for a long time, I saw a flaming fire above

^b et habebat omnes suos coram se *lectio dubia*

caput flammam ignis, et tunc habui magnum timorem, et timebam ire ad eam, et feci sibi signum bis, et ipsa non curavit, nec mihi respondit, et tunc ego paulatim ivi ad eam, et dixi: ‚Domina, ignis est super caput tuum’, et tunc ipsa virgo Margaretha posuit manum super caput suum, et palpavit super caput suum, et dixit mihi: ‚Soror, nemini dicas’, et usque nunc nemini dixi».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Hoc fuit per quatuor annos ante mortem suam».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor, sed fuit in hyeme».

Interrogata, qua hora, respondit: «Ante matutinum, quando domine dormiebant». Item dixit, quod: «Dicta virgo Margaretha, quando habuit circa septimum annum, incepit portare cilicium, et multum affligebat se in illo tempore; quadam die una femina venit ad me, et dixit: ‚Deus, qualiter ista domina et sancta mater quasi deficit’, et ego respondi: ‚Si tu portares cilicium, sicut ipsa portat, et faceres illa, que ipsa facit, tu etiam deficeres’; et tunc ipsa virgo Margaretha venit ad me et feminam predictam, et dixit mihi: ‚Soror mea, non bene fecisti, quia manifestasti secretum meum alteri, non dicam tibi secreta mea’».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «In hora completorii».

Interrogata, si alique alie erant presentes, quando ipsa virgo Margaretha dixit sibi predicta, respondit: «Non, nisi dicta femina».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Non recordor, sed viginti anni sunt, quod sum monacha in isto monasterio».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

her head and began to be very afraid. I was afraid to go to her, and I signaled to her twice, but she paid no attention and didn't respond, and then, gradually, I approached her, and said, 'Lady, there's a fire above your head,' and then the virgin Margaret herself put her hand over her head and patted it, and said to me, 'Sister, tell no one,' and I've told no one until now."

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "This was four years before her death."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't remember, but it was in winter."

When asked the hour, she replied, "Before the hour of matins, when the ladies were asleep." She also said, "When the said virgin Margaret was about seven, she began wearing a hair-shirt, and afflicted herself much at that time. One day a woman came to me and said, 'God how close this lady and holy mother is to fainting,' and I answered, 'If you were wearing a hair-shirt, the way she does, you'd be fainting, too,' and then the virgin Margaret herself came to the aforesaid woman and me, and said, 'My sister, you have done wrong in telling my secret to someone else; I won't be telling you any more of my secrets.'"

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "At the hour of compline."

When asked if there were any others present, when the virgin Margaret herself said the aforesaid things to her, she replied, "No, no one except for the said woman."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't remember, but I've been a nun in this monastery for twenty years."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

DIE VENERIS ULTIMA MENSIS JULII.

XII

Domina Stephana, filia quondam domini Pausse, soror et monialis ecclesie monasterii gloriose virginis de insula Danubii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predicte virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha fuit domina (sancta) et bona et de multis orationibus in domino.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit: «Sepe ab ore istius virginis Margarethe audiui, quod si esset tempus persecutionis, libenter se dimisisset martirizari pro amore Jesu Christi, et affligebat libenter corpus suum».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando dicta virgo Margaretha dixit predicta, respondit: Quandoque sibi soli, quandoque et aliis sororibus dixit.

Interrogata de nominibus aliarum sororum, respondit: «Soror Margaretha, filia domini Gulielmi et Margaretha, filia domine Anne, et alie».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha libenter affligebat corpus suum, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi et audiui ab ore ipsius virginis Margarethe».

Item dixit, quod libenter portabat vestes viles et veteres, et quod sue vestes propter multas orationes, quas faciebat, fracte erant ante circa gameda, et caro sua rupta.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi frequenter, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha ligabat sibi dictas rupturas». Item dixit, quod in sua septimana faciebat coquinam et lavabat scutellas et ollas, purgabat pisces, et faciebat alia servitia necessaria.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha libenter visitabat infirmas, et serviebat eis in lavando eas et dando eis comedere et bibere, faciendo lectos et iuvando eas, levando et tolgando,^a et omnibus aliis, quibus poterat. Item dixit, quod ita libenter serviebat servitibus infirmis sicut sororibus, et non separabat se eundo per lutum et per pluviam et portando aquam per crucem ad domum servitium,

ON FRIDAY, THE LAST DAY OF JULY

12

Lady Stephana, daughter of late Lord Pausa, sister and nun of the monastery of the church of the glorious Virgin on the Island in the Danube swore as above detailed.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she swore under oath that the virgin Margaret was a good lady and a saint, who prayed much to the Lord.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said, "I have often heard from the mouth of this virgin Margaret, that if it had been a time of persecution, she would have allowed herself to be martyred for the love of Jesus Christ, and she used to mortify her body freely."

When asked who were present when the said virgin Margaret said the aforementioned things, she answered that sometimes she said this to her alone, sometimes to other sisters as well.

When asked the names of the other sisters, she replied, "Sister Margaret, daughter of Lord William, and Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, and others."

When asked how she knew that the virgin Margaret used to mortify her body freely, as she said, she replied, "I saw it, and I heard it from the mouth of the virgin Margaret herself."

She also said that she frequently wore old and shabby clothing, and that her dresses were damaged around the skirt in front, because of the many prayers she said, and that her flesh had broken out in sores.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I often saw it, and because the virgin Margaret herself used to bind up the said sores." She also said that in the week when it was her turn she used to wash the pots and pans, clean fish, and do other menial tasks that had to be done.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that the said Margaret gladly visited the sick and ministered to them by washing them, by giving them food and drink, by making their beds and helping them, lifting and support-

ad faciendum balnea eis, et aliquando erat tam magnum frigus, quando faciebat hoc, quod sanguis exibat de manibus suis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod quando priorissa precipiebat sororibus aliquid per obedientiam, ipsa virgo Margaretha erat prima, que faciebat illud, quod priorissa precipiebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod fuit devota in orationibus suis et in omnibus aliis, que precipiebantur sibi.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi», Item dixit, quod quadam die frater Marcellus, qui erat tunc provincialis, venit ad fenestram monasterii, «Et dixit mihi, quod ego quererem sibi ipsam virginem Margaretham, et tunc ivi et inveni eam in orationibus suis in choro, in loco suo secreto, et vocavi eam, et non respondit mihi, et idcirco redii ad fratrem Martinum et hoc dixi sibi, et iterum veni ad eam de mandato ipsius, et vocavi ipsam, et ipsa non respondit mihi, et hoc feci septem vel octo vicibus, et videbatur rapta,⁸³ et postea surrexit, et ego dixi sibi: ‚Domina, multum peccastis, quia fecistis me tantum laborare’, et ipsa dixit: ‚Tu debebas me vocare’».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Ante mortem eius per medium annum et plus, et fuit in quadragesima».

Interrogata, si aliqua de sororibus audivit hoc, respondit: «Non». Item dixit, quod quando aliqua de sororibus plangebat propter mortem alicuius sui parentis, ipsa virgo Margaretha plangebat cum ea, ac si fuisset suus propinquus.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit: «Quando puella eram, et cum aliis puellis luderem, quadam die, in quo erat tempus multum obscurum, ipsa virgo Margaretha venit ad nos (et dixit): ‚Vultis, quod ego faciam vobis apparere solem?’ Ipse puelle responderunt: ‚Quomodo posses hoc

⁸³ On this sort of rapture when she prayed, cf. *Legenda vetus*, 51 n. 15, and *Acts* n. 36.

ing them, and in all other ways she could. She also said that she gladly served sick servants as if they were sisters, and she did not shun their company, going through mud and rain and carrying jugs of water to the servants' quarters in order to make baths for them, and sometimes it was so very cold when she did this that blood oozed out of her hands.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that when the prioress told the sisters to do something as an act of obedience, the virgin Margaret herself was the first to do what the prioress ordered.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that she was devout in her prayers and in all things which were enjoined upon her.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that one day Brother Marcellus, who was provincial at that time, came to the monastery window, "and he told me to seek out for him the virgin Margaret, and I went and found her at her prayers in the choir, in her private corner, and I called her, but she did not reply; so I went back to Brother Marcellus and told him this, then went a second time at his command and called her, but she did not answer; and I did this seven or eight times and she appeared to be in a rapture.⁸³ Later, she rose up, and I said to her, 'Lady, you are much at fault, because you put me to so much trouble,' and she said, 'You should have called me.'"

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "About half a year or more before she died, and it was during Lent."

When asked if any of the sisters had heard this, she replied, "No." She also said that when one of the sisters was mourning the death of one of her parents, the virgin Margaret mourned with her, just as if she were a relative.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said, "When I was a girl, and was playing with the other girls, one day it was very overcast, and the virgin Margaret came to us and said, 'Do you want me to make the sun shine for you?' The girls answered, 'How could you do that?' And then she

facere?’ Et tunc ipsa respondit: ‚Bene’, et incepit orare, et statim sol apparuit». ⁸⁴

Interrogata de nominibus puellarum, que tunc erant ibi, respondit: «Soror Margaretha, filia domini Gulielmi, soror Elisabeth, filia domini comitis Thome;⁸⁵ de aliis non recordor».

Interrogata, in quo loco fuit hoc, respondit: «In infirmeria».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non habeo in mente».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post prandium ante nonam».

Interrogata, cuiusmodi verba dixit dicta virgo Margaretha, quando oravit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ipsa virgo Margaretha ostendit mihi et predictis puellis unum locum in refectorio, et dixit taliter: ‚Deus, faciat, quod appareat sol, donec vadam ad locum illum et revertar huc’, et statim sol apparuit». Item dixit, quod dum ipsa virgo Margaretha staret in orationibus suis circa mediam noctem et elevasset oculos ad celum, ipsa vidit solem et lunam in celo.

Interrogata, ubi orabat tunc ipsa virgo Margaretha, respondit: «In levia ante dormitorium».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod virgo Margaretha tunc erat et orabat in predicto loco, respondit: «Quia ipsa dixit mihi».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha tunc videbat solem et lunam in celo, in hora medie noctis, ut dixit, respondit: «Ipsa dixit mihi».

Interrogata, que erant presentes, quando virgo Margaretha dixit sibi predicta, respondit: «Nulla, nisi ego et ipsa».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dixit sibi hoc, respondit: «Non recordor, sed fuit circa carnelevarium».

Interrogata, qua die dixit sibi predicta, respondit: «Non recordor».

⁸⁴ The miracle of calling forth the sun is attested also in the next deposition.

replied, 'Very well,' and began to pray, and immediately the sun came out."⁸⁴

When asked the girls' names, who were with her at the time, she answered, "Sister Margaret, daughter of Lord William, Sister Elizabeth, daughter of the Count Lord Thomas⁸⁵; I don't remember the others."

When asked where this happened, she replied, "In the infirmary."

When asked how long ago, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the time of day, she replied, "After the midday meal, before nones."

When asked what kind of words the virgin Margaret spoke when she prayed, as she described, she answered, "The virgin Margaret herself showed me and the aforesaid girls a place in the refectory, and said this, 'God, make the sun appear while I go to that spot and back,' and at once the sun appeared." She also said that while the virgin Margaret was still at prayer about midnight and had lifted her eyes to heaven, she saw the sun and the moon in the sky. When asked where the virgin Margaret was praying on that occasion, she replied, "In the corridor in front of the dormitory."

When asked how she knew that the virgin Margaret was praying at that time in the aforesaid place, she replied, "Because she told me herself."

When asked how she knew that at that time the virgin Margaret saw the sun and moon in the sky at an hour in the middle of the night, as she said, she replied, "She told me herself."

When asked who were present, when the virgin Margaret said the aforementioned things to her, she replied, "No one but she and I."

When asked how long ago it was when she told her this, she answered, "I don't remember, but it was around carnival."

⁸⁵ Thomas of Bodomér, of the Aba kindred; his daughter Elizabeth is witness 13.

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «In hora none». Item dixit: «Dum iacerem in lecto infirma, post mortem dicte virginis Margarethe, ipsa virgo Margaretha apparuit mihi in somnis, et videbatur quod staret in choro ecclesie, et videbatur mihi, quod veniret ad me, et signaverit me, et idcirco ego excitata fui, et cepi sudare, et liberata fui».⁸⁶

Interrogata, cuius infirmitatem habebat, respondit, febrim acutam.

Interrogata, quantum duraverit sibi dicta infirmitas, respondit: «Per duas dies, et tertia die sanata fui».

Interrogata, si aliquae sorores sciebant de ista sua infirmitate, quod ita liberata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic, soror Frosia, soror Margaretha, filia domine Anne».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Sex anni».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «In Augusto».

Interrogata de die, qua sanata fuit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «De meridie».

Interrogata, quot annos habet ista testis, respondit: «Triginta duos annos, et duos annos habebam, quando data fui in monasterium».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem anni sunt».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere testimonium hoc, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si vidit aliquam personam fuisse contractam, que fuisset sanata apud sepulcrum istius virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Vidi per plures dies in ecclesia quamdam feminam contractam, que non poterat ire sine scabellis, et cum quadam die essem ad fenestram, soror Margaretha, filia Anne dixit: ,O sancta Margaretha, si vis, quod ego credam, quod tu sis sancta, facias, quod ego videam oculis meis, quod ista femina sanetur'. Et ego et

⁸⁶ Margaret's other dream apparitions are described by Witnesses 58 and 99 as well.

When asked on what day she said the aforementioned things, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "At nones." She also said, "While I was lying sick in bed, after the death of the said virgin Margaret, the virgin Margaret appeared in person to me in my dreams, and it seemed to me that she was standing in the choir of the church, and she seemed to be coming towards me, and signaled to me, and because of that I awoke and began to sweat, and was delivered."⁸⁶

When asked what illness she had she replied, "An acute fever." When asked how long the sickness had lasted, she answered, "Two days, and on the third, I was cured."

When asked if any sisters knew about this illness and that she had been delivered from it in the manner she had described, she replied, "Yes, Sister Frosia and Sister Margaret, the daughter of Lady Anne."

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "Six."

When asked about the month, she replied, "In August."

When asked about the day when she was cured, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked the time of day, she replied, "At midday."

When asked how old she, the witness, was, she answered, "Thirty-two, and I was two when I was given to the monastery."

When asked how long ago it was that the virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Seven years ago."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she answered, "No."

When asked if she had seen anyone crippled who had been cured at the grave of this virgin Margaret, she replied, "For several days I saw a crippled woman in the church, who could not go without pieces of wood, and one day when she was at the window, Sister Margaret, daughter of Anne, said, 'O saint Margaret, if you want me to believe that you are a saint, cause me to see with my own eyes this woman cured.' And the Lady Margaret and I both saw her cured and set free before the tomb."

ipsa domina Margaretha vidimus, quod apud sepulcrum sanata est et liberata».

Interrogata, si aliquae erant tunc presentes, quae viderunt hoc, respondit: «Soror Elisabeth, filia regis Stephani, et soror Catharina cantrix».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «In illo anno, in quo incepit facere miracula, et sunt sex anni quod hoc incepit».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «In Augusto».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post nonam ante vespas».

Interrogata, si vidit feminam postea sic sanata, respondit: «Per septimanam vidi eam qualibet die ire per ecclesiam».

Interrogata, si scit nomen istius femine, respondit: «Ego et ipsa domina Margaretha quesivimus quomodo habeat nomen, et ipsa dixit nobis: ‚Habeo nomen Maria’».

Interrogata, si aliae erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si scit unde fuerit femina illa, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si est docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE VENERIS ULTIMA MENSIS JULII.

XIII

Domina Elisabeth, filia quondam domini comitis Thome de Bodome(r) et domine Olimpiadis,⁸⁷ soror et monialis predicti monasterii, iuravit ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione istius virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha dum esset in monasterio Vesprimiensi sancte Catharine, fuit magne orationis et humilitatis.

⁸⁷ About her parents, see n. 89 in the testimony of her mother as Witness 14.

When asked if there were any others present, who saw this, she replied, "Sister Elizabeth, King Stephen's daughter, and Sister Catherine, the cantrix."

When asked how many years it was since this happened, she replied, "It happened in the year she began to work miracles, and it has been six years since that started."

When asked the month, she said, "In August."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked what hour of the day, she replied, "After nones, before vespers."

When asked if she had later seen the woman who had been cured, she replied, "For a week I saw her going to church every day."

When asked if she knew the name of this woman, she replied, "Lady Margaret herself and I asked her what her name was, and she told us her name was Mary."

When asked if there were any others present at that time, she replied, "No."

When asked if she knew where that woman came from, she replied, "No."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON FRIDAY, THE LAST DAY OF JULY

13

Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the late Lord Thomas, Count of Bodomér, and of Lady Olimpiades,⁸⁷ sister and nun of the aforesaid monastery, took the oath as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of this virgin Margaret, she said under oath that the said virgin Margaret was very prayerful and humble while she was in the monastery of Saint Catherine at Veszprém.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I was there with her in the same monastery, and I saw her." She also

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia presens eram secum in eodem monasterio, et ipsam videbam». Item dixit, quod dum ipsa virgo Margaretha esset scholaris cum aliis puellis in eodem monasterio Vesprimiensi, quando magistra permittebat ire ad ludendum ipsas scholares, tunc alie ludebant, ipsa orabat: 'Venite mecum, et intremus ecclesiam ad salutandam beatam Mariam et dicendo: Ave Maria, gratia plena, et sic ludetis hic' ».

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Quia tunc eram scholaris et legebam secum in uno libro». Item dixit, quod: «Postquam virgo Margaretha habuit duodecim annos, et esset in isto monasterio de insula Danubii, ego pluries dedi sibi disciplinam, aliquando cum simplicibus virgulis, (et aliquando) que habebant spinas».

Interrogata, quare dedit sibi disciplinam predictam, respondit: «Quia petebat a me, quod darem sibi disciplinam, et ipsa recipiebat pro amore Dei». Item dixit, quod pluries post completorium, donec galli cantabant, stabat in orationibus.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Quia illa hora, quando galli cantabant, veniebat ad lectum meum, et me excitabat, ut darem sibi disciplinam, sicut dixi».

Interrogata, in quo loco dabat sibi disciplinam, respondit: «Quandoque in domo, in qua sumus, quandoque in domo capituli».

Interrogata, si alique erant presentes tunc, respondit: «Non». Item dixit, quod libenter serviebat infirmis in omnibus, in quibus poterat, et fuit magne humilitatis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc». Item dixit, quod veteres vestes et petiatas portabat, et aliquando tollebat de luto, fango petiam, qua aptabantur vestes sue.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia hoc videbam». Item dixit, quod per obedientiam lavabat scutellas et ollas, et faciebat coquinam, et mundabat hortum, et scopabat domos istius claustrii.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Aliquando fui secum ad faciendum predicta». Item dixit, quod quando sorores debebant recipere corpus Christi, ipsa beata Margaretha pro-

said that when Margaret herself was a pupil with the other girls in the same monastery at Veszprém, when the *magistra* allowed the children to go and play, the others would play, but she begged, 'Come with me, and let us enter the church to pay homage to the Blessed Mary by saying, *Ave Maria, gratia plena*, and let this be your play.'

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I was a pupil at that time, and we read together from one book." She also said, "After the virgin Margaret was twelve and was in this monastery on the Island in the Danube, I disciplined her several times, sometimes with simple rods, sometimes with ones that had thorns."

When asked why she administered the aforesaid discipline, she replied, "Because she asked me to give her the aforesaid discipline, and she took it for the love of God." She also said that several times after compline she kept on praying until cock crow.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because at the hour of cock crow she used to come to my bed and wake me, to give her discipline, as I said."

When asked where she administered discipline to her, she replied, "Sometimes in the house, in which we are, sometimes in the chapter house."

When asked if any others were present on these occasions, she replied, "No." She also said that she generously served the sick in all ways as much as she could, and was very humble.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that she used to wear old, patched clothes and sometimes took a clod from the mud, with which she would render her clothes more to her liking.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that as an act of obedience she would wash the plates and pots and do the cooking, weed the garden, and clean the rooms of this cloister.

When asked how she knew the foregoing, she replied, "I was sometimes with her to do the aforesaid things." She also said that when the sisters were about to receive the body of Christ, the

sternebat se ad terram, et cum magnis lacrymis et fletu expectabat corpus Christi et ipsum recipiebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Scio, quia semper eram iuxta ipsam, quia locus meus erat iuxta suum in ecclesia». Et dixit: «Postquam recipiebat corpus Christi, ipsa virgo Margaretha tenebat tobaliā ab uno capite subtus ipsum corpus Christi, donec alie omnes communicate erant, et hoc faciebat cum magna devotione, et quando querebatur: *‘Quare tenetis sic tobaliā?’* et ipsa respondit: *‘Ut possim videre corpus Christi’*»

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia audiebam eam sic respondere, et sic facere». Item dixit, quod postquam receperat corpus Christi, per totam illam diem stabat in fletu usque ad vespervas, et quasi nihil comedebat, et plus diligebat plangere, quam comedere.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia semper stabam iuxta ipsam in choro, in capitulo et in refectorio, nisi quando serviebam, et sic videbam».

Item dixit, quod in festivitātibus sanctorum martyrum et aliorum faciebat sibi exponi et legi per aliquem de fratribus predicatoribus, qui serviunt dicto monasterio, vitam et passiones eorum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia presens eram». Item dixit, quod in quadragesima a Dominica qua cantatur «*Vexilla regis*»⁸⁸ usque ad resurrectionem faciebat sibi legi et exponi passionem Christi.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia presens eram». Item dixit, quod quolibet anno petebat in obedientiam a priorissa, quod posset lavare in cena domini pedes sororum et servitiorum istius monasterii, et hoc faciebat quolibet anno in predicta die, flexis genibus procedendo de una ad aliam, lavando pedes earum cum magna humilitate et lacrymis, et cum velo capitis, quod portabat, sugabat pedes earum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia presens fui». Item dixit, quod a cena domini usque ad resurrectionis

⁸⁸ That is, from the fifth Sunday of Lent, during the two-week period until Easter (Passiontide).

blessed Margaret herself would prostrate herself on the ground and await the body of Christ and receive Him with much weeping.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I know, because I was always close by her, because my place was next to hers in church." And she said, "After she received the body of Christ, the virgin Margaret would hold the altar-cloth beneath the body of Christ, until all the others had had communion, and she did this with great devotion, and when she would be asked, 'Why do you hold the altar-cloth in this way?' she replied, 'So that I can see the body of Christ.'"

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I heard her giving this answer, and acting in this way." She also said that after receiving the body of Christ she would remain the whole day in tears until vespers, and eat almost nothing, and that she would rather lament than eat.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I always stood beside her in the choir, in the chapter, and in the refectory, except when she was serving, and saw her in this way."

She also said that at the feasts of the holy martyrs and others she had their lives and passions read to her and expounded upon by one of the preaching brothers who serve the said monastery.

When asked how she knew this, she answered, "Because I was present." She also said that in Lent from the Sunday on which *Vexilla regis* is sung⁸⁸ right up to the Resurrection she caused the life and passion of Christ to be read to her and expounded upon.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I was present." She also said that every year as an act of obedience she petitioned the prioress that at the supper of the Lord she could wash the feet of the sisters and servants of this monastery, and she did this every year on the aforesaid day, going on bended knee from one to another, washing their feet with great humility and in tears, and she dried them with the veil she wore.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I was present." She also said that from the Lord's Supper

vigiliam non dormiebat, nec comedebat, nec bibebat, nec sedebat, sed stabat in orationibus cum magnis lacrymis, vel flexis genibus, aut in pedes.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc». Item dixit, quod quando levabatur corpus Christi in die Veneris per presbyterium, tunc ipsa virgo Margaretha prosternebat se ad terram cum magnis lacrymis et tanto planctu, quod poterat audiri ab aliis qui foris erant.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia presens eram et vidi». Item dixit, quod in vigilia nativitatis domini et pentecostes, et quatuor vigiliis gloriose virginis Marie faciebat quolibet anno in qualibet vigilia mille venias, dicendo ‚Ave Maria’, et in pentecoste ‚Veni sancte Spiritus’, sed in nativitate ‚Pater noster’.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod faciebat predictas venias, respondit: «Quia vidi».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dixit ‚Pater noster’, ‚Ave Maria’, et ‚Veni sancte Spiritus’, respondit: «Ego interrogavi eam super hoc, (et) mihi dixit ipsa». Item dixit, quod cum diceretur, quod Tartari venirent ad partes istas, ipsa beata Margaretha timens perdere virginitatem suam, dixit Olimpiadi, matri mee, magistre ipsius virginis Margarethe: «Si Tartari venirent, antequam mihi facerent aliquam fortiam,^a incidatis mihi nasum, ut turpis appaream, et sic permittent me stare».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia presens fui».

Interrogata, si alie erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Sic, mater mea et soror Margaretha, filia domini Gulielmi⁸⁹ et Elisabeth, filia Ladislai, sorores istius monasterii».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dixit predicta, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non habeo in mente». Item de hora diei, respondit: «Non recordor».

^a *forza ital.*

⁸⁹ Witness 6.

right up to the vigil of the Resurrection she did not sleep, nor eat, nor drink, nor sit, but stayed praying with much weeping either on bended knee or on her feet.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that when the body of Christ was being elevated by the priest on the Friday, the virgin Margaret would fling herself on the ground with much weeping and such loud lamentation that it could be heard by others who were outside.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I was present and I saw it." She also said that at the vigils of the Nativity and of Pentecost, and the four vigils of the glorious Virgin every year and at each feast she made a thousand *veniae*, saying the *Ave Maria*, and at Pentecost, *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, and at Christmas the *Pater noster*. When asked how she knew that she performed the aforesaid *veniae*, she replied, "Because I saw it."

When asked how she knew that she said the *Pater noster*, the *Ave Maria*, and the *Veni Sancte Spiritus*, she replied, "I asked her about this, and she told me these very things." She also said that when rumor had it that the Tartars were coming to these parts, the blessed Margaret, fearing to lose her virginity, said to my mother Olimpiades, *magistra* of the virgin Margaret, "If the Tartars come, before they defile me, cut my nose, so that I may look ugly and they will leave me alone."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I was present."

When asked if there were any others present, she replied, "Yes, my mother and Sister Margaret, the daughter of Lord William⁸⁹ and Elizabeth, the daughter of Ladislav, sisters of this monastery."

When asked how long ago it was since she said the aforesaid things, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked about the day, she replied, "I don't recall." Likewise about the hour of the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked where these things took place, she replied, "In the cloister of this monastery."

Interrogata, quo loco erant tunc, respondit: «In claustro istius monasterii».

Interrogata, quot annorum erat tunc temporis dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Viginti duorum annorum». Item dixit, quod pater suus dicebat ipsi virgini Margarethe, quod volebat eam maritare regi Bohemie, et ipsa dicebat: «Tantum possetis mihi dicere verba ista, quod ego mihi inciderem meum nasum».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia audiebam hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquae alie erant presentes, respondit: «Sic, dicta Margaretha erat filia domine Anne,⁹⁰ de aliis non recordor».

Interrogata, quot annorum erat (tunc) ipsa Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio, erat professa, et non consecrata».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod fuerit professa et non consecrata,⁹¹ ut dixit, respondit: «Quia simul fecimus professionem». Item dixit: «Dum ego luderem cum quibusdam sociis meis, que scholares erant, et cum essemus puelle, et cum ipsa virgo Margaretha esset puella nobiscum, et ita obscura erat dies, quod sol non apparebat, ipsa virgo Margaretha dixit: ‚Vultis, ut faciam, quod sol appareat?‘ Et nos respondimus: ‚Sic‘. Et tunc ipsa dixit: ‚Antequam vadam ad locum illum, monstrabo vobis certum locum, et revertar ad vos, videbitis solem‘, et oravit, et ivit ad ipsum locum, et antequam rediret ad nos, sol apparuit».

Interrogata, que erant ille sorores, cum quibus tunc ludebat, respondit: «Soror Stephana, filia Pausse, de aliis non recordor».

Interrogata, que verba dicebat, quando oravit, ut dixit, respondit: «‚Domine Deus, fac, ut appareat sol‘».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod fuerunt predicta, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, de quo mense fuit hoc, respondit: «Non recordor».

⁹⁰ Witness 4.

⁹¹ Margaret made her vow in 1254 and was consecrated in 1261.

When asked how old the said virgin Margaret was at that time, she replied, "Twenty-two." She also said that her father told the virgin Margaret in person that he wanted to marry her to the King of Bohemia, and she said, "Say that to me all you want, but I would slit my nose."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I heard it."

When asked if there were any others present, she answered, "Yes, there was Margaret, the daughter of Lady Anne;⁹⁰ I don't recall the others."

When asked how old Margaret was at that time, she replied, "I don't know, but she had made her profession, though she wasn't yet consecrated."⁹¹

When asked how she knew that she had made her profession but had not yet been consecrated, as she said, she replied, "Because we made our professions at the same time." She also said, "When we were children and I was playing with some of my schoolmates, and the virgin Margaret was a girl among us, and the day was so overcast that the sun wasn't out, the virgin Margaret said, 'Do you want me to make the sun appear?' And we answered, 'Yes.' And then she said, 'I'll show you a certain spot, and before I go there and come back to you, you will see the sun;' and she prayed, and went to that spot, and before she got back to us, the sun came out."

When asked who the sisters were, with whom she was playing at that time, she replied, "Sister Stephana, the daughter of Pausa, and I don't remember the others."

When asked what words she used as she prayed, she replied, "Lord God, make the sun appear."

When asked how long ago it was when the above happened, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked in what month it happened, she answered, "I don't recall."

When asked about the day, she replied, "I don't recollect."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "I don't know."

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non habeo in mente».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, in quantum distat locus ille in quo erant, ab illo loco, quem ostendit eis tunc, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dixit: ‚Domine Deus, fac, ut sol appareat,‘ respondit: «Quia presens fui et hoc audiui».

Interrogata, quot annorum erat tunc ipsa testis, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, quot annorum erat tunc ipsa virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Non recordor». Item dixit: «Quadam die in resurrectione domini post completorium, cum plueret fortiter, et esset obscurum multum, beata Margaretha vocavit Agnetem, servitalem suam, et dixit, quod portaret sibi tunicam suam, et dum iret cito, cecidit in puteum, qui est ante coquinam claustrum, et tunc ipsa virgo Margaretha audivit eam, quando in puteum cecidit, et pulsavit ad fenestram refectorii, ut alie domine hoc scirent, et iverunt ad puteum, et mater mea, soror Olimpiades, magistra ipsius sancte Margarethe dixit eidem: ‚Quia misisti sic istam bonam feminam, tu perdidisti corpus et animam,‘ et illa dixit: ‚Ne timeas, mater mea, quia non morietur modo,‘ et flexis genibus oravit et dixit: ‚O Jesu Christe, tu scis, quia servivi tibi a pueritia mea, et (si) placuit tibi servitium meum, facias, ne moriatur ista bona femina,‘ et postea traxerunt eam de puteo, et non habebat aliquod malum».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha sic dixerit dicte servitali sue, quod adportaret sibi tunicam suam, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia tunc fui presens».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod erat obscurum tempus, respondit: «Quia vidi».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ita oravit, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia presens fui et audiui».

Interrogata de nominibus aliarum, que tunc erant presentes, respondit: «Soror Scholastica, soror Johalent, soror Olimpiades, mater mea, et alie, de quibus non recordor». Item dixit, quod

When asked how far it was from the place they were in to the place she showed them on that occasion, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked how she knew that she said, "Lord God, make the sun appear," she replied, "Because I was present and I heard it."

When asked how old she, the witness, was at the time, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked how old the virgin Margaret was at the time, she replied, "I don't remember." She also said, "One day at Easter after compline, when it was raining hard and was very dark, the blessed Margaret summoned her servant Agnes and told her to bring her a tunic, and while the girl was going quickly to do so, she fell in a well in front of the kitchen of the cloister; and the virgin Margaret herself heard her, when she fell into the well, and knocked on the refectory window, so that the other ladies would know; and they went to the well, and my mother, Sister Olimpiades, the *magistra* of saint Margaret, said to her, 'Because you sent this good woman off like this, you have destroyed her, body and soul,' and she said, 'Dear mother, do not be afraid; she won't die now,' and praying on her knees, she said, 'O Jesus Christ, you know that I have served you from childhood, and if my service has pleased you, do not let this good woman die;' and after that they hauled her from the well and she suffered no harm."

When asked how long it was since this happened, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked how she knew that the virgin Margaret asked the said servant to bring her a tunic, as she said, she replied, "Because I was present at the time."

When asked how she knew that it was dark, she replied, "Because I saw it."

When asked how she knew that she prayed in this way, as she said, she replied, "Because I was present, and I heard her."

When asked the names of the others present, she replied, "Sister Scholastica, Sister Johalent, my mother Sister Olimpiades, and others whom I don't recall." She also said that the day the said

die illa, qua obiit dicta sancta Margaretha, soror Elisabeth⁹² filia quondam domini Ladislai de Serenna habebat febrem quartanam, et iacebat in lecto ita infirma, et non poterat surgere, et pensabat in corde suo, quod libenter esset cum aliis ad serviendum corpori ipsius virginis sancte Margarethe, et statim ita liberata fuit, quod sine aliquo adiutorio ivit ad corpus sancte Margarethe, et traxit sibi scapularium, quod erat nimis brutum,^a et posuit sibi in dorso aliud, quod erat bonum et mundum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ipsa soror Elisabeth tunc erat ita infirma, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi eam sic infirmam».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ita cogitabat tunc, respondit: «Quia ipsa Elisabeth hoc dixit».

Interrogata, que erant tunc presentes, quando hoc dixit sibi, respondit: «Non recorder».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ivit tunc ad serviendum corpori istius virginis Margarethe, et posuit in dorso scapularium, ut dixit, respondit: «Ipsa soror Elisabeth hoc dixit mihi et alie sorores, quia in illa hora non eram presens, sed postea vidi ipsam stantem et servientem ad corpus virginis Margarethe».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod ipsa sancta virgo Margaretha obiit, respondit: «Septem anni sunt».

Interrogata, quo mense obiit, respondit: «Non recorder».

Interrogata, qua die obiit, respondit: «In die sancte Prisce».

Interrogata, quanto tempore fuerit infirma dicta soror Elisabeth de dicta febre, ut dixit, respondit: «A festo sancti Laurentii et usque ad festum sancte Prisce.»

Interrogata, si postea ipsa soror Elisabeth habuit illam infirmitatem, respondit: «Aliquantulum sensit se debilem, et postea de die in diem liberata fuit».

Interrogata, quanto tempore stetit, antequam esset liberata, respondit: «Non recorder».

^a brutto *ital.*

⁹² Witness 9.

Saint Margaret died, Sister Elizabeth,⁹² daughter of the late Lord Ladislas of Serenna, was suffering from a quartan fever and lying in bed so ill that she could not get up, and was thinking in her heart that she would like to go with the others to prepare the body of the holy virgin Margaret, and at once she was delivered, so that she went without assistance to the corpse of saint Margaret and took off her scapular, which was very soiled, and placed another on her back, which was good and clean.

When asked how she knew that Sister Elizabeth was ill at that time, as she said, she replied, "Because I saw her ill."

When asked how she knew that she thought thus, she replied, "Because Elizabeth told me herself."

When asked who were present at the time when she said this to her, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked how she knew that she [Elizabeth] went to prepare the body of this virgin Margaret and placed a scapular on her back, as she had said, she replied, "Sister Elizabeth told me so herself, and many other sisters, because at that time I was not present; but later I saw her standing and preparing the body of the virgin Margaret."

When asked how many years it had been since saint Margaret died, she replied, "Seven."

When asked what month she died in, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked what day she died, she replied, "On Saint Prisca's day."

When asked how long Sister Elizabeth was sick with the said fever, as she said, she replied, "From the feast of St. Lawrence to the feast of St. Prisca."

When asked if Sister Elizabeth had that fever afterwards, she replied, "She felt just a little weak, and afterwards got better every day."

When asked how long it was before she was delivered, she replied, "I don't remember."

Interrogata, quot annos habet ipsa testis, respondit: «Triginta quinque; fui in predicto monasterio Vesprimiensi et in isto viginti octo annis».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si scit, quod soror Lucia habuit aliquam infirmitatem, postquam mortua esset ipsa virgo Margaretha, respondit, quod «Circa festum ascensionis domini ipsa Lucia erat in tanta tunc infirmitate, quod stetit per quinque dies, quod non poterat loqui, et credebamus quod debebat mori, et postea in die ascensionis in hora misse fuit inuncta, et dedimus sibi bibere lavaturam de capillis istius virginis sancte Margarethe, incepit loqui et meliorata fuit, sed propter magnam debilitatem, quam habuit, non surrexit statim de lecto, sed bene guarita^a fuit, et hac die ivit.»

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio nominare de die»,

Interrogata de hora, in qua data fuit sibi lavatura ipsa, et meliorata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Non possum recordari».

Interrogata, quis fuit ille, qui inunxit eam, respondit: «Non recordor, quia multum eram infirma et debilis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta lavatura data fuit sibi bibere, ut dixit, respondit: «Non eram presens, sed eram in eadem domo, et sorores dixerunt mihi».

Interrogata, que fuerunt tunc ille sorores, que dixerunt sibi hoc, respondit: «Mater mea Olimpiades et ipsa Lucia».

Interrogata, de quo lavati fuerunt dicti capilli, (respondit): «De aqua, ut audiui de dicta Lucia».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

In predictis predictarum dominarum fuerunt interpretes predicti prior et Martinus.

^a guarita *ital.*

When asked how old she, the witness, was, she replied, "Thirty five. I've been in the monastery at Veszprém and in this one for twenty-eight years."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to give this testimony, she answered, "No."

When asked if she knew that Sister Lucy suffered from some fever after the death of the virgin Margaret, she replied, "Around the feast of our Lord's Ascension, Lucy was so ill with a fever that lasted five days that she could not speak, and we were afraid that she was going to die; and afterwards on the day of Ascension at the time of mass she was given unction, and we gave her a drink of the water in which the hair of the holy virgin Margaret had been washed, and she began to speak and got better, but because of her great weakness did not get out of bed immediately; but she was much improved and she walked that day."

When asked how many years ago that was, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the month it happened, she replied, "I can't say which day it was."

When asked about the hour when the wash-water was given to her and she got better, as she said, she replied, "I can't recall."

When asked who anointed her, she replied, "I don't remember, because I was very sick and weak."

When asked how she knew that the said wash-water had been given to her to drink, as she said, she replied, "I was not present, but I was in the same house, and the sisters told me about it."

When asked who those sisters were at the time who told her that, she replied, "My mother Olimpiades and Lucy herself."

When asked what the said hair was washed in, she replied, "In water, as I heard from the said Lucy."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to give this testimony, she answered, "No."

The aforesaid prior and Martin interpreted the above testimony of the aforesaid sisters.

DIE SABBATHI PRIMA MENSIS AUGUSTI.

XIV

Domina Olimpiades nutrix et magistra istius virginis Margarethe, uxor quondam comitis Thome,⁹³ soror et monialis istius monasterii de insula Danubii, iuravit ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit, quod domina Maria regina, uxor regis Bele, mater istius sancte Margarethe dedit sibi in loco Sirmii⁹⁴ dictam Margaretham ad custodiendum et nutriendum, et nondum habebat tres annos et dimidium, «et ego, que nondum eram monacha, recepi eam, et nutrivi, et custodivi eam, sicut filiam meam, et post aliquot dies ipsa domina regina duxit me et dictam beatam Margaretham ad monasterium sancte Catharine Vesprimiensis, ordinis fratrum predicatorum, et eam dedit dicto monasterio, ut monacha fieret, et tunc recommendavit mihi ipsam puellam, sicut prius, et postea dicta domina regina me et dictam puellam dimisit in dicto monasterio, et ab illo tempore semper vidi eam in ea humilitate et bonitate usque ad mortem suam». Item dixit, quod «in quarta die ego indui vestes monachales in dicto monasterio», et dixit, quod «postquam dicta puella habuit quinque annos, incepit rogare me, quod tollerem sibi camiciam suam, ut esset sine camicia, et quod semper excitarem, et ducerem eam ad matutinum.» Item dixit, quod «cum sorores istius monasterii post completorium reciperent disciplinam, secundum ordinem suum, ista sancta Margaretha ponebat se in terram apud me, et petebat disciplinam, sicut dabam sororibus, et postea ibat ad sacristiam, et sibi ipsi dabat disciplinam».

⁹³ Olimpiades was the widow of Thomas of Bodomer, who died probably during the Mongol invasion. Hypotheses concerning his name are proposed by Wertner, "A Margit-legenda," 34. The suggestion that he got it from from Budamér in Sáros county, and so was perhaps a descendant of the Aba, a well-known medieval lineage in Hungary is—as pointed out by Attila Zsoldos—untenable since Thomas of Budamér was still alive in 1280 (cf. Wenzel, *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus*, vol. X, 70–71). Two other suggestions by Wertner, hinting to Bodmér in Fejér county or Budmér in

ON SATURDAY, THE FIRST DAY OF AUGUST

14

Lady Olimpiades, nurse and *magistra* of the virgin Margaret, wife of the late *comes* Thomas,⁹³ sister and nun of this monastery on the Island in the Danube, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath that the lady Queen Mary, wife of King Béla, the mother of the saint Margaret, gave her the said Margaret at Szerémvár⁹⁴ to look after and bring up, and she was not yet three and a half. "I was not yet a nun," she said, "but I accepted her and nursed her and looked after her as my own daughter, and after some days the lady queen herself took me and the said blessed Margaret to the monastery of Saint Catherine at Veszprém, of the Order of the Preachers, and she gave her to the said monastery to become a nun, and at that time she gave the girl over to my care, as she had done before, and later the said lady queen left me and the said child in the said monastery, and from that time on I saw her always acting with humility and goodness up to the time she died." She also said, "On the fourth day I assumed the habit of a nun in the said monastery." And she said, "After the said girl was five, she began to ask me to take off her vest, so that she should be without it, and that I should always waken her and take her to matins." She also said, "When the sisters of this monastery received discipline after compline, in accordance with their order, saint Margaret would place herself beside me on the ground and ask for discipline, just as I was giving it to the sisters, and then she would go to the sacristy and administer discipline to herself."

Baranya county, are still possible. Judging by her name, Olimpiades might have been of Greek origin, coming to Hungary perhaps with the entourage of queen Mary Laszaris. Olimpiades was probably chosen to be the nurse of Margaret because she had a daughter of the same age, Witness 13 above.

⁹⁴ Today's Sremska Mitrovica (Serbia). The legends did not specify the exact location where Queen Mary handed Margaret over.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et presens fui.» Item dixit, quod ista sancta Margaretha invenit in lecto cuiusdam sororis unum cilicium, et illud posuit sibi in dorso, «et quando ego nutrix et magistra sua hoc vidi, et volebam ei extrahere de dorso illud cilicium, et ipsa nolebat, et vix potui sibi trahere».

Interrogata, quot annos habebat tunc dicta puella, respondit: «Sex annos».

Interrogata, si aliquae viderunt et erant presentes, quando accepit sibi dictum cilicium, respondit: «Sic, soror Catharina, que modo est priorissa». Item dixit, quod cum priorissa precipiebat, quod sorores aliquid facerent, ipsa semper volebat facere, que alie faciebant, sicut poterat; et dixit, quod quando audiebat exponi passiones sanctorum, cum esset iam septem circiter annorum, incipiebat flere.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit; «Quia videbam hoc». Item dixit, quod (cum) duo fratres predicatorum venissent ad dictum monasterium, et vellent recedere, ista sancta Margaretha rogavit eos, ut non recederent, et ipsi stare noluerunt, sed incepterunt recedere; et tunc ista sancta Margaretha rogavit Deum, quod frangeret currum eorum, ita quod non possent recedere, et cum ipsi fratres essent in fine ville, currus eorum fractus fuit, et redierunt ad ipsum monasterium, «et credidimus, quod per orationes suas hoc fuerat factum».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi quando rogavit, et vidi fratres quando redierunt, et dixerunt quod currus eorum erat fractus».

Interrogata, que erant presentes tunc, respondit: «Predicta soror Catharina».

Interrogata, quot annos habuit tunc predicta soror Margaretha, (respondit): «Quinque, vel sex annos, sicuti credo». Item dixit, quod ipsa venit cum predicta sancta Margaretha (et) cum quibusdam aliis sororibus dicti monasterii in istud monasterium de insula Danubii, et semper volebat esse in orationibus, nisi quando schole impediabant eam. Item dixit, quod ista sancta Margaretha postquam fuit in isto monasterio, erat multum devota, et stabat in orationibus cum magno timore, devotione et humilitate, et preceptum priorisse cum magna humilitate et devotione faciebat.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I was present and saw it." She also said that saint Margaret found a hair-shirt in the bed of one of the sisters, and she put it on her back, "and when I, her nurse and *magistra*, saw this and tried to take the hair-shirt off her back, she refused, and I could hardly get it off her."

When asked how old the girl was, she replied, "Six."

When asked if any sisters saw it and were present when she took on the said hair-shirt, she replied, "Yes, Sister Catherine, who is now prioress." She also said that when the prioress ordered the sisters to do something, she always wanted to do what the others were doing, insofar as she was able; and she said that when she heard the commentary on the passions of the saints, she began to cry, even though she was just seven years old."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that when two preaching brothers came to the said monastery and wanted to leave, saint Margaret asked them not to leave; they did not want to stay, but started to leave; and then saint Margaret asked God to break their cart, so that they could not leave, and when the brothers were at the edge of town, their cart broke and they returned to the monastery. "And we believed," she said, "that this happened because of her prayers."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw when she asked, and I saw the brothers when they came back and told us that their cart had broken."

When asked who were present at the time, she replied, "The aforesaid Sister Catherine."

When asked how old the aforesaid Sister Margaret was at the time, she replied, "Five or six, I think." She also said that she herself came with the aforesaid saint Margaret and some other sisters of the said monastery to the monastery on the Island in the Danube, and she always wanted to be at prayer, except when school prevented her. She also said that saint Margaret was very devoted, after she was in this monastery, and used to stay praying in great fear, devotion, and humility, and she obeyed the prioress with great humility and devotion.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et priorissa fui aliquo tempore». Item dixit, quod in septimana sua libenter faciebat coquinam, lavabat ollas et scutellas, et preparabat pisces, et faciebat alia omnia servitia, que erant necessaria.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia ego quandoque preparabam secum predicta». Item dixit, quod libenter serviebat infirmis in omnibus suis necessitatibus, et cum manibus suis faciebat eis ad comedendum, et dabat eis comedere et bibere, purgabat et scopabat cameras earum, et necessaria purgabat, quando oportebat, et rasis capita septem in una meridie.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi, quia eram magistra sua, et presens eram». Item dixit, quod ipsa sancta Margaretha in etate duodecim annorum incepit portare cilicium, et illud portabat quolibet tempore, per totam quadragesimam et per totum adventum, (et) in aliis temporibus a die Jovis usque diem Sabbathi post completorium.

Interrogata, per quot annos portavit cilicium, ut dixit, respondit: «Usque ad mortem suam».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod portaret dictum cilicium, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi et sepe petebam ab ea ipsum cilicium». Item dixit, quod per totam quadragesimam non lavabat caput suum usque ad Sabbathum sanctum, et multos pediculos tunc portabat in capite, et in Sabbatho sancto lavabat sibi caput «et sepe rogavi ipsam, quod raderet sibi caput, et ipsa hoc nolebat». Item dixit, quod in qualibet die cuiuslibet quadragesime legebat totum psalterium.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia semper videbam psalterium in manu, nisi quando comedebat et quando erat ad officium». Item dixit, quod petebat in obedientiam a priorissa, quod lavaret pedes sororibus et servitilibus, quod in omni anno in cena domini lavabat pedes sororibus et servitilibus, et sugabat cum velo capitis sui, et osculabatur pedes earum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod peteret licentiam a priorissa, et lavabat pedes, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi hoc, et a me petiit hoc, quando eram priorissa». Item dixit, quod ista sancta Margaretha post cenam domini usque ad diem Sabbathi non comedebat, nec sedebat, nec dormiebat, nec bibebat, sed semper stabat in cho-

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it, and I was for some time prioress." She also said that when it was her week she gladly did the cooking, washed the dishes and pots, and prepared the fish, and did all other tasks that had to be done.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because sometimes I prepared the same things alongside her." She also said that she gladly served the sick in all their needs and with her own hands made them food to eat, and served them food and drink, cleaned and swept their rooms, and emptied their chamber pots when necessary, and shaved seven heads one midday.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it, because I was her *magistra*, and I was present." She also said that saint Margaret began at the age of twelve to wear a hair-shirt, and she wore it all the time for the whole of Lent and the whole of Advent, and at other times from Tuesday until Sunday, after compline.

When asked how many years she wore the hair-shirt, as she said, she replied, "Right up until her death."

When asked how she knew that she wore a hair-shirt, as she said, she replied, "Because I saw it and I often asked her for the hair-shirt itself." She also said that for the whole of Lent she did not wash her head until Holy Saturday, and at that time she harbored many lice on her head, and she washed her head on Holy Saturday, and [she said], "I often asked her to shave her head and she refused." She also said that every day of every Lent she read the entire psalter.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I always saw the psalter in her hand, except when she was eating or at her services." She also said that as an act of obedience she petitioned the prioress for permission to wash the feet of the sisters and the servants, and each year, at the feast of the Lord's Supper, washed the feet of the sisters and servants and she dried them with her own veil, and kissed their feet.

When asked how she knew that she sought permission of the prioress and washed the feet, as she said, she replied, "I saw it,

ro ecclesie in orationibus, nisi quando dicebat officium, quia tunc stabat in loco suo, sicut alie sorores.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc». Item dixit, quod in die Veneris sancta Margaretha semper cantabat cum magnis lacrymis, et quod in die resurrectionis non poterat manducare, quia nimis erat lassata^a propter laborem, quem habuerat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc». Item dixit, quod in secundo anno, postquam ista sancta Margaretha fuit in isto monasterio de insula Danubii, rex Bela pater suus voluit eam maritare duci Polonie,⁹⁵ et frater Sicardus, qui tunc erat prior huius monasterii, dixit sibi: «Pater tuus vult te maritare, tu eris magna domina, tu habebis pulchras vestes, quid vis tu facere?» Et ipsa respondit: «Domine, ego nolo maritum aliquem, sed volo servire domino Jesu Christo».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc (respondit): «Bene scio, quia hoc fuit in presentia mea». Item dixit, quod ista sancta Margaretha statim propterea fecit professionem in isto monasterio de insula Danubii, et ipse pater suus voluit eam maritare regi Bohemie, et quando hoc fuit dictum sibi, ipsa respondit: «Parentes mei possent me tantum molestare de hoc, quod ego truncarem mihi nasum et labia».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia audiui auribus meis». Item dixit, quod cum Tartari intrassent regnum Hungarie,⁹⁶ [transeuntes silvas, et diceretur],^b quod venirent ad partes istas «ipsa sancta Margaretha dixit mihi: „Mater, si Tartari

^a lassata *ital.*

^b iret ad silvas et diceret, quod *ms. suppl. ad sensum Fraknoi*; cfr. *Legenda Maior* «Quod Tartari transeuntes silvas, iam regnum Hungarie intrassent».

⁹⁵ This dynastic marriage plan concerned Boleslaus, Duke of Kalish, of the Piast dynasty, later Prince of Greater Poland (d. 1279). Eventually it was Jolenth, Margaret's elder sister, who married him.

⁹⁶ After the devastating raid in 1241–1242, the Tartars attacked the Hungarian Kingdom again in the years 1260, 1263, and 1265. Cf György Székely, “Egy elfeledett rettegés: a második tatárjárás a magyar történeti hagyományokban és az egye-

and she sought this of me, when I was prioress." She also said that saint Margaret after the feast of the Lord's Supper right up to Saturday took no food, nor did she sit, sleep, or drink, but stood all the time in the church choir praying, except when she was saying her office, because at that time she stood in her own place, like the other sisters.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that on Fridays, saint Margaret always sang with copious tears, and that on the day of resurrection she could not eat, because she was too worn out from the labor she had undergone.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that in the second year that this saint Margaret had been living in this monastery on the Island in the Danube, her father King Béla wanted to marry her to the Duke of Poland,⁹⁵ and Father Sicardus, who at that time was prior of this monastery, said to her, "Your father wants to marry you; you will be a great lady, you will have beautiful dresses; what do you want to do?" And she replied, "My lord, I do not wish any husband, but wish to serve the Lord Jesus Christ."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I know it well, because it happened in my presence." She also said that because of this saint Margaret immediately afterwards made her profession in this monastery on the Island in the Danube, and her father wanted to marry her to the king of Bohemia, and when this was reported to her, she replied, "My parents can pester me all they want about this, but I would cut off my nose and lips."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I heard it with my own ears." She also said that when the Tartars entered Hungary⁹⁶ [and were passing through the forests, and it was said] that they were coming to these parts, saint Margaret herself had said to her, "Mother, if the Tartars come, I will cut off

temes történeti összefüggésekben" [A forgotten panic: The second Tartar raid in the Hungarian historical traditions and in the context of world history], *Századok* 122 (1988): 52–88.

venirent, ego truncabo mihi nasum cum manibus meis, ut sim turpis et bruta, et si ego non possem facere hoc, rogo te, ut tu facias' ».

Interrogata, si erant aliquae presentes, quando dixit predicta, respondit: « Soror Judith, que erat tunc priorissa ».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quando hoc fuit, respondit: « Non recorder, sed fuit circa nativitatem sancte Marie ».

Interrogata de die, respondit: « Non habeo in mente ».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: « In hora none ». Item dixit, quod per tres annos ante mortem ipsius, domina regina mater sua dixit sibi, quod volebat eam maritare domino regi Carolo⁹⁷ de licentia domini pape, et ipsa sancta Margaretha respondit: « Si papa hoc fieri mandaret, nolo esse Martha,^a sed volo servare virginitatem domino Jesu Christo ».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: « Quia predicta fuerunt dicta in presencia mea ».

Interrogata, si aliquae alie erant presentes, respondit: « Soror Margaretha, filia domini Gulielmi ». Item dixit, quod ista sancta Margaretha dicebat: « Deus vellet, quod esset tempus martyrii, quia libenter pro fide Christi sustinerem mortem ».

Interrogata, si erant presentes aliquae, respondit: « Soror Judith ».

Interrogata, quot annos habebat, quando hoc dixit, respondit, quia multoties dicebat hoc, et hoc dicebat usque ad mortem suam. Item dixit, quod per unum annum ante mortem suam soror Beata obiit, et tunc ipsa beata (Margaretha) dixit magistre sue: « Ego ero prima, que moriar post ipsam », et obiit antequam alia de sororibus, sicut dixit, in undecima die.⁹⁹

^a mattha ms.

⁹⁷ The Angevin Charles I of Naples (1226–1285) asked for Margaret's hand around 1268. His plans to marry somebody from the Hungarian royal family (after the death of his wife, Beatrix of Provence) formed part of his ambitious effort to construct a Mediterranean empire. After he was refused by Margaret in 1268, he arranged a double marriage with Stephen V, the "younger king," a year later. His son, Charles, married Mary, Stephen's daughter, and Stephen's son, Ladislas (the Cuman), married his daughter Isabelle. For more details on Charles I see Stephen Runciman, *The Sicilian Vespers: A History of the Mediterranean World in the Later Thirteenth Century* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1982).

my nose with my own hands, so that I look ugly and repulsive, and if I can't do it, I ask you to do it for me."

When asked if there were any others present when she said the aforementioned, she replied, "Sister Judith, who was prioress at the time."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "I don't remember, but it was around the nativity of the Virgin Mary."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the time of day, she replied, "At nones." She also said that for three years before her [Margaret's] death, her lady mother kept telling her that she wanted to marry her to the lord King Charles,⁹⁷ with the blessing of the lord Pope, and saint Margaret herself replied, "If the Pope ordered this done, I do not want to be like Martha⁹⁸; but I want to save my virginity for the Lord Jesus Christ."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because it was said in my presence."

When asked if there were any others present, she replied, "Sister Margaret, daughter of Lord William." She also said that this saint Margaret used to say, "Would that God would ordain a time for martyrdom, because I would gladly sustain death for the faith of Christ."

When asked if there were others present, she replied, "Sister Judith."

When asked how long ago it was she said this, she answered that it was something she often said, right up until the time of her death.

She also said that when Sister Beata died in the year before her [Margaret's] own death, at that time the blessed Margaret said to her *magistra*, "I shall be the first to die after her," and she died eleven days later, just as she had said, before any of the other sisters.⁹⁹

⁹⁸ Luke 10:38–42; here Martha embodies women's worldly concerns, while her sister Mary dedicates all her attention to the Lord.

⁹⁹ Foretelling their own death is also among the typical characteristics of saints, cf. Vauchez, *La sainteté*, 558–60.

Interrogata, si aliquae erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Sic, soror Margaretha, filia domini Gulielmi.»

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de (hora) diei, respondit: «Quarta, fiebat post completorium».

Interrogata, in quo loco, respondit: «In infirmaria». Item dixit, quod quando mortua erat, videbatur magis pulchra, quam quando viva erat, et videbatur habere quasi deauratum subtus oculos.

Interrogata, quot diebus stetit sic mortua antequam sepeliretur et apparebat sic pulchra, sicut dixit, respondit, quod mortua fuit post completorium, et ita remansit usque ad diem Martis, et semper apparuit sic pulchra, et eodem die Martis posita fuit in quodam scrinio clauso, in quadam fovea, et non fuit cooperta de terra, et ita stetit tredecim diebus, et nullus fetor erat in ea.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod tot diebus steterat mortua, antequam sepeliretur, respondit: «Quia vidi».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod apparebat ita pulchra, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi eam tunc».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod per illos tresdecim dies nullus fetor erat in ea, ut dixit, (respondit: «Quia fui presens»). Item dixit, quod ipsa beata Margaretha in vigiliis nativitatis domini, in vigiliis sancte Marie et pentecostes, quolibet anno faciebat mille venias, et tunc ieiunabat in pane et aqua.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi».

Interrogata, si vult plus dicere, respondit: «Non recordor de aliis».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua sit beata virgo Margaretha, respondit, quod septem.

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Quinquaginta quinque, et vigesimus primus annus est, quod ego steti in istis duobus monasteriis».¹⁰⁰

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non, sed pro Deo et veritate dixi predicta».

¹⁰⁰ The dates given here are certainly wrong, for we know that Olimpiades did not enter the monastery twenty-one years before, that is, in 1255, but about ten years earlier, *vigesimus* for *tricesimus* is an easy slip.

When asked if there were any others present, she replied, "Yes, Sister Margaret, daughter of Lord William."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of day, she replied, "The fourth hour; it happened after compline."

When asked where it happened, she replied, "In the infirmary." She also said that when she was dead she seemed more beautiful than when she was alive, and seemed to have taken on a golden sheen beneath her eyes.

When asked how many days she stayed thus dead before she was buried, and appeared so beautiful, as she said, she answered that she died after compline and remained as she was until Tuesday, and appeared beautiful all that time, and on the same Tuesday she was placed in a closed coffin in a certain grave, and it was not covered with earth, and so she remained for thirteen days, and there was no foul smell around her.

When asked how she knew how many days she had been lain out dead before burial, she replied, "Because I saw it."

When she asked how she knew that she appeared so beautiful, as she said, she replied, "Because I saw her at the time."

When asked how she knew that for thirteen days there was no foul smell around her, as she said, she answered, "Because I was present." She also said that the blessed Margaret always made a thousand *veniae* every year at the vigils of our Lord's Nativity, at the vigils of the Virgin Mary, and at those during Pentecost; and on those occasions she would fast on bread and water.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it."

When asked if she wanted to say more, she answered, "I don't remember anything else."

When asked how many years ago the blessed virgin Margaret died, she said seven years.

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Fifty-five, and it is twenty-one years since I entered both these monasteries."¹⁰⁰

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No, and I spoke what I spoke before God and the truth."

DIE LUNE SEQUENTI¹⁰¹

Rediit dicta soror Olimpiades et dixit: «Quadam die venerant duo fratres predicatorum ad predictum monasterium sancte Catharine Vesprimiensis, quos ipsa virgo Margaretha rogavit, quod starent, et cum ipsi vellent recedere, ista sancta Margaretha rogavit Deum, ut plueret, quod non possent recedere, et statim magna pluvia facta est, quod non potuerint recedere».

Interrogata de nominibus fratrum illorum predicatorum, respondit: «Unus vocabatur Hembrath, qui est mortuus, de alio non recordor».

Interrogata, que erant presentes, quando rogavit fratres et oravit et pluit, ut dixit, respondit: «Soror Elena et soror Johalenth, de aliis non recordor».

Interrogata, cuiusmodi tempus erat, quando oravit, ut dixit, respondit: «Valde serenum».

Interrogata, quot annos habebat ista virgo Margaretha, quando oravit, ut dixit, respondit: «Septem annos».

Interrogata, in quo loco monasterii erat, quando oravit, ut dixit, et pluit, respondit: «In ecclesia ipsius monasterii, ut credo».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non habeo in mente».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Ante vespas». Item dixit, quod in quodam festo resurrectionis in sero cum plueret fortiter, ipsa virgo Margaretha dixit cuidam servitiali, quod iret et portaret sibi tunicam suam, et dum illa servitialis iret ad portandum illam tunicam, cecidit in puteum, «et quando ego audivi dicere, quod servitialis ceciderat in puteum, ivi ad illam virginem Margaretham, et cepi eam reprehendere, et dixi: ‚Domina, male fecisti, perdidisti corpus et animam,‘ (et) respondit: ‚Non timeas mater, quia ista non morietur‘ et sic oravit: ‚O domine Deus, si ali-

¹⁰¹ August 3.

THE NEXT MONDAY¹⁰¹

The said Sister Olimpiades returned and said, "One day two brothers from the Order of the Preachers came to the aforesaid monastery of Saint Catherine at Veszprém, whom the virgin Margaret asked to stay, and when they wanted to depart, this saint Margaret asked God for it to rain so that they couldn't leave, and immediately there was a heavy rain, so that they couldn't leave."

When asked the names of the preaching brothers, she replied, "One was called Hembrath. He's dead. I don't remember the other one."

When asked who were present when she asked the brothers, and prayed, and it rained, as she said, she replied, "Sister Elena and Sister Johalent; I don't remember who else."

When asked what the weather was like when she prayed, as she said, she replied, "Very clear."

When asked how old this virgin Margaret was when she made this prayer, as she said, she replied, "Seven."

When asked where she was in the monastery when she prayed, as she said, and it rained, she replied, "In the monastery church, I believe."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of day, she replied, "Before vespers." She also said that one Easter when it was raining heavily in the evening, the virgin Margaret had told a certain serving girl to go and fetch her tunic for her, and while that servant was on the way to fetch that tunic, she fell into the well, "And when I heard it said that the servant had fallen into the well, I went to that virgin Margaret and began to reprimand her. I said, 'Lady, you have done a bad thing, you have destroyed her body and soul,' and she replied, 'Don't be afraid, mother, she won't die,' and she spoke this prayer, 'O Lord God, if my service is in some small way pleasing to you, make it so that this serving-girl does not die.'" And she

quantulum placet tibi meum servitium, fac, ut ista servitialis non moriatur» et dixit, quod illa servitialis tantum stetit in dicto puteo, donec claves claustrum invente fuerunt, et aperuerunt ostium, et ipsa virgo Margaretha «et ego et alie sorores ivimus ad puteum, et traximus ipsam servitalem vivam superius, et sine aliqua lesione».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, quod predicta virgo Margaretha dixit predictae servitiali: ‚Vade et porta tunicam meam’, respondit: «Ipsa virgo Margaretha dixit mihi».

Interrogata, si alique sorores erant presentes, quando reprehendebat dictam virginem Margaretham, et quando oravit, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic, soror Scholastica».

Interrogata, in quo loco erant, quando ibi increpavit eam et oravit, ut dixit, respondit: «In refectorio».

Interrogata, quae sorores erant presentes ad trahendum secum dictam servitalem de puteo, ut dixit, respondit: «Servitiales, et ego eram presens et Johalenth, et alie, de quibus non recordor».

Interrogata de nominibus harum servitiorum, respondit: «Quedam, quae vocatur puella et alie, de quibus non recordor».

Interrogata de nomine illius servitialis, quae cecidit in puteum, ut dixit, respondit: «Agnes».

Interrogata, si vivit, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod predicta fuerunt, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non habeo in mente».

Interrogata, si erat clarum tempus, vel obscurum, respondit: «Pluvia erat et obscurum tempus».

Interrogata, in quo loco est ille puteus (respondit): «In curia servitiorum ante coquinam.» Item dixit, quod quadam die in tantum crevit Danubius, quod aqua ipsius intravit in curiam servitiorum, et post aliquot dies provincialis (fratrum) predicatorum venit ad dictum monasterium «et nos diximus sibi, sicut increperat aqua dictam curiam, et ipse dixit: ‚Hoc non possum credere, quomodo posse esse’; et tunc beata Margaretha dixit: ‚Non creditis nobis’? et rogavit Deum, et beatam virginem, quod ostenderent ipsi fratri, quod factum fuerat; et statim in tantum crevit aqua Danubii, quod intravit dictam curiam et claustrum monialium, et era-

said that the serving girl remained in the said well until the keys of the cloister were found and they opened the door, and the virgin Margaret herself “and myself and other sisters went to the well and dragged the servant to the surface, alive and without injury.”

When asked how she knew that the aforesaid virgin Margaret said to the serving girl, “Go and fetch me my tunic,” she replied, “The virgin Margaret told me herself.”

When asked if there were any sisters present when she was reprimanding the said virgin Margaret, and also when she prayed, as she said, she replied, “Yes, Sister Scholastica.”

When asked where they were when she chided her and she prayed, as she said, she replied, “In the refectory.”

When asked what sisters were present with her to pull the servant from the well, as she said, she replied, “There were servants, and I was there, and Johalent and others, whom I don’t recall.”

When asked the names of these servants, she replied, “One who was called just ‘Girl,’ and others, whom I don’t remember.”

When asked the name of the servant who fell into the well, as she said, she replied, “Agnes.”

When asked if she were living, she replied, “Yes.”

When asked how many years ago the aforesaid happened, she replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked the month, she replied, “I have no idea.”

When asked if the weather was clear or overcast, she replied, “It was raining and overcast weather.”

When asked where that well was, she replied, “In the servants’ courtyard, in front of the kitchen.” She also said that one day the Danube rose so high that its water entered the servants’ courtyard, and after a few days the provincial of the Order of the Preachers came to the said monastery, “And we told him how the water had risen in the said courtyard, and he said, ‘I can’t believe it; how can this be?’ and then the blessed Margaret said, ‘You don’t believe us?’ and asked God and the Blessed Virgin to show the brother what had happened; and immediately the Danube’s water rose so high that it came in the said courtyard and the cloister of the nuns, and we were at that time outside the cloister in a certain

mus tunc extra claustrum in quodam viridario, et quando vidimus, quod aqua in tantum crescebat, fugimus in claustrum, et intravimus in domum capituli, et non potuimus ibi stare, et exivimus et ascendimus lignum dolii».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Ante mortem ipsius virginis Margarethe per tres annos».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Ante carnelevarium».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Circa horam vesper(arum)».

Interrogata, in quo loco erant tunc, respondit: «In viridario, ante loquutorium, in quo consuevimus laborare».

Interrogata de nomine provincialis, respondit: «Frater Marcellus».

Interrogata, si alius frater erat tunc cum eo, respondit: «Sic, frater Joannes, qui modo stat iuxta mare in Cadria».¹⁰²

Interrogata, que fuerunt alie sorores, que fuerunt presentes, quando sic dixerunt fratri Marcello, et predicta virgo Margaretha rogavit Deum, ut dixit, et crevit aqua, respondit: «Soror Margaretha, filia domine Anne et soror Margaretha, filia domini Gulielmi».

Interrogata de aliis, respondit: «Non habeo in mente». Item dixit: «Quando mortua fuit, ego vidi, quod ipsa habebat in genibus callum durum, sicut petram, et grossum^a sicut ovum, et hoc sibi devenerat propter multas venias, quas consueverat facere».¹⁰³ Item dixit, quod domina Elisabeth, que fuit filia regis Stephani, que est monacha in isto monasterio, fuit in isto anno in tantum ammalata,^b quod credebat mori, et tunc ipsa fecit sibi portare cilicium et scapularium et velum et vestimenta sancte Margarethe, et incepit illa osculari et ponere super caput suum, et cepit sudare, et incontinenti liberata fuit.

^a grosso *ital.*

^b ammalata *ital.*

¹⁰² The name Cadria refers most probably to Zadar on the Adriatic coast, also called Iadra. Cf. Wertner, "A Margit-legenda," 34.

grove, and when we saw that the water had risen so much, we fled to the cloister, and entered the chapter house, and we couldn't stay there, and went out and climbed up on to the beam supporting the wine-cask."

When asked how many years ago this took place, she replied, "About three years before the death of the virgin Margaret."

When asked the month, she replied, "Before Ash Wednesday."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of day, she replied, "About the hour of vespers."

When asked where this happened, she replied, "In the cloistered yard, in front of the parlor, where we were accustomed to work."

When asked the provincial's name, she replied, "Brother Marcellus."

When asked if there were another brother present with him, she answered, "Yes, Brother John, who now lives in Cadria, by the sea."¹⁰²

When asked who the sisters present were when they said this to Brother Marcellus, and the said virgin Margaret prayed to God, as she said, and the water rose, she replied, "Sister Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne and Sister Margaret, daughter of Lord William."

When asked about the others, she replied, "I don't recall." She also said, "When she died, I saw that she had a callous on her knees, which was rock-hard and as thick as an egg, and this had come upon her because of the many *veniae* that she was accustomed to make."¹⁰³ She also said that the Lady Elizabeth, who was King Stephen's daughter, and is a nun in this monastery, was at that time so sick that she thought she was dying; she had brought to her the hair-shirt, scapular, veil, and raiment of saint Margaret, and she began kissing them and putting them over her head, and she began to sweat and immediately was delivered.

¹⁰³ These wounds are also mentioned by Witnesses 18 and 20.

Interrogata, de quo mense ita fuit liberata ipsa soror Elisabeth, ut dixit, respondit: «Circa festum sanctissime trinitatis».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Ante nonam post prandium».

Interrogata, que fuit illa, que portavit sibi dictas vestes, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego».

Interrogata, quanto tempore fuit infirma, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego vidi eam».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ita sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego fui presens».

Interrogata, si alique alie erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Sic, soror Johalenth».

Interrogata, si alie sorores sciverunt, quod ita esset infirma, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic, totus conventus».

Interrogata, cuiusmodi verba dicebat ipsa Elisabeth, quando osculata fuit predictas vestes, respondit: «Ipsa incepit flere, et erat ita debilis, quod non poterat loqui».

Interrogata, si ab illo tempore circa habuit predictam infirmitatem, vel similem, respondit: «Non», et dixit: «Nolo aliud dicere de ea, sed in tantum fuit sancta domina et beata, quod lingua dicere non posset».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE MARTIS UNDECIMA AUGUSTUM INTRANTE.

Interrogata predicta soror Olimpiades, si aliquo tempore dictum fuit sibi de sororibus istius monasterii, quod dicta virgo Margaretha iacebat in choro ecclesie quasi mortua, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogata, que fuit illa, que dixit sibi hoc, respondit: «Soror Johalenth».

Interrogata, si hoc fuit de die, vel de nocte, respondit: «De nocte».

Interrogata, qua hora noctis, respondit: «Antequam sonarent matutina».

When asked in what month this Sister Elizabeth was delivered, as she said, she replied, "About the feast of the Most Holy Trinity."

When asked the day, [...When asked the hour of the day,] she replied, "Before nones, after the midday meal."

When asked who it was that brought the vestments to her, as she said, she replied, "I did."

When asked how long she was sick, as she said, [...] she replied, "I saw her."

When asked how she knew she was cured in this way, she replied, "I was present."

When asked if there were any others present at that time, she replied, "Yes, Sister Johalent."

When asked if other sisters knew that she was ill, as she said, she replied, "Yes, the whole convent."

When asked what manner of language Elizabeth herself used when she kissed the aforesaid raiment, she replied, "She started crying, and was so weak she couldn't speak."

When asked if she had suffered this sickness after that, or anything like it, she replied, "No," and said, "I don't want to say anything more about her, but she was so holy and blessed a lady that a tongue could not tell it."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 11

When the aforesaid Sister Olimpiades was asked, if at any time it had been said to her by the sisters of this monastery that the said virgin Margaret was lying in the choir of the church as if dead, she replied, "Yes."

When asked who told her that, she replied, "Sister Johalent."

When asked if this was during the day or at night, she replied, "At night."

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «De mense omnium sanctorum».

Interrogata, que dies precedebat illam noctem, in qua dicta fuerunt sibi predicta, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, quid fecit tunc, quando audivit, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha iacebat quasi mortua, respondit: «Ego ivi ad eam cum illa sorore Johalenth, et invenimus eam iacentem ante altare, et quando ipsa surrexit dixi sibi, quod interficiebat se, et quod male faciebat, et menacavi^a eam, et ipsa respondit: „Ego steti parum sic“».

Interrogata, si soror Lucia,¹⁰⁴ filia domini Ose de Vespri-mio¹⁰⁵ aliquo tempore habuit aliquam infirmitatem, respondit: «Scio, quod habuit infirmitatem ita gravem, quod non poterat se movere, nec loqui».

Interrogata, per quot dies stetit, quod non poterat loqui, sicut dixit, respondit: «Per quinque dies, sicut credo».

Interrogata, si scit, quomodo liberata fuit dicta soror Lucia a dicta infirmitate, respondit: «Ego lavi capillos istius sancte Margarethe, et lavaturam ipsam posui in ore eius sororis Lucie, et statim incepit loqui et meliorata fuit».

Interrogata, de quo lavit dictos capillos, respondit: «De vino, sicut credo».¹⁰⁶

Interrogata, si aliqua verba dixit, quando posuit dictam lavaturam in ore ipsius sororis Lucie, respondit: «Dixi: domine Jesu Christe, fac, quod per merita istius sancte Margarethe ista soror loquatur».

Interrogata, si alique erant presentes, quando lavit dictos capillos et posuit lavaturam in ore dicte sororis Lucie, respondit: «Sic, soror Cecilia, de aliis non recordor».

^a menazare (=minacciare) *ital.*

¹⁰⁴ She is Witness 20.

¹⁰⁵ In the 20th deposition he is mentioned as Otto, the *Hungarian legend* calls him Uten, cf. Dömötör and Pólya, eds., *Szent Margit élete* 1510, 459.

When asked what hour of the night, she replied, "Before matins sounded."

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the month, she replied, "The month of All Saints."

When asked what day came before that night in which the said things were reported to her, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked what she did then, when she heard that the virgin Margaret was lying as if dead, she replied, "I went to her with Sister Johalent, and we found her lying before the altar, and when she got up I said to her that she was killing herself and that she was doing wrong, and I remonstrated with her, and she replied, 'I only stayed a little like this.'"

When asked if Sister Lucy,¹⁰⁴ daughter of Lord Ose of Veszprém,¹⁰⁵ was ever ill at any time, she replied, "I know she was so seriously ill that she couldn't move or speak."

When asked for how many days she had remained unable to speak, as she said, she replied, "Five days, I believe."

When asked if she knew how the said Sister Lucy had been delivered from the said sickness, she replied, "I washed the hair of this saint Margaret, and I put the wash-water into that Sister Lucy's mouth, and at once she began to speak, and she got better."

When asked what she washed the said hair in, she replied, "In wine, I think."¹⁰⁶

When asked if she said anything, when she placed the said wash-liquid in the mouth of Sister Lucy, she replied, "I said, 'Lord Jesus Christ, through the merits of this saint Margaret make it so that this sister may speak.'"

When asked if there were anyone present when she washed the said hair and put the wash-liquid in the said Sister Lucy's mouth, she replied, "Sister Cecilia; I don't remember the others."

¹⁰⁶ Only Olimpiades remembers it in this way, that Margaret's hair was washed in wine.

Interrogata, de nomine patris dicte Cecilie, respondit: «Nescio, sed tantum unam habemus Ceciliam in domo ista».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod predicta fuerunt, respondit: «Tres».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Circa ascensionem».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Circa nonam».

Interrogata, in quo loco iacebat tunc dicta soror Lucia, respondit: «In infirmaria».

Interrogata, si aliquo tempore vidit, quod aliquis sanaretur ad sepulcrum istius virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Vidi, quod quadam die quedam puella domini Matthei de genere Mastaacs,¹⁰⁷ que habebat contractam manum et pedem, portata fuit ad istud sepulcrum predictum, et statim liberata fuit».

Interrogata de nomine dicte puelle, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot annos habebat dicta puella, quando ita sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Bene poterat habere octo annos».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta puella erat filia dicti domini Matthei, respondit: «Bene scio, quia soror nostra Margaretha, que erat de parentela sua, hoc dixit mihi».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta puella habuit pedem et manum contractam, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia portata fuit in brachiis in ecclesia ad dictum sepulcrum, et rediit sana cum pedibus suis».

Interrogata, ubi erat, quando vidit dictam puellam portari ad sepulcrum et sanari, ut dixit, respondit: «In choro apud fenestram».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi, qui portaverunt dictam puellam, respondit: «Quedam servitialis ipsius domini Matthei».

Interrogata de nomine servitialis, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non habeo in mente».

¹⁰⁷ In the 25th deposition they are called Taacs, in the 41st, Csák—on this miracle and the powerful kindred of the palatine, Matthew II Csák, see the notes to the testimony of his mother Margaret (25) below.

When asked the name of the said Cecilia's father, she replied, "I don't know, but we have only one Cecilia in this house."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "Three."

When asked the month, she replied, "Around Ascension."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "About nones."

When asked where the said Sister Lucy was lying at the time, she replied, "In the infirmary."

When asked if at any time she had seen anyone cured at the tomb of this virgin Margaret, she replied, "I have, because one day a certain daughter of Lord Matthew of the Mastaacs kindred,¹⁰⁷ who had a withered hand and foot, was carried to that tomb, and was immediately cured."

When asked the girl's name, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old the said girl was, when she was cured, as she said, she replied, "She might well have been about eight."

When asked how she knew that the said girl was the daughter of the said Lord Matthew, she replied, "I know it well, because our Sister Margaret, who was his parent, told me so."

When asked how she knew that the said girl had a withered hand and foot, as she said, she replied, "Because she was carried on someone's arms into the church to the said tomb, and she went back cured, on her own feet."

When asked where she was when she saw the said girl being carried to the tomb and cured, as she said, she replied, "At the choir window."

When asked who they were, who had carried the said girl, she replied, "A serving woman of Lord Matthew."

When asked the servant's name, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked what time of day it happened, she replied, "In the morning."

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «In mane».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Dominus Cosma, canonicus Vacienſis et Martinus Rubini fuerunt interpretes, modo predicto, in predictae domine dictis.

DIE LUNE TERTIA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM.

XV

Domina Frosia,^a filia domini Jacobi de Nitra,¹⁰⁸ soror et monialis dicti monasterii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha fuit devota domina et humilis erga Deum, et obediens et humilis omnibus sororibus suis, et bone vite et conversationis, et hoc servavit usque ad mortem suam.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi oculis meis». Item dixit: «Quando ego fui sacristiana, in vigiliis sancte Marie dimittebam ostium chori apertum per totam noctem, secundum consuetudinem nostram, et tunc videbam ipsam virginem stantem et orantem per totam noctem in dicto choro magna cum devotione et fletu».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod fuit sacristiana, ut dixit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, per quot annos fuit sacristiana, respondit: «Per quinque annos continue». Item dixit: «In aliis diebus ipsa virgo Margaretha post completorium, quando alie sorores iam exiverant de choro, veniebat ad me, et capiebat manum meam in manu sua multum dulciter, et inclinabat caput suum, et faciebat mihi signum, quod ego non clauderem ita cito ostium chori, ut possit redire ad orandum, et multum cito remittebam et dabam sibi signum, quantum deberet stare ad orandum, et ipsa ibat et orabat magna cum devotione et reverentia, et postea exibat».

^a Aura *ms.*

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, “No.”

Lord Cosmas, canon of Vác, and Martin Rubini were the interpreters, in the aforesaid manner, of the words of the aforesaid lady.

ON MONDAY, AUGUST 3

15

Lady Frosia, daughter of Lord James of Nitra,¹⁰⁸ sister and nun of the said monastery, swore as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she answered that the virgin Margaret was a devout lady and humble before God, and obedient and humble to all the sisters, and of good life and behavior, and she was like this right up to her death.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “Because I saw it with my own eyes.” She also said, “When I was sacristan, at the vigil of the Virgin Mary I used to leave the door of the choir open all night, according to our custom, and on those occasions I saw the virgin steadily at her prayers all night long in the said choir with great devotion and weeping.”

When asked how many years it was since she had been sacristan, as she said, she replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked how many years she was sacristan, she replied, “Five consecutive years.” She also said, “On other days after compline, when the other sisters had already left the choir, the virgin Margaret used to come to me and take my hand very gently into hers and bow her head and make a sign to me that I should not close the choir door so fast, so that she could go back and pray and I very quickly relented and gave her a sign as to how long she should stay praying, and she would go and pray, with great devotion and reverence, and afterwards she would leave.”

¹⁰⁸ On the family of Frosia, see *Legenda vetus*, 127 n. 98.

Interrogata, si aliquae sorores fuerunt ibi, quae hoc viderunt, respondit: «Elisabeth soror, [filia comitis] Thome^a quae erat socia mea». Item dixit, quod dilexit paupertatem, et portabat malas vestes et petiatas, novas nolebat portare sine petiis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Ego vidi oculis meis». Item dixit, quod in sua septimana faciebat coquinam, tulit aquam, et lavabat scutellas et ollas, et accendebat ignem, et portabat aquam, et alia scundigia faciebat multum libenter, et cum magna humilitate».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi eam sic facientem». Item dixit, quod in septimana sua serviebat sororibus in conventu cum magna reverentia, et cum sorores iam fere comedissent, et habuissent omnia quae debebant habere ad comedendum et bibendum, ipsa intrabat ecclesiam vel capitulum ad orandum, et antequam sorores surgerent de mensa, revertebatur ad eas.

Interrogata, quomodo scit (predicta), respondit: «Quia vidi oculis meis». Item dixit, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha libenter et humiliter serviebat infirmis, et erat quae sciebat quando aliquae sorores infirmabantur, et ibat ad eas, et querebat si volebant aliquid, et portabat eas ad infirmariam, et necessaria purgabat quando oportebat, et omnia necessaria faciebat eis, quae facere poterat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod quedam puella servitialis erat multum infirma et scabiosa, et ipsa manibus suis balneabat et ungebat eam, et sic fecit donec fuit liberata et sanata.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod soror Margaretha, filia domine Anne, post mortem ipsius virginis Margarethe, non credebat quod ipsa esset sancta, et dicebat: ‚Non credam, nisi videam aliquod miraculum oculis meis’, et tunc venit quedam mulier ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, quae habebat ita contractos pedes quod non poterat ire pedibus, sed ibat genibus et cum duobus scarunetis^b in manibus, et

^a soror Thome *ms.*

^b scarunetis = scabellis

When asked if any sisters were there, who saw this, she replied, "Sister Elizabeth, the daughter of *comes* Thomas, who was my friend." She also said that she [Margaret] loved poverty, and used to wear shabby, patched clothes, and that she would not wear new clothes without patches.

When asked how she knew this, she said, "I saw it with my own eyes." She also said that when it was her duty-week she did the cooking, fetched water and washed the plates and pots, and lit the fires and carried water and did other menial tasks very gladly and with much humility.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw her doing it." She also said that in her duty-week she served the sisters in the convent with great respect, and when the sisters had almost finished eating and had everything they needed for eating and drinking, she would go into the church or the chapter to pray, and return to the sisters before they got up from table."

When asked how she knew the foregoing, she replied, "Because I saw it with my own eyes." She also said that the virgin Margaret gladly and humbly served the sick, and was the one who knew when any of the sisters was ill, and she would go to them and ask if they wanted anything, and take them to the infirmary, clean the bed pans when necessary, and all she could do for them that needed doing, she did.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that a certain serving girl was very ill and covered with scabs, and with her own hands she bathed and put lotions on her, and did this until she was cured and made whole.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that Sister Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, after the death of the virgin Margaret, did not believe that she was a saint, and said, 'I won't believe, unless I see some miracle with my own eyes,' and then there came to the tomb of saint Margaret a certain woman whose feet were so crippled that she could not walk, and used to go about on her knees with two wedges in her hands, and on that occasion the said Sister Margaret said, 'Now I'll believe she was a saint, if this woman gets up,' and at once she rose up.

tunc dixit dicta soror Margaretha: ‚Jam credam, quod esset sancta, si ista surget‘, (et) incontinenti surrexit.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ipsa soror Margaretha dixit predicta verba, respondit: «Ego audivi auribus meis ab ore suo».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta femina tunc sic contracta venit ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi oculis meis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ista soror Margaretha dixerit: ‚Jam credam, quod esset sancta, si ista surget‘, respondit: «Quia ego de ore suo audivi».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta femina tunc incontinenti surrexit, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi oculis meis».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Bene possunt esse tres anni, sed non recordor bene».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Credo, quod fuit quadam die Sabbathi».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post nonam ante vespas».

Interrogata, ubi erat dicta soror Margaretha, quando dixit et vidit predicta, respondit: «Ad fenestram chori».

Interrogata, si aliquae alie sorores erant tunc ibi presentes, que audierunt et viderunt hoc, respondit: «Sic, soror Elisabeth, filia quondam domini Stephani regis et soror Margaretha, filia domini Gulielmi».

Interrogata, si cognoscebat prius dictam feminam ita contractam, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si antea viderat dictam feminam ita contractam, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si postea vidit eam, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si scit nomen dicte femine, respondit: «Non, nec scio unde fuerat». Item dixit, quod quodam tempore erat graviter infirma; «et tunc dixi: ‚Scio, quod tu virgo Margaretha es sancta, rogo te, quod ores Deum pro me, ut me liberet‘, et vovi dicere omni die quindecies, Pater noster‘ et ‚Ave Maria‘ ad hono-

When asked how she knew that Sister Margaret said these words, she replied, "I heard it from her own mouth, with my own ears."

When asked how she knew that the woman so crippled in this way came to the aforesaid tomb, as she said, she replied, "Because I saw her with my own eyes."

When asked how she knew that this Sister Margaret said, "Now I'll believe that she was a saint, if this woman rises," she replied, "Because I heard it from her own mouth."

When asked how she knew that the said woman then rose immediately, as she said, she replied, "Because I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "It could be as much as three years, but I don't remember exactly."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the day, she replied, "I think it was on some Sunday or other."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "After nones, before vespers."

When asked where the said Sister Margaret was when she said and saw the aforesaid, she replied, "At the choir window."

When asked if there were any other sisters present at that time, who heard and saw this, she replied, "Yes, Sister Elizabeth, daughter of the late Lord King Stephen; and Sister Margaret, daughter of Lord William."

When asked if she previously knew the woman who was crippled, she replied, "No."

When asked if she had seen her before so crippled, she replied, "No."

When asked if she saw her afterward, she replied, "No."

When asked if she knew the name of the said woman, she replied, "No, nor do I know where she came from." She also said that on one occasion she was gravely ill, and "I then said, 'I know that you, virgin Margaret, are a saint; I ask you to pray to God on my behalf to deliver me,' and I vowed to say the *Pater Noster* and

rem suum, et statim liberata fui, et quando non facio, sentio me debilem.»

Interrogata, si aliquis erat presens, quando sic oravit, et vovit et sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Non, quia dixi in corde meo».

Interrogata, quot annos habet ista testis dicta, respondit: «Non recorder, sed viginti anni sunt, quod sum in isto monasterio».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est beata virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem anni sunt».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

86,

EADEM DIE.¹⁰⁹

XVI

Agnes servitialis istius monasterii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione istius virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Hoc scio pro vero, quod ipsa fuit bone vite et sancte et bone conversationis, et de maiori humilitate quam nos servitiales».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia videbam». Item dixit: «Quodam die post completorium pluebat fortiter, et erat multum obscurum, et tunc ipsa domina mea vocavit me, et veni cum una socia ad eam, et ipsa dixit mihi, quod ego apportarem sibi tunicam suam, et multum mihi displicuit cum ibam pro dicta tunica, credens quod ipsa socia mea esset mecum, sed eam non videbam, quia erat ita obscurum tempus, quod si aliquis me percussisset ad faciem ego non vidissem eum, et sic cecidi in quemdam puteum, et postquam ivissem ad fondum putei tertia vice, cepi me ad parietem muri, et domine que accurrerant extraxerunt me superius».¹¹⁰

¹⁰⁹ August 3.

the *Ave Maria* fifteen times every day in her honor, and I was delivered on the spot, and when I don't say them, I feel weak."

When asked if there was anyone else present when she made this request and took a vow and was cured, as she said, she replied, "No, because I said it in my heart."

When asked how old she was, this witness replied, "I don't remember, but I have been in this monastery for twenty years."

When asked how long it had been since the blessed virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Seven."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to give this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY¹⁰⁹

16

Agnes, a servant of this monastery, took the oath as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of this virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "I know for a truth that she was of good life, and of holy and good behavior, and humbler than we servants."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said, "One day after compline it was raining hard and it was very dark, and then my mistress called me, and I went with one companion to her, and she told me to fetch her tunic, and I was very annoyed when I set out to get the tunic. I thought that my companion was with me, but I didn't see her, because the weather was so dark, that if anyone had hit me in the face, I wouldn't have seen them; and so I fell into a well, and after going to the bottom three times, I held on to the side of the wall, and the ladies, who came running up, pulled me up."¹¹⁰

¹¹⁰ We can see from this testimony that the rescue of maid Agnes from the well, also described in the *Legenda vetus* (p. 86 n. 65) and by other witnesses, is not much of a miracle.

Interrogata, in quo loco erat tunc virgo Margaretha, quando hoc sibi dixit, respondit: «In quodam domo de petris, nescio aliud nomen».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Credo quod sunt novem anni».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «In die resurrectionis domini».

Interrogata, si alie erant presentes quam socia sua, quando dicta Margaretha hoc dixit sibi, respondit: «Sic soror Sapia, que mortua est».

Interrogata de nomine dicte socie sue, respondit: «Elvit».

Interrogata, que fuerunt ille, que traxerunt illam de puteo, respondit: «Agata servitialis».

Interrogata de aliis, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, ubi est ille puteus, in quem cecidit, respondit: «In claustro de foris ante coquinam».

Interrogata, si aliquid erat tunc in circuitu dicti putei, respondit: «Non, et erat discoopertus».

Interrogata, si aliquid aliud vult dicere, respondit: «Dixi quod scio, et alie domine dixerunt que sciunt».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Non recordor», et dixit: «Duodecim anni sunt, quod sum religiosa in servitio istarum dominarum».

Interrogata, si est docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Frater Benedictus Premonstratensis et Martinus Rubini interpretes fuerunt modo predicto in dictis predictarum sororis Frois et Agnetis servitialis.

When asked where the virgin Margaret was when she said this to her, she replied, "In the house of stone, I don't know any other name for it."

When asked how long ago this happened, she said, "Nine years, I think."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the day, she replied, "Easter Sunday."

When asked if there were any besides her companion present when the said Margaret spoke in this way to her, she said, "Yes, Sister Sapientia, who is dead."

When asked the name of her companion, she replied, "Elvit."

When asked who they were who dragged her out of the well, she replied, "The servant Agata."

When asked about the others, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked where the well was that she fell into, she replied, "In the cloister outside, in front of the kitchen."

When asked if there was anything around the well, she replied, "No, and it was uncovered."

When asked if there was anything else she wanted to say, she replied, "I have told what I know, and other ladies have said what they know."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't remember." And she said, "It has been twelve years since I became a religious in the service of these ladies."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she answered, "No."

Brother Benedict, a Praemonstratensian, and Martin Rubini were the interpreters in the aforesaid manner in the testimony of Sister Frosia and the servant Agnes.

EADEM DIE¹¹¹

XVII

Domina Agnes, filia domini Pauli de Berchio,¹¹² soror et monialis dicti monasterii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Bene scio, quod ista virgo Margaretha fuit bone vite et bone conversationis, et fuit simplex et obediens priorisse, et magne humilitatis, plus quam nos, et istud monasterium fuit edificatum propter ipsam, per dominum regem Belam patrem suum et dominam reginam matrem suam, et stabat et comedebat cum maiori humilitate quam alie».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi oculis meis, et scio veraciter quod dicti pater suus et mater sua fecerunt fieri istud monasterium, sicut dixi». Item dixit: «Ego sum talis, quod nescio litteras, nec cantare, tantum locus orationis mee erat iuxta locum suum, et semper vidi eam in oratione a mane usque ad vespervas continuam, nisi quando erat in officiis, vel in aliis servitiis». Item dixit, quod a Dominica, qua incipitur Vexilla Regis,¹¹³ per illas duas septimanas, usque ad pascha tenebat se in orationibus magnis et lacrymis, et tunc ponebat ante se quemdam crucifixum pictum in tabula, et cum magna oratione, devotione et reverentia orabat ibi.¹¹⁴

¹¹¹ August 3.

¹¹² The Berchio kindred was identified by Fraknói in his “Bevezetés”, *MRV*, vol. I, CXXII, as a family living in Pest county. Cf. Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek*, vol. III, 183–85 [1094–1096] (lineage Nána–Beszter); on them, see Attila Zsoldos, “Pest megye az Árpád-korban” [Pest county in the Arpad age], in idem, *Pest megye monográfiája* (Budapest: Pest megye monográfia közalapítvány, 2001), vol. I, 65–66; according to Attila Zsoldos, however, Fraknói’s identification is erroneous: Paulus de Berchio is Pál of Berettyó from the Geregye kindred, who had a daughter called Anne (here called Agnes) as a nun in the monastery on the island. Cf. *Budapest történetének okleveles emléke. Monumenta diplomatia civitatis Budapesti I. (1148–1301)*, the collection of Dezső Csányi completed and edited by Albert Gárdonyi (Budapest: Székesfőváros, 1936), 109; on the Geregye kindred, see also Attila Zsoldos, “A Berettyó urai” [The lords of Berettyó], in *Nagyvárad és Bihar az Árpád-kor végén. Tanul-*

ON THE SAME DAY¹¹¹

17

Lady Agnes, daughter of Lord Paul de Berettyó,¹¹² sister and nun of this monastery, swore, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath, “I well know that this virgin Margaret was of good life and morals, and she was simple and obedient to the prioress, and of great humility, more than we were; and this monastery was built on her account by the lord King Béla, her father, and her lady mother, the queen, and she stood and ate with greater humility than the others.”

When asked how she knew the preceding, she replied, “Because I saw it with my own eyes, and I know for a fact that her said mother and father had this monastery built, as I said.” She also said, “I’m one who can’t read or write, and I can’t sing, but my place of prayer was next to hers, and I always saw her at prayer from morning to vespers, all the time, except when she was at her offices or in other services.” She also said that from the Sunday which starts with *Vexilla Regis*,¹¹³ throughout those two weeks right up to Easter she used to keep praying and weeping mightily, and at that time she would put before her a panel painting of the crucifix, and pray there with great devotion and reverence.¹¹⁴

mányok Biharország történetéről [Nagyvárad and Bihar at the end of the Árpád age. Studies on the history of Bihar country], ed. by Attila Zsoldos (Nagyvárad: Varadinum Kulturális alapítvány, 2016), 101–54.

¹¹³ The *Vexilla Regis* is a Latin hymn in long metre by the Christian poet Venantius Fortunatus (c. 535–600), bishop of Poitiers.

¹¹⁴ This is a precious indication of the use of images in monastic and mystical devotion in Hungary. On the general phenomenon, see Chiara Frugoni, “La mistica femminile nell’iconografia dei visioni,” in *Temi e problemi nella mistica femminile trecentesca*, Convegni del Centro di Studi sulla Spiritualità medievale (Todi : Presso l’Accademia Tudetina, 1983), 137–80; Michael Camille, *The Gothic Idol: Ideology and Image-Making in Medieval Art* (Cambridge: Cambridge University Press, 1989), 197–219.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Scio, quia semper desiderabam videre, quid faceret, et vidi, sicut ego dixi». Item dixit, quod in cena domini petebat in obedientiam a priorissa, quod posset lavare (pedes) sororibus et servitialibus claustrum, et in die illa lavabat omnibus cum magna humilitate, osculando pedes ipsarum, et ibat cum genibus de una ad aliam, sic faciendo, et cum velo capitis sui sugabat pedes ipsarum, et sunt ipse domine bene septuaginta sine servitialibus.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia presens fui, et sic vidi».

Interrogata, per quot annos lavit pedes dictis sororibus et servitialibus, respondit: «Omni anno usque ad mortem suam».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod lavit omni anno usque ad mortem suam, sicut dixit, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc et presens eram». Item dixit, quod postquam sic lavit pedes usque ad mortem omnium, non intravit lectum, sed potest esse quod sedebat in oratorio suo aliquantulum propter debilitatem, et forte tunc aliquando dormiebat, «sed hoc non vidi».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia hoc vidi oculis meis».

Interrogata, in quo loco stabat tunc dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Stabat in officiis, quando fiebant in choro, et quando non fiebant officia, stabat in oratorio suo, quod est in choro».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Scio, quia locus meus erat iuxta locum suum».

Interrogata, si alique alie sorores videbant, quod sic oraret et staret, ut dixit, respondit: «Omnes sorores sciunt, quod sic fuit in orationibus suis». Item dixit, quod ipsa sancta Margaretha dicebat, quod dies Veneris sancta erat plus curta,^a quam alie dies, et cum magnis orationibus et lacrymis transibat diem illam.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Hoc audiivi ab ore suo et vidi». Item dixit, quod paupertatem amavit, et veteres vestes portavit, que erant plene de pediculis, sed propter multas orationes non curabat de pediculis.

^a curta *ital.*

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I know it, because I always wanted to see what she was doing, and I saw it, as I said." She also said that at the Lord's Supper she always petitioned the prioress for permission as an act of obedience to wash the feet of the sisters and of the cloister servants, and on that day she washed all their feet with great humility, kissing them, and going on her knees from one to the other while doing this, and drying their feet with the veil from her head, and there were a good seventy ladies, not counting the servants."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I was present, and I saw it."

When asked how many years she washed the feet of the sisters and the servants, she replied, "Every year until her death."

When asked how she knew that she washed them every year until her death, as she said, she replied, "Because I saw it and I was there." She also said that after she washed everyone's feet, right up to the time of her death, she did not go to bed, but perhaps sat in her prayer stall for a little while because of weakness, and maybe she sometimes slept on those occasions, "but this I didn't see."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked where the said virgin Margaret was standing at the time, she replied, "She stood at the offices, when they took place in the choir, and when the offices were not going on, she stayed in her prayer-stall, which is in the choir."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I know, because my place was next to hers."

When asked if any other sisters saw her standing and praying, as she said, she replied, "All the sisters know that that was the way it was when she prayed." She also said that saint Margaret herself used to say that Holy Friday was shorter than other days, and she passed that day with a great deal of praying and weeping."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I heard this from her own mouth, and saw it." She also said that she loved poverty and wore old clothes that were full of lice, but because of her many prayers, she did not care about the lice." When

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Qualiter non scio, si vidi oculis meis?» et dixit, quod per totam quadragesimam non mutabat vestes.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod libenter servivit, in quibus poterat, sanis et infirmis, et necessaria eorum purgabat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Semper vidi oculis meis».

Interrogata super miraculis, dixit: «Quadam die ipsa et ego serviebamus in coquina, et dum vellemus rostire^a caseum pro sororibus, non videbamus locum, in quo possemus hoc facere, et ipsa virgo Margaretha porrexit manum, et traxit tripedem de ferro multum calidum de igne, et non fecit sibi aliquod malum in manu sua, et tunc ego dixi sibi: ,Domina, quid fecisti, si ego fecissem hoc, tota manus mea esset assa, et ipsa mihi dixit: [...]»^{b 115}

Interrogata, si erant tunc aliquae presentes, que hoc viderunt, respondit: «Non». Item dixit, quod in festivitatibus sanctorum libenter faciebat sibi legi vitas sanctorum et passiones ipsorum, et hoc audiebat cum magna devotione et humilitate et magnis cum lacrymis, dicendo quod si esset tempus passionis, libenter sustineret passionem pro Deo.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia videbam et presens eram, quando faciebat sibi exponi ipsas passiones, et audiavi ab ore suo, quod libenter sustineret passionem, sicut dixi». Item dixit, quod omni anno ieiunabat vigiliis sancte Marie in pane et aqua, et faciebat mille venias in qualibet illarum vigiliarum, et illud faciebat in vigilia nativitatis domini et pentecostes.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia fui tunc iuxta eam, et hoc vidi oculis meis». Item dixit, quod: «Quando mortua fuit ista sancta Margaretha, ipsa videbatur mihi pulchrior, quam in vita sua, et apparebat quod habebat deauratum subtus oculos».

^a rostire, arrostitire *ital.*

^b vacat

asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Why wouldn't I know it, when I saw it with my own eyes?" And she said, for the whole of Lent she [Margaret] did not change her clothes.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that she served gladly, as far as she was able, the sick and the well, and cleaned their bedpans.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I always saw it with my own eyes."

When asked about miracles, she said, "One day she and I were serving in the kitchen, and although we wanted to toast a cheese, we didn't see any place where we could do it, and the virgin Margaret stretched out her hand and took an iron tripod, very hot, from the fire, without doing injury to her hand, and then I said to her, 'Lady, what have you done? If I had done this, my whole hand would have been roasted, and she said to me [...]"¹¹⁵

When asked if there were others present who saw this, she replied, "No." She also said that at saints' feasts, she gladly had their lives and passions read to her, and she listened to them with great devotion and humility, and with much weeping, saying that if it were a time for suffering, she would gladly undergo suffering for God.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it and I was present when she had these saints' passions expounded to her, and I heard from her own lips that she would gladly undergo suffering, as I said." She also said that every year she fasted at the vigil of the Virgin Mary on bread and water, and made a thousand *veniae* at each of these feasts, and she did it, too, on the vigil of our Lord's Nativity and at Pentecost.

When asked how she knew the foregoing, she replied, "Because I was close to her at the time, and I saw this with my own eyes." She also said, "When the saint Margaret died, she seemed more beautiful to me than she was in life, and she seemed to have acquired a golden aura beneath her eyes."

¹¹⁵ The answer of Margaret is missing from the text. The scene described is very much like a hot iron ordeal. Cf. Robert Bartlett, *Trial by Fire and Water: The Medieval Judicial Ordeal* (Oxford: Clarendon, 1986).

Interrogata, si vult plus dicere, respondit: «Multa alia bona dicere possem, sed forte alie sorores dixerunt et dicent adhuc».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Quinquaginta».

Interrogata, per quot annos fuit in monasterio, respondit: «Per decem et octo».

Interrogata, si est docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE MARTIS QUARTA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM XVIII

Domina Judith, filia quondam domini Hippolyti comitis,¹¹⁶ soror et monialis dicti monasterii gloriose virginis Marie, (iuravit) ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione istius virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit, quod ista virgo Margaretha fuit erga Deum magno amore, et magna humilitate contra sorores suas, et de magnis orationibus.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod a pueritia sua ipsa fuit socia sua, et quotiescunque ipsa virgo Margaretha loquebatur sibi, rogabat eam, quod deberet ipsam amagistrare^a qualiter posset servire, et qualiter debebat orare. Et dicebat mihi: ‚Soror mea, cuiusmodi orationes dicis tu? Monstra mihi de tuis orationibus‘, et amagistrabam ipsam, et postea dicebam sibi: ‚Quid^b oras?‘ Et ipsa quasi ridendo ibi transibat, et nolebat mihi dicere, et videbam, quod plus oraret quam ego». Item dixit, quod de nocte multum stabat in orationibus apud lectum suum, ubi erat una stora, super quam ponebat se ad dormiendum, quando erat fatigata, et parum dormiebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et frequenter presens eram». Item dixit, quod a Dominica qua

^a ammaestrare *ital.*

^b Quam *ms.*

When asked if she wanted to say more, she replied, "I could say many other good things, but perhaps the other sisters have said them, or still will."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Fifty."

When asked how many years she had been in the monastery, she replied, "Eighteen."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 4

18

Lady Judith, daughter of the late Lord, Count Ipoly,¹¹⁶ a sister and nun of the said monastery of the Glorious Virgin Mary, swore as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of this virgin Margaret, she said under oath that this virgin Margaret had great love for God, great humility before her sisters, and was very prayerful.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that she had been her companion since childhood, and every time the virgin Margaret spoke to her, she would ask her to teach her how to serve, and how she ought to pray. "And she would say to me, 'My sister, what kind of prayers do you say? Show me how to pray,' and I would teach her, and then I would say to her, 'What do you pray for?' And she, almost laughing, would ignore the question and refuse to tell me, and I saw that she prayed much more than I did." She also said that at night she often stood and prayed beside her bed, where there was a blanket, on which she used to lie down to sleep when she was tired, and would sleep a little.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it and was often present." She also said that from the

¹¹⁶ *Ipolyt, comes de Elya* was identified by Fraknói, "Bevezetés," *MRI*, vol. I, CXXII. He is present in Hungarian charters between 1286 and 1279. Cf. Wenzel, *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus*, vol. III, 190, vol. IV, 95, 96, 176.

cantatur, Judica me' ipsa morabatur cum magnis orationibus, cum magna devotione et magnis cum lacrymis, et ita transibat illas duas septimanas usque ad resurrectionem «et quando aspiciebam eam, ego videbam faciem suam cingatam lacrymis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, quod orabat et stabat in orationibus per illas duas septimanas, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia videbam ipsam».

Interrogata de loco, respondit: «Quandoque in choro ecclesie et quandoque in aliis locis». Item dixit, quod dilexit paupertatem in omnibus rebus, et veteres vestes et petiatas portabat libenter.

Interrogata, quomodo scit (hoc), respondit, quia sepe rogabat eam «quod ego cusirem^a et petiarem sibi vestes suas, et sepe feci hoc.» Item dixit, quod faciebat coquinam, quando erat sua septimana, et lavabat scutellas et ollas, et radebat pisces, et omnia alia servitia libenter serviebat, ita quod multoties multum deturpabat vestes suas in serviitiis coquine».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc». Item dixit quod nimis libenter faciebat servitium infirmis, cum suis manibus faciebat coquinam eis, et dabat eis ad manducandum et bibendum, et faciebat eis lectum, et vidi quod quadam die ipsa rasisit capita septem amalatis, et unxit nescio quo unguento».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Bene scio, quia videbam et ante me faciebat». Item dixit, quod: «Quodam tempore eram infirma, ipsa veniebat ad visitandum me, et dicebat: ‚Soror mea, quomodo stas tu, es tu meliorata, vis tu aliquid?‘ Et ego quadam vice interrogavi eam: ‚Domina mea estis gvarita^b de inflatura genuum vestrarum [?];‘ et ipsa dixit: ‚Genua non dolent modo mihi, et ille inflature iam indurate sunt ad modum coste’ ».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod haberet genua inflata sic, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia ipsa dixit mihi multoties in secreto: ‚Soror mea, ego habeo genua inflata, et multum dolent mihi’ », et dixit ipsa testis: «Credo quod habuit illas inflaturas propter multas venias, quas faciebat, sed hoc non dixit mihi». Item dixit: «Sepe au-

^a cucire *ital.*

^b guarire *ital.*

Sunday on which *Judica me* is sung, she passed her time with much praying, devotion, and weeping, and so passed these two weeks up to the Resurrection, “and when I saw her, I saw her face covered with tears.”

When asked how she knew this, that she prayed and stayed at her prayers throughout those two weeks, as she said, she replied, “Because I saw her.”

When asked about the place, she replied, “Sometimes in the church choir, sometimes in other places.” She also said that she loved poverty in all things, and that she gladly wore old, patched clothes.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, “Because she often asked her for me to sew and patch her clothes, and I often did it.” She also said that she did the cooking, when it was her week to do so, and washed the plates and pots, and scaled the fish, and cheerfully did all the menial tasks, so much so that often she dirtied her clothes very badly in kitchen duty.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, “Because I saw it.” She also said that she served the sick very gladly, cooking for them with her own hands, giving them food and drink, and making their beds, and I saw that on one day she herself shaved the heads of seven sick people, and salved them with some kind of lotion.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “I know it well, because I saw it, and she did it in front of me.” She also said, “Once I was ill. She came to visit me and said, ‘My sister, how are you, are you getting better, do you want anything?’ And I asked her every time, ‘My lady, is the swelling of your knees cured yet?’ and she said, ‘My knees don’t hurt me now, and the swellings have now hardened like a board.’”

When asked how she knew that she had swollen knees, as she said, she replied, “Because she often told me in secret, ‘My sister, I have swollen knees and they hurt me a lot,’ and she, the witness, said, “I think she had those swellings because of the many *veniae* she made, but she didn’t tell me this.” She also said, “I often heard from her that she would gladly give her body in martyrdom for God, if such a time came.” She also said that the virgin Marga-

divi ab ea, quod libenter daret corpus suum ad martyrizandum pro Deo, si esset tale tempus». Item dixit, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha dicebat: «Ego truncabo mihi nasum et labia, antequam sustineam quod pater meus maritaret me regi Bohemie, vel alteri».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Ab ore suo, quando pater suus volebat eam maritare regi Bohemie». Item dixit, quod ista sancta Margaretha, dixit sorori Margarethe, filie domine Anne et sorori Margarethe, filie domini Gulielmi: «Cito moriar, et rogo vos, quod faciatis (me) poni ante altare sancte crucis, et si locus ille est nimis strictus propter sorores, faciatis me poni in loco, quo oro, et non timeatis de fetore, quia de corpore meo non exibat fetor».

Interrogata, quantum vixit virgo Margaretha, postquam audivit predicta verba a predicta sorore Margaretha, respondit: «Intra quindecim dies mortua est».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia audivi ab ore dicte sororis Margarethe, filie domine Anne». Item dixit, quod postquam ista sancta Margaretha mortua fuit, stetit per duodecim dies in quodam scrinio de ligno, posito in quadam fovea ante altare, quod est in ecclesia, et non fuit coopertum istud scrinium de terra, nec de aliquo alio, nisi cum cooperculo suo, et quamdiu sic stetit ibi nullus fetor fuit ibi, sed bonus odor, et tunc fratres dubitantes, ne aliquod unguentum, vel aliud appositum fuisset circa dictum corpus, quod haberet bonum odorem, frater Michael prior provincialis¹¹⁷ dixit ad fenestram sorori Margarethe, filie (domine) Anne, nepti dicte sancte Margarethe: «Volo, quod iures mihi, si de aliquo unguento, vel alio odorifero unxisti corpus Margarethe, vel si scis, quod per aliquem de aliis hoc factum sit, et dicas mihi veritatem»; et sic iuravit et dixit, quod nec per se, nec per aliquam aliam sciat aliquod unguentum, vel aliud odoriferum appositum fuit circa corpus.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dictus prior sic dixerit predictae sorori Margarethe, filie domine Anne, et sic iuravit, respondit: «Predicta audivi ab ore predictae sororis Margarethe».

¹¹⁷ Michael is Witness 43; he followed Marcellus as prior provincial at the end of the year 1269. Cf. Lovas, "B. Margit történetének részletes forráskritikája," 228.

ret herself used to say, "I'll cut off my nose and lips, before I allow my father to marry me to the King of Bohemia, or anyone else."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "From her own mouth, when her father wanted to marry her to the King of Bohemia." She also said that this saint Margaret said to Sister Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, and to Sister Margaret, daughter of Lord William, "I shall die soon, and I ask that you have me placed in front of the altar of the holy cross, and if that place is too crowded because of the sisters, have me placed on the spot where I pray and don't be afraid of a foul smell, because there will be no foul smell from my body."

When asked how long the virgin Margaret lived after she heard the aforesaid words from the said Sister Margaret, she replied, "She was dead within fifteen days."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I heard it from the mouth of the said Sister Margaret, the daughter of Lady Anne." She also said that after this saint Margaret died, she remained for twelve days in a wooden coffin placed in a grave before the altar which is in the church, and this coffin was not covered over with earth nor with anything else except its own lid, and as long as it stayed there, there was no bad smell, but a good odor, and at that time the brothers had their doubts that some ointment or something else had been applied around the body so that it would smell good, and Brother Michael, the prior provincial,¹¹⁷ said at the window to Sister Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, niece of the said saint Margaret, "I want you to swear to me whether you have anointed Margaret's body with any unguent, or other sweet-smelling thing, or if you know that this has been done by any of the others, and tell me the truth"; and she so swore, as he asked, that no unguent or any other sweet-smelling thing had been put around the body either by herself or by anyone else.

When asked how she knew that the said prior had spoken in this way to the aforesaid Sister Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, and she had so sworn, she replied, "I heard the aforesaid from the mouth of the aforesaid Sister Margaret."

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod predictum corpus stetit in ecclesia ante altare per duodecim dies, sicut dixit, respondit: «Quia per dies illos ego cum aliis sororibus stabamus circa corpus istius sancte Margarethe, nisi quando dicebamus officia nostra, et quando eramus in mensa et ad dormiendum».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod nullus fetor exibat de dicto corpore, sed bonus odor, respondit: «Bonum odorem sentiebamus, et nullum malum». Item dixit, quod ipse frater Michael tunc provincialis quesivit in confessione ab omnibus sororibus, si aliquam rem odoriferam apposuerunt circa dictum corpus, et quelibet per se respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia in confessione interrogavit me de predictis, et fecit me iurare, et illud idem fecit aliis sororibus, sicut audiui ab eis».

Interrogata, si aliud vult dicere, respondit: «Quod recordor dixi, et non possum dicere totam bonitatem suam».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est ista virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Sicut audiui, septem anni sunt».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, per quot annos stetit in monasterio, respondit: «Nescio, sed bene scio, quod per dimidium annum ante sanctam Margaretham intravi monasterium».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE¹¹⁸

XIX

Domina Cecilia, que fuit filia quondam Moysis de Vesprimio,¹¹⁹ soror et monialis istius monasterii, iuravit, ut supra.

¹¹⁸ August 4.

¹¹⁹ Mojs (Moses) was Palatine of King Stephen V (1270–1272). On him, see Mór Wertner, “II. Moys nádor és családja” [Palatine Mojs II and his family], *Századok* 25 (1981): 392–405; cf. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 20. He had two daughters, Cecilia and Judith, in the convent on the Island in the Danube. Before his

When asked how she knew that the aforesaid body remained before the altar in the church for twelve days, as she said, she replied, "Because throughout those days the other sisters and I stayed around the body of this saint Margaret, except when we were saying our offices, and when we were at table or gone to bed."

When asked how she knew that no bad smell came from the said body, but a good odor, she replied, "We smelled the good smell, and no bad smell." She also said that Brother Michael, provincial at the time, personally asked every sister in the confessional if they had put any sweet-smelling agent on the body, and everyone answered, "No."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because he asked me in the confessional about the aforesaid matters, and made me take an oath, and he did the same with the other sisters, as I heard from them."

When asked if she had anything else she wanted to say, she replied, "I have said what I remember, and I couldn't possibly tell all her goodness."

When asked how many years ago this virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Seven years, I have heard." When asked how old she was, she replied "I don't remember."

When asked how many years she had been in the monastery, she replied, "I don't know, but I do know that I entered the monastery half a year before saint Margaret."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY¹¹⁸

19

Lady Cecilia, daughter of the late Mojs of Veszprém,¹¹⁹ a sister and nun of this monastery, took the oath, as above.

death in 1279, he enriched the convent with large donations—the relevant charter is edited in *MRI*, vol. I, 157.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione istius Margarethe virginis, dixit sub iuramento, quod ista sancta Margaretha fuit humilis domina et devota erga Deum, et sororibus istius monasterii obediens et humilis fuit, et fuit domina de sanctitate magna, et semper antequam iret ad prandium ibat sancta Margaretha ante crucifixum, quod est in domo capituli, et ibi plangebat et stabat in orationibus.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Semper videbam eam sic facientem». Item dixit, quod quando priorissa aliquid precipiebat sororibus per obedientiam, ipsa erat prima, que illud facere volebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam oculis meis». Item dixit: «Vidi oculis meis, quod ista domina Margaretha manibus suis trahebat aquam de puteo ad faciendum balneum infirmis, et portabat illam aquam ad coquinam, et balneabat ipsas infirmas, et radebat eis capita, et alia servitia faciebat eis multum libenter, que facere poterat». Item dixit: «Vidi, quod per septimanam suam faciebat coquinam, lavabat scutellas et ollas, et spazabat^a domum et alia, que erant necessaria ad coquinam, et aliis temporibus quando poterat faciebat simile». Item dixit: «Istud vidi ab ea, quod intravit hortum et metas spazabat^b ibi, et mundabat hortum». Item dixit: «Vidi, quod purgabat necessaria». Item dixit: «Vidi, quod faciebat sibi legi et exponi passiones sanctorum et dicebat: ,Deus vellet, quod esset tempus martyrii, quia libenter sustinerem passionem pro nomine Jesu Christi'».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et audiui hoc».

Interrogata, que erant presentes, quando sic dicebat, respondit: «Elisabeth, filia Olimpiadis».

Interrogata, a quibus faciebat sibi legi et exponi dictas passiones, respondit: «Fratrem Desiderium».

^a spazare *ital.*

^b sapabat *ms.*

When asked about the life and behavior of the virgin Margaret, she said under oath that this saint Margaret was a humble lady, devoted to God, obedient and humble to the sisters of this monastery, and a lady of great sanctity, and always before she went to the midday meal, saint Margaret would go before the crucifix in the chapter house and stay there weeping and praying.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I always used to see her doing this." She also said that when the prioress told the sisters to do something as an act of obedience, she was the first to want to do it.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it with my own eyes." She also said, "I have seen with my own eyes this Lady Margaret drawing water from the well with her own hands to make a bath for those who were sick, and carrying that water to the kitchen and bathing the sick, and shaving their heads and doing other services for them very cheerfully, insofar as she was able." She also said, "I have seen her washing plates and pots and cooking, when it was her week, and sweeping the house and doing kitchen duties and other tasks of this kind at other times when she could."

She also said, "I have seen her entering the garden and sweeping the paths there, and weeding the garden." She also said, "I have seen her cleaning the latrines." She also said, "I have seen her having the passions of the saints read and expounded to her, and she used to say 'Would God it were the time of martyrdom, because I would gladly suffer in the name of Jesus Christ.'"

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw and heard it."

When asked who were present when she spoke in this way, she replied, "Elizabeth, the daughter of Olimpiades."

When asked by whom she had the said passions read and commented upon, she replied, "Brother Desiderius."

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod faciebat sibi legi et exponi passiones sanctorum, ut dixit, respondit: «Semper in festivitatibus martyrum». Item dixit: «Quadam die quedam soror¹²⁰ istius monasterii infirmabatur ad mortem, et iam uncta erat et steterat per quinque dies quod non poterat loqui, et tunc dixit soror Olimpiades: ‚Lavemus capillos sancte Margarethe, et de illa lavatura ponamus in bucca^a ipsi infirmę, et sic laverunt capillos illos, et de lavatura posuerunt sibi in bucca, et statim loquuta fuit, et meliorata et adhuc vivit».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et presens fui».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Modo tertius annus».

Interrogata de presentibus, respondit: «Predicta soror Olimpiades et soror Sabina, soror Elisabeth, filia Olimpiadis et multe alie, de quibus non recordor, quia semper expectavimus quando moreretur».

Interrogata, de quo fuerunt loti dicti capilli, respondit: «Nescio, sed credo quod de aqua».

Interrogata, si aliqua verba dicta fuerunt, quando imposuerunt dictam lavaturam in buccam illius infirme, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogata, que fuerunt illa verba, respondit: «Dictum fuit: ‚In nomine patris et filii et spiritus sancti, et propter merita sancte Margarethe loquaris’».

Interrogata, que fuit illa, que dixit predicta verba, respondit: «Fuit soror Olimpiades».

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, quod soror Olimpiades dixit predicta verba, et (quod) posuerunt lavaturam in ore ipsius infirme, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi et presens fui, et alie sorores erant presentes, de quibus ego dixi».

Interrogata, quod est nomen illius infirme, que sanata fuit, respondit: «Soror Lucia».

^a bucca *ital.*

When asked how many years she had the passions of the saints read and expounded to her, as she said, she replied, "Always at the feasts of the martyrs." She also said, "One day a certain sister¹²⁰ of this monastery was sick and dying; she was already given unction and had been unable to speak for five days, and then Sister Olimpiades said, 'Let us wash the hair of saint Margaret, and put the wash-water into her mouth,' and so they washed her hair, and put the wash-water in her mouth, and immediately she spoke and got better, and is still alive."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it, and I was present."

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "This is the third year now."

When asked about those present, she replied, "The aforesaid Sister Olimpiades, and Sister Sabina, Sister Elizabeth, daughter of Olimpiades, and many others, whom I don't recall, because we were constantly expecting her to die." When asked what the said hair was washed in, she said, "I don't know, but I think it was water."

When asked if there were any words spoken when they put the said wash-water into the sick woman's mouth, as she said, she replied, "Yes."

When asked what these words were, she replied, "What was said was, 'May you speak in the name of the Father and the Son and the Holy Spirit, and through the merits of saint Margaret.'"

When asked who said the aforesaid words, she replied, "It was Sister Olimpiades."

When asked how she knew that Sister Olimpiades said the aforesaid words, and that they placed the wash-water in the sick woman's mouth, as she said, she replied, "Because I saw and was present, and the other sisters I have told about were present."

When asked what the name of the sick woman was, who was cured, she replied, "Sister Lucy."

¹²⁰ Sister Lucy.

Interrogata, in quo loco tunc iacebat dicta infirma, respondit: «In infirmaria».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Nunc est tertius annus».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor, sed fuit in ascensione domini».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post nonam ante vespas».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Jam sunt septem anni».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Habeo adminus quinquaginta annos».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod est in religione, respondit: «Non habeo in mente, sed postquam recordor, semper fui in isto monasterio et de Vesprimio».

Interrogata, si est docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Frater Martinus prior monasterii sancti Michaelis et *Martinus Rubini* interpretes fuerunt modo predicto, in predictis, predictarum dominarum Agnetis, Judith et Cecilie.

DIE MERCURII QUINTA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM XX

Domina Lucia, filia quondam domini Ottonis de Vesprimio,¹²¹ soror et monialis istius monasterii de insula Danubii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Scio, quod ista domina sancta Margaretha fuit domina magne humilitatis et magne bonitatis, et sepe lavit mihi caput, quando eram parva puella».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi oculis meis». Item dixit: «Vidi, quod ista sancta Margaretha ibat per magnum lutum et per magnam pluviam quandoque, et por-

¹²¹ He is called Lord Ose by Olimpiades (14), cf. p. 302 n. 105 above.

When asked where that sick woman was lying, she replied, "In the infirmary."

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "It's now the third year."

When asked about the month, she replied, "I don't remember, but it was at the Ascension of our Lord."

When asked about the hour of the day, she replied, "After nones, before vespers."

When asked how many years the said virgin Margaret had been dead, she replied, "Seven years now."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I'm at least fifty."

When asked how many years she had been in the religious life, she replied, "I have no idea, but as long as I can remember I have always been in this monastery or at Veszprém."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

Father Martin, prior of the monastery of St. Michael, and Martin Rubini were the interpreters, in the manner previously described, of the aforesaid words of the ladies Agnes, Judith, and Cecilia.

ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 5

20

Lady Lucy, daughter of the late Lord Otto of Veszprém,¹²¹ sister and nun of this monastery of the Island in the Danube, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "I know that this lady, saint Margaret, was a lady of great humility and goodness, and she often washed my head when I was a little girl."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it with my own eyes." She also said, "I saw this saint Margaret sometimes going through deep mud and heavy rain, and carrying water for the sick in a big pot to the fire, and serving the

tabat aquam in olla magna ad ignem pro infirmis, et cum magna humilitate serviebat infirmis in infirmaria, faciendo lectos eis, et portabat eas ad necessaria, quando oportebat».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc». Item dixit, quod ipsa scopabat ecclesiam, infirmariam, coquinam et alias domos cum magna humilitate.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc». Item dixit: «Ego sepe fui cum ipsa, et vidi quod ipsa post completorium stabat in choro in orationibus, quousque claudebatur chorus; et quando claudebatur chorus, ibat ad labium^a claustrum, et frequenter tantum orabat ibi, quod ego me adormitabam, et quando postea ibat ad lectum suum, intrabat domum capituli, et ibi faciebat multas venias et orationes ante crucifixum, magnis cum lacrymis, et postea iuxta lectum suum stabat in orationibus usque ad cantum galli.» Item dixit, quod: «Quodam tempore fui infirma, quod ego non poteram loqui, nec me regere, et tunc sorores miserunt pro quodam fratre, qui mihi daret penitentiam, sed ego non potui sibi loqui pre magna infirmitate quam habebam, tunc fecerunt mihi dare corpus Christi et oleum, et tunc fecerunt me portari ad infirmariam, et cum iacerem ibi, nec dormire possem, ista sancta Margaretha apparuit mihi et dixit: ‚Soror surge, et comede aliquantulum‘, et ego tunc, quasi excitata, aperui oculos et sedi in lecto, et ita sedendo statim incepi sudare, et post(quam) sudarem melius fuit mihi, et eadem die liberata fui et surrexi».

Interrogata, quanto tempore duraverat sibi dicta infirmitas, respondit: «Per tres dies».

Interrogata, cuiusmodi infirmitas erat illa, respondit: «Nescio nominare infirmitatem illam, sed venit mihi subito».

Interrogata, per quot dies stetit, quod non potuit loqui, respondit: «Per unam noctem».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod habuit illam infirmitatem, respondit: «Tres anni sunt».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

^a recte lebiun

sick in the infirmary with great humility, making their beds for them, and carrying them to the latrines, when necessary.”

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “Because I saw it.” She also said that she swept the church, the infirmary, the kitchen, and the other rooms with great humility.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “Because I saw it.” She also said, “I was often with her and saw that after compline she would stay in the choir praying until it was closed; and when the choir was closed she would go to the outer wall of the cloister and often pray so long that I would go to sleep, and afterwards when she was on her way to bed she would go into the chapter house and there make many *veniae* and prayers in front of the crucifix with many tears, and afterwards stay praying beside her bed until cock-crow.” She also said, “One time I was ill; I couldn’t speak or control myself, and at that time the sisters sent for a certain brother to hear my confession, but I was unable to speak because of my serious illness, then they had the body of Christ administered to me, and the oil, and then had me carried to the infirmary, and when I was lying there unable to sleep, this saint Margaret appeared to me and said, ‘Get up, sister, and eat just a little,’ and then I opened my eyes, as if I had been wakened up, and sat on my bed, and as I sat there I started to sweat, and after I had sweated I felt better, and that same day I was cured and got up.”

When asked how long the said illness had lasted, she replied, “Three days.”

When asked what kind of illness it was, she replied, “I don’t know the name of the illness, but it came over me suddenly.”

When asked how many days she had been unable to speak, she replied, “For one night.”

When asked how many years ago she had this illness, she replied, “Three.”

When asked the month, she replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked the day on which she was cured, she replied, “One Monday in Lent.”

Interrogata de die, qua fuit liberata, respondit: «Quadam die Lune in quadragesima».

Interrogata, si aliquae sorores sciverunt de dicta infirmitate, quod esset infirma respondit: «Sic, totus conventus».

Interrogata, si scit, quod aliqua de sororibus fecit sibi aliquam medicinam,¹²² vel posuit sibi aliquid in ore, respondit: «Semel posuerunt mihi salivam in ore, et tunc peius fuit mihi, et nihil aliud».

Interrogata, quantum stetit sana, postquam liberata fuit, respondit: «Usque ad ascensionem domini invasit me quedam infirmitas acuta, ita quod per quinque dies non potui loqui, et tunc sorores fecerunt mihi dari corpus Christi, et fecerunt me ungi oleo sancto, et postea laverunt capillos istius sancte Margarethe et posuerunt in os meum lavaturam illam, et statim incepti loqui, et sorores vidi et cognovi que stabant circa me, et recepi mentem meam tunc».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod datum fuit sibi corpus Christi et uncta fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Tantum recordor, quod sensi, quando mihi oculos unxit, et sorores postea dixerunt mihi predicta».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod capilli dicte Margarethe loti fuerunt et lavatura posita fuit in ore suo, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia sorores postea dixerunt mihi».

Interrogata, quae fuerunt illae sorores, quas tunc cognovit et vidit, ut dixit, respondit: «Soror Cecilia, soror Olimpiades, istas bene habeo in mente, de aliis non recordor.»

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicte (sorores) laverunt dictos capillos, ut dixit, respondit: «In illa hora dixit mihi sensus, sed dicte sorores postea dixerunt mihi».

Interrogata, quo tunc loti fuerunt dicti capilli, respondit: «Tunc non habebam in mente, nec scivi, sed postea dicte sorores dixerunt mihi, quod fuit aqua».

Interrogata, si scit, quae fuit illa soror, quae posuit sibi lavaturam in ore, respondit: «In illa hora nihil cognovi, sed postea dicta soror Olimpiades dixerat mihi, quod ipsa fuerat».

When asked if any sisters knew about the said illness, she replied, "Yes, the whole convent did."

When asked if she knew that any of the sisters made any medicine for her,¹²² or put anything in her mouth, she replied, "Once they put spittle in my mouth, and I got worse, nothing else."

When asked how long she stayed healthy after her deliverance, she replied, "Some serious illness came over me just before the Ascension of our Lord, so that for five days I couldn't speak, and at that time the sisters had the body of Christ given to me, and had me anointed with the holy oil, and then they washed the hair of this saint Margaret and put the wash-water in my mouth, and at once I started to speak, and I saw and recognized the sisters who were standing around me, and I recovered my mind at that time."

When asked how she knew the body of Christ had been given to her and she had been anointed, as she said, she replied, "I only remember what I felt when he [the prior] anointed my eyes. The sisters told me the aforesaid things later."

When asked how she knew that the said Margaret's hair was washed and the wash-water was placed in her mouth, as she said, she replied, "Because the sisters told me afterwards."

When asked who those sisters were, whom she saw and recognized on that occasion, as she said, she replied, "Sister Cecilia, Sister Olimpiades, I remember them well; but I don't recall the others."

When asked how she knew that the said sisters washed the said hair, as she said, she replied, "I was hardly aware at the time, but later the sisters told me."

When asked what the said hair was washed in, she replied, "At the time my mind was blank, and I didn't know, but later the said sisters told me it was water."

When asked if she knew which sister put the wash-water in her mouth, she replied, "At that time I was aware of nothing, but afterwards the said Sister Olimpiades told me that she was the one."

¹²² To this question everybody answers no, it is only Lucy who mentions the spittle.

Interrogata, si aliqua verba tunc dicta fuerunt, quando dictam lavaturam posuit in ore eius, quod ipsa sciat, respondit: «Nescio, quia non habebam mentem tunc».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod fuit infirma et liberata, ut dixit, respondit: «Tres anni sunt».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de die, in quo liberata fuit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Inter nonam et vesperras».

Interrogata, in quo loco tunc iacebat, quando liberata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «In infirmaria».

Interrogata, si postea habuit infirmitatem illam, vel similem, respondit: «Non». Item dixit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha, quadam die in secreto respiciebat sibi genua sua, que videbantur esse dura et scissa, sicut scortia ligni «et credo, quod habebat propter multas venias, quas faciebat, et quando vidit, quod ego videam eam, dixit mihi: „Multum dolent mihi genua ista, sed nemini dicas”, et usque nunc nemini dixi».

Interrogata, si vult (aliud) dicere, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Viginti septem».

Interrogata, per quot annos stetit in monasterio, respondit: «Per viginti annos».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem anni sunt».

Interrogata, si est docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE JOVIS TERTIA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM.

Interrogata, si scit, quod soror Catharina, filia quondam Marci de Sumegio habuit aliquam infirmitatem post mortem istius virginis Margarethe, de qua sanata fuerit, respondit: «Habuit febrem, et dixit mihi post vesperras in illa hora, in qua dicebat habere febrem

When asked if to her knowledge any words had been spoken at the time, when she put the said wash-water in her mouth, she replied, "I don't know, because I was unconscious at the time."

When asked how many years ago she had been sick and was then delivered, as she said, she replied, "Three."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the day she was delivered, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "Between nones and vespers."

When asked where she had been lying at the time she was delivered, as she said, she replied, "In the infirmary."

When asked if she had suffered the same illness or anything like it after that, she replied, "No." She also said that one day the said virgin Margaret was looking in secret at her knees, which seemed calloused and cut, like wooden [...], "and, I believe, they were like that because of the many prayers for forgiveness she used to make, and when she saw that I was looking at her, she told me, 'My knees pain me greatly, but don't tell anyone,' and up to now I have told no one."

When asked if she wanted to say more, she answered, "No."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Twenty-seven."

When asked how many years she had been in the monastery, she replied, "Twenty."

When asked how many years it had been since the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Seven."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3

When questioned if she knew that Sister Catherine, daughter of the late Marcus of Somogy, suffered any illness, from which she was delivered, after the death of this virgin Margaret, she replied, "She had a fever, and she told me that after vespers in the very hour

illam, quod liberata erat; et dixit, quod hoc devenerat sibi, quia promiserat reddere testimonium de sanctitate istius sancte Margarethe».

Interrogata de presentibus, quando hoc sibi dixit, respondit: «Nulla presens erat».

Interrogata, in quo loco erat tunc, respondit: «In infirmaria, in qua ipsa iacebat».

Interrogata, cuiusmodi febris erat illa, respondit: «Quartana».

Interrogata, si scit, quanto tempore duraverat sibi dicta infirmitas, respondit: «A nativitate sancte Marie usque ad festum sancte Margarethe martyris, que fuit modo, et dimisit eam ipsa infirmitas».

Interrogata de mense, quo sibi dixit, quod sic erat sanata et liberata, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio nominare mensem».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Die Dominica octava hora dixit sibi».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE¹²³

XXI

Domina Catharina, filia domini Segne de Strigonio, soror et monialis istius monasterii de insula Danubii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis, dixit sub iuramento, quod in dicta virgine fuit tota bonitas et humilitas, et fuit domina bone vite et magne sanctitatis, et que multum stabat in orationibus «et ego hoc vidi, quia sepe associabam eam, sicut socia sua». Item dixit, quod «consuetudo istarum sororum est, quod in festo omnium sanctorum semper confitentur, et recipiunt corpus Christi, et cum dicta sancta Margaretha deberet confiteri et communicare in predicta die, memoravit quamdam sororem, que

¹²³ August 5.

she told me she had the fever she was delivered; and she said that this had happened because she had promised to give testimony about the sanctity of this saint Margaret.”

When asked about those present, when she told her this, she replied, “There was no one present.”

When asked where she was at the time, she replied, “In the infirmary, where she was lying.”

When asked what kind of fever it was, she replied, “A quartan.”

When asked if she knew how long the said illness of hers lasted, she replied, “From the Nativity of the Virgin Mary up to the feast of the martyr Saint Margaret which has just passed, and then the illness left her.”

When asked the month when she told her that she was delivered and cured in this way, as she said, she replied, “I can’t name the month.”

When asked about the day, she replied, “She told me on Sunday at the eighth hour.”

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, “No.”

ON THE SAME DAY¹²³

21

Lady Catherine, daughter of the Lord Segne of Esztergom, a sister and nun of this monastery on the Island in the Danube, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin, she said under oath that there was complete goodness and humility in the said virgin, and she was a lady of good life and great holiness, who remained at prayer a great deal, “and I saw this, because I often associated with her as her companion.” She also said, “The custom of these sisters always is to confess at the Feast of All Saints and to receive the body of Christ, and when the said saint Margaret was about to make her confession and take communion on the

sibi locuta non fuerat per tres dies, et dubitans dicta sancta Margaretha, ne in aliquo offendisset eam, prostravit se ad pedes illius, et videns hoc, quesivi: ‚Domina, quare fecisti sic?‘ et ipsa respondit: ‚Petii veniam ab ea, si in aliquo offendissem eam, antequam velim confiteri et communicare‘ ».

Item dixit, quod tamdiu stabat in orationibus apud lectum suum, donec alie sorores dormiebant, «et quando excitabam, aliquando vidi eam sic stantem et orantem; et videbam, quod aliquando ibat plane per dormitorium ad auscultandum, si aliqua de sororibus lamentaretur, et tunc quando audiebat eas, ibat ad eas, et querebat, si aliquid volebant, et si petebant bibere vel aliquid aliud, statim ibat ad canovam vel ad coquinam, et portabat eis, quidquid petebant, et faciebat eis hoc multum plane, ne alie sorores excitarentur». Item dixit, quod in isto monasterio, cui pater et mater ipsius magna bona et multa donaverant, nolebat ipsa sancta Margaretha plus recipere, vel habere quam alie de sororibus, neque in vestibus, neque in cibariis, nec in aliis, imo multo minus, quam alie.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi hoc». Item dixit, quod malas vestes laceratas et petiatis portabat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia videbam hoc, et ego aliquando appetiavi sibi dictas vestes». Item dixit, quod pro servitio infirmarum non separabat se, «et vidi, quod quadam die, cum ego ivissem cum ea ad accipiendas carnes pro infirmis, et non possemus ita cito invenire, in quo possemus portare ipsas carnes, statim detraxit sibi scapularium suum, et posuit eum in terra, et involvit carnes in ipso scapulario, et portavit ad coquinam». Et dixit, quod: «Quando ego cum dicta sancta Margaretha intravi coquinam cum predictis carnibus, scapularium meum inunctum erat et deturpatum propter illas carnes, quas ego portaveram, et suum scapularium nullum malum habebat, et cepi multum contristari et irasci, quasi circa ipsam sanctam Margaretham, et illa cepit ridere et dixit mihi: ‚Quare es irata? ego scio bene, quid cogitas‘, et totum illud, quod cogitabam, dixit mihi». Item dixit: «Vidi, propter multa servitia, que faciebat, habebat manus suas in hyeme multum ruptas et crepatas; et quando audiebat predicationes,

aforesaid day, she recalled a certain sister, who had not spoken to her for three days, and the said saint Margaret, wondering if she had offended her in any way, prostrated herself at her feet; and seeing this, I asked her, 'Lady, why have you done this?' and Margaret answered, 'I wanted to seek pardon of her, in case I have offended her in any way, before making my confession and taking communion.'

She also said that she used to remain praying at her bed while the other sisters were sleeping, "and when I awoke I sometimes saw her standing like this and praying; and I saw that at times she would go quietly through the dormitory to listen if any of the sisters was lamenting, and then, if she heard them, she would go to them and ask if they needed anything or were wanting a drink or something else, and she would go at once to the store-room or the kitchen and bring them whatever they wanted, and she did this for them very quietly, so as not to wake the other sisters." She also said that in this monastery, to which her mother and father had given many fine gifts, saint Margaret did not wish to be given more nor have more clothing or food or other things than the other sisters, indeed, she wanted much less than the others.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it." She also said that she wore old, ragged and patched clothes.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it and sometimes I patched the said garments for her." She also said that she didn't set herself apart when it came to serving the sick, "and I saw that one day when I had gone with her to get meat for the sick, and we could not quickly find something to carry it in, she immediately took the scapular from her back and put it on the ground, and wrapped the meat in the scapular and carried it to the kitchen." And she said, "When I entered the kitchen with the said saint Margaret, carrying the meat, my scapular was stained and dirty from the meat I had carried, but her scapular had suffered no damage, and I began to be very upset and angry, as if annoyed at saint Margaret herself, but she began to laugh, and said to me, 'Why are you angry? I know well what you're thinking,' and she told me everything I was thinking." She also said, "I saw, because of the many services she did, that her hands were very cut and chapped in winter; and when she

que fiunt sororibus, ego aliquando sedebam iuxta eam, et videbam, quod ipsa tunc multum plangebat».

Interrogata, si vult aliquid aliud dicere, respondit: «Que scivi, dixi».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, per quot annos fuit in religione, respondit: «Nunc sunt viginti quinque anni, quod ego sum in isto monasterio, et in quodam monasterio de Alba¹²⁴ steti per tres annos».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE¹²⁵

XXII

Domina Alexandria, filia domini Alexandri de genere *Taar*,¹²⁶ soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Ista sancta Margaretha fuit honeste conversationis et bone humilitatis domina et obediens priorisse et sororibus, et erat multum devota erga Deum, et plus stabat in orationibus, quam alie sorores».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi hoc oculis meis».

Item dixit, quod si aliqua de sororibus, vel servitilibus faciebat sibi aliquam offensionem, sustinebat humiliter pro Deo, et

¹²⁴ This is the earliest mention of the nunnery in Székesfehérvár, before its mention in a charter from 1280 (*Hazai okmánytár*, vol. VI, 258).

¹²⁵ August 5.

¹²⁶ The Csák kindred was one of the most powerful kindreds in thirteenth- and fourteenth-century Hungary. On their different branches, see Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek*, vol. I, 291–343 [313–65]. On their most prominent member, Mathew II, see n. 132 below. The family was closely associated with the Dominicans. Two of its members, Maurice and Charles, lived in the Dominican convent in Győr (on this convent, cf. *Legenda vetus*, 81 n. 58). The former was venerated as blessed in the later

heard the sermons that are preached to the sisters, I sometimes sat next to her, and I saw that on those occasions she wept a great deal.”

When asked if she wanted to say more, she replied, “I have told you what I know.”

When asked how old she was, she replied, “I don’t know.”

When asked how many years she had been in the religious life, she replied, “It’s now twenty-five years since I’ve been in this monastery, and I was three years in a certain monastery of Székesfehérvár.”¹²⁴

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, “No.”

ON THE SAME DAY¹²⁵

22

Lady Alexandra, daughter of Lord Alexander of the Taar [Csák] kindred,¹²⁶ a sister and nun of the same monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she said under oath, “This holy virgin Margaret was of upright behavior and a lady of humility and goodness, obedient to the prioress and the sisters, and very devoted to God, and she prayed more than the other sisters.”

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “I saw it with my own eyes.”

She also said that if any of the sisters or servants did her any offence, she took it humbly for the love of God, and she humbled

Middle Ages, cf. his legend in AASS, Martii III, Antverpiae, 1668, coll. 251–54; Edit Madas, “Boldog Csáki Móric” [Blessed Maurice of Csák], in *A Domonkos Rend Magyarországon* [The Dominican Order in Hungary], ed. by Pál Attila Illés and Balázs Zágórhidi Czigány (Piliscsaba–Budapest–Vasvár: PPKE BTK–METEM–DRGY, 2007), 26–30. As for the father of Alexandra, who entered the Veszprém nunnery in 1250, there is no information in historical records, but he might have belonged to the branch of Dudar, where the name Alexander occurs several times in the fourteenth century—cf. Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek*, vol. I, 304–305 [326–27].

humiliabat se eis, et ibat ad eas, et satisfaciebat eis de ipsis offensis, licet fuit offensa.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc oculis meis». Item dixit, quod ipsa sancta Margaretha in secreto post completorium orabat usque ad galli cantum, et postea dormiebat usque ad matutinum, (vel) dormiebat usque ad auroram, et ab aurora usque ad horam misse stabat in orationibus suis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia videbam, et sepe dixit mihi, quod excitarem eam, si non sentiebat horam».

Item dixit, quod ab aurora usque ad horam prandii non loquebatur alicui, sed semper orabat, vel erat in officiis, et quando sorores ibant ad comedendum, ipsa se ponebat ante crucifixum, et ibi orabat cum magna devotione, donec alie sorores intrabant refectoryum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod ista sancta Margaretha, postquam habuit undecim annos, incepit se multum verberare, et portare cilicium.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Multoties dedi sibi virgam cum spinis et cilicium». Item dixit, quod: «Ipsa sancta Margaretha quodam tempore dedit mihi septem ritios vivos ad custodiendum, sed nesciebam, quare hoc faceret, sed postea sci vi, quod de pellibus ipsorum faciebat scoriatas ad battendum se, et scoriatas postea vidi».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod faciebat illas scoriatas ad battendum se, respondit: «Quia vidi et habui illas scoriatas in manu mea».

Interrogata, si alique alie erant presentes, quando videbat predicta, respondit: «Sic, soror Sabina, que battebat eam». Item dixit, quod ipsa libenter serviebat infirmis, et in collo suo in capistratio portabat carnes ad coquinam, et coquebat illas, et dabat infirmis, et omnia alia servitia, que poterat, faciebat eis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc». Item dixit, quodam tempore Danubius crevit in tantum, quod dubitabant sorores, quod nocte illa deberet intrare coquinam, et ipsa sancta Margaretha stetit per totam illam noctem in

herself before them and gave them satisfaction for these offences, even though she were the offended party.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it with my own eyes."

She also said that this saint Margaret used to pray in secret after compline until cock-crow, and then she would sleep until matins, or right up until dawn, and from dawn until it was time for mass she prayed continuously.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it, and she often asked me to wake her, if she didn't hear the hour."

She also said that from dawn until the lunch hour she said nothing to anyone, but was always praying or engaged in her offices, and when the sisters went in to eat, she placed herself before a crucifix and prayed there with great devotion while the other sisters entered the refectory.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that this saint Margaret after the age of eleven began beating herself severely and wearing a hair-shirt.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Many a time I gave her the hair-shirt and a stick with thorns." She also said, "One time this saint Margaret gave me seven live hedgehogs to look after, and I didn't know why she did so, but later I learned that she used to make scourges out of their skins to beat herself with, and I later saw the scourges."

When asked how she knew that she made those scourges to beat herself, she replied, "Because I saw it and I have had those scourges in my hand."

When asked if there were any others present when she saw the aforesaid, she replied, "Yes, Sister Sabina, who used to whip her." She also said that she cheerfully served the sick, and she carried meat to the kitchen in a basket on her back, and cooked the meat and gave it to the sick, and did every service for them that she could.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that one time the Danube rose so high that the sisters were concerned that the water would go that night

coquina, et paravit omnia, que erant necessaria infirmis, et per diem sequentem.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Bene scio, quia secum fui». Item dixit, quod aqua Danubii in tantum crevit, quod nocte illa intravit in domum, in qua est infirmary et in curtem servitium, et postea aqua rediit ad locum suum, et frater Marcellus, qui tunc erat provincialis, forte per octo dies postea venit ad istud monasterium, et visitavit sorores, et tunc ista sancta Margaretha dixit sibi, qualiter aqua Danubii creverat, et intraverat curtem servitium et domum de furno,^a et tunc frater Marcellus dixit: ,Quomodo posset hoc esse, non possum credere', et tunc ista sancta Margaretha dixit: ,Domine Deus, fac, quod aqua crescat, et veniat huc, et monstra, quod hoc quod dixi fratri Marcello, fuit verum', et tunc incontinenti aqua Danubii crevit et incepit venire cum magno sonitu et intravit claustrum sororum et crevit usque ad ligna, que vadunt circa claustrum.

Interrogata, in quo loco erant tunc dictus frater Marcellus et sorores, respondit: «In lebio, quod est post loquutorium».

Interrogata, si ibi sunt aliquae arbores, respondit: «Sic, arbores parve et herba, quasi viridarii».

Interrogata, que erant presentes, respondit : «Domina Margaretha, filia domine Anne ac Margaretha, filia Gulielmi, et multe alie, de quarum nominibus non recordor».

Interrogata, si aliquis frater erat cum dicto fratre Marcello, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Per tres annos ante mortem suam».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem anni sunt».

Interrogata, de quo mense fuerunt predicta, respondit: «Inter epiphaniam et carnis biduum».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post nonam ante vespas».

^a forno *ital.*

into the kitchen, but saint Margaret herself stayed all that night in the kitchen preparing everything that the sick needed and she did the same next day.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I know it well, because I was with her."

She also said that the water of the Danube rose so high that night that it entered the building where the infirmary is and came into the servants' courtyard, and later the water returned to its usual level, and Brother Marcellus, who was provincial at that time, happened to come eight days later to this monastery and visited the sisters, and at that time this saint Margaret told him how the water of the Danube had risen and entered the servants' courtyard and the bakehouse, and then Brother Marcellus said, "How could that happen? I don't believe it." This saint Margaret then said, "Lord God, make the water rise and come here and show that what I told Brother Marcellus was the truth," and then immediately the water of the Danube rose and began coming with a great sound, and it entered the sisters' cloister and rose as high as the railing that goes around the cloister.

When asked where the said Brother Marcellus and the sisters were, she replied, "In the cloistered yard, which is behind the parlor."

When asked if there were any trees there, she replied, "Yes, small trees and plants, as in a herb-garden."

When asked who were present, she replied, "Lady Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, and Margaret, daughter of William, and many others, whose names I don't remember."

When asked if there were any brothers with the said Brother Marcellus, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "Three years before her death."

When asked how many years it was since the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Seven."

When asked what month the aforesaid happened, she replied, "Between Epiphany and Fat Tuesday."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't recall."

Interrogata, si aliquid aliud vult dicere, respondit, quod: «Fuit ita humilis et ita sancta domina, quod non possem totum dicere et de miraculis nihil aliud dico, quia totum id quod erat in ea miraculum fuit».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Quinquaginta minus uno».

Interrogata, per quot annos fuit in religione, respondit: «Per viginti sex annos fui in isto monasterio et Vesprimiensi».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE¹²⁷

XXIII

Domina Agnes, filia quondam domini Gregorii de Simigio,¹²⁸ soror et monialis dicti monasterii, iuravit ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, respondit sub iuramento, quod dicta sancta Margaretha fuit de bona vita et sancta et de bona conversatione, et multum fuit humilis sororibus et pauperibus et multum obediens priorisse, et fuit domina de magnis orationibus».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod fuit de magnis penitentiis in *acomentamento*^a pueritiae sue, quia ipsa colligebat rotandas, que *tajabantur*^b de vestibus et insimul agpropabat eas, et de illis cingebat se ad carnem subtus vestes.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Scio, quia quando infirmabatur, dabat mihi ad gubernandum predictos cingulos, et quando erat sana, restituebam sibi, et hoc faciebat in pueritia sua». Item dixit: «Ego iuvi eam facere *scophonos*, in quibus

^a a comenzamento *ital.*

^b tagliare *ital.*

¹²⁷ August 5.

When asked the time of day, she replied, "After nones before vespers."

When asked if she wanted to say anything else, she replied, "She was such a humble and holy lady that I couldn't tell it all, and I say no more about her miracles, because everything about her was a miracle."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Forty-nine."

When asked how long she had been in the religious life, she replied, "I have been twenty-six years in this monastery and in the one in Veszprém."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to give this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY¹²⁷

23

Lady Agnes, daughter of the late Lord Gregory of Somogy,¹²⁸ a sister and nun of the said monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she replied under oath that the said saint Margaret was of good and holy life, and of good conduct, and was very humble to the sisters and the poor and very obedient to the prioress, and was a very prayerful lady.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that she did many penances from the beginning of her childhood, because she used to collect pieces, which were cut from various clothes and she tied them together, and girded herself next to the flesh with this belt under her clothes.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I know, because when she was ill she used to give me the aforesaid girdles to look after, and when she got well, I gave them

¹²⁸ He might be identical with Gregory, son of Mark from the Pécs kindred, who was *comes* of Somogy county in 1275 and 1276. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 194.

apponebat per quosdam clavellos parvos de ferro acutos, et ego querebam ab ea: ‚Domina, quando portabitis istos scopphonos, dicatis mihi, quod ego sciam’, et ipsa mihi dicere nolebat, sed tamen cum capite faciebat mihi aliquod signum».

Interrogata, si scit, quod portaret in pedibus dictos scopphonos, respondit: «Ita secrete faciebat, quod nullus sciebat, sed postquam mortua est, invenimus, quod portaverat illos scopphonos». Item dixit, quod dicta sancta Margaretha habuit quodam tempore per quadraginta dies infirmitatem, et timens, ne priorissa, si scivisset hoc, misisset eam ad infirmariam, noluit dicere, et sic stetit per illos dies in refectorio, quasi non esset infirma.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod fuerit infirma, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia ipsa dixit mihi, et dixit, quod nulli alii de sororibus dixerat».¹²⁹

Interrogata, cuiusmodi infirmitas fuit illa, respondit: «Fluxus ventri». Item dixit, quod domum, dormitorium, et subtus lectum sororum ita mundabat et scopabat, quasi esset vilis persona.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia eram cum ea et videbam».

Interrogata super miraculis dixit: «In festo sancti Joannis fuit unus annus, quod ego habebam ita inflatam faciem, quod inflatura cooperiebat dextrum oculum meum, ita quod non poteram videre cum illo, et tunc crines dicte sancte Margarethe, quos habeo penes me cum aliis reliquiis, posui super faciem meam, fricando locum, ubi habebam maius malum, et hoc fuit in hora tertie, et antequam irem ad prandium, tota fui sanata et liberata».

Interrogata, quanto tempore habuit dictam inflaturam, respondit: «A festo sancti Joannis baptiste usque ad festum sancti Petri tunc sequentis».

Interrogata, si alique de sororibus sciebant, quod haberet sic dictam inflaturam, respondit: «Sic, soror Catharina de Sumigio».

Interrogata, si alique alie sciverunt hoc, respondit: «Sic, totus conventus».

¹²⁹ Beside Agnes only Margaret’s niece, princess Anne mentions in testimony 4 that Margaret had been ill in the last four years of her life.

back to her, and she did this in childhood." She also said, "I have helped her to make slippers, in which she used to put certain sharp little iron nails, and I would ask her, 'Lady, when you wear those slippers, tell me so that I might know,' and she refused to say anything to me, but she did make some kind of signal with her head."

When asked how she knew that she wore the said slippers on her feet, she replied, "She did it so secretly that no one knew, but after she died we discovered that she had been wearing those slippers. She also said that saint Margaret was once sick for forty days, and fearing that the prioress would send her to the infirmary, if she found out, refused to say anything and throughout these days she took her place in the refectory, as if she were not ill."

When asked how she knew she was ill, as she said, she replied, "Because she told me herself, and she said she hadn't told any of the sisters."¹²⁹

When asked what kind of illness it was, she replied, "It was diarrhea." She also said that she used to clean and sweep the house and the dormitory, and under the sisters' beds, as though she were a person of low station.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I was with her and I saw it."

When asked about miracles, she said, "At the Feast of St. John one year I had such a swollen face that the swelling covered my right eye, so that I couldn't see out of it, and then I put locks of saint Margaret's hair, which I have in my possession along with other relics, over my face, rubbing the place where I had the worst pain. This was at the third hour, and before I went into the midday meal, I was completely cured and delivered."

When asked how long she had had the said swelling, she replied, "From the feast of St. John the Baptist up to the feast of St. Peter following."

When asked if any of the sisters knew that she had the said swelling, she replied, "Yes, Sister Catherine of Somogy."

When asked if any others knew this, she replied, "Yes, the whole convent."

Interrogata, si (sciverunt) aliquae de sororibus, quando apposuit dictos capillos super faciem suam, ut dixit, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si aliqua verba dixit tunc, quando posuit dictos capillos super faciem suam, ut dixit, respondit: «Dixi: ,O sancta Margaretha, multis aliis fecisti gratiam, fac et mihi, ne pereat oculus meus' ».

Interrogata, qua die apposuit dictos capillos super faciem suam, ut dixit, et verba predicta dixit et liberata fuit, respondit: «In festo sancti Petri, sed nescio, in qua die fuit tunc dictum festum».

Interrogata, in quo loco erat tunc, respondit: «Juxta lectum meum». Item dixit: «Quadam die vidi per fenestram chori quemdam iuvenem intrantem ecclesiam, qui habebat curvum brachium, super illud sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et posuit brachium super illud sepulcrum^a, et incontinenti sanatus fuit».

Interrogata, si antea viderat dictum iuvenem, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si scit, quo nomine vocaretur, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si cognoscebat patrem, vel matrem dicti iuvenis, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si scit, unde fuit oriundus predictus iuvenis, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod sanatus fuit, sicut dixit, respondit: «Quia postea vidi eum extendentem brachium».

Interrogata, si aliquae alie erant tunc presentes, quando hoc vidit, respondit: «Sic, soror Elisabeth, filia quondam domini regis Stephani».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Tres anni sunt».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non habeo in mente».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit, quod fuit post missam ante prandium. Item dixit, quod soror Cecilia, die Dominica pro-

^a posuit sepulcrum super illud brachium *ms.*

When asked if any of the sisters knew about it, when she applied the said hair over her face, as she said, she answered, "No."

When asked if she spoke any words when she put the said hair over her face, as she said, she replied, "I said, 'O Saint Margaret, you have given grace to many others, give it to me, too, lest my eye perish.'"

When asked on what day she applied the said hair to her face, as she said, and spoke the aforesaid words and was delivered, she replied, "At the feast of Saint Peter, but I don't know the day that fell upon."

When asked where she was at the time, she answered, "Beside my bed." She also said, "One day I saw through the window of the choir a young man with a crooked arm coming through the church towards the tomb of this saint Margaret, and he put his arm upon the tomb and was instantly cured."

When asked if she had seen the said young man before, she replied, "No."

When asked if she knew his name, she replied, "No."

When asked if she had known the father and mother of the said young man, she replied, "No."

When asked if she knew where the aforesaid young man came from, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how she knew he was cured, as she said, she replied, "Because I saw him stretching his arm afterwards."

When asked if there were any others present when she saw this, she replied, "Yes, Sister Elizabeth, daughter of the late lord King Stephen."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she said, "Three."

When asked the month, she said, "I don't remember."

When asked the day, she replied, "I have no idea."

When asked the hour of the day, she answered that it was after mass before the midday meal. She also said that Sister Cecilia, eight days later, on Sunday, suddenly began to have such a pain in her heart that she seemed to be dying, and then she had herself carried to the chapter house, made her confession to Brother Andrew,

xime preterita fuerunt octo dies, subito habuit ita magnum dolorem ad cor, quod ipsa videbatur mori, et tunc fecit se portari ad domum capituli, et confessa fuit ibi fratri Andree, et tunc oravit istam sanctam Margaretham, quod non permetteret eam mori subitanea morte, et statim sanata est.

Interrogata, si aliquae erant presentes, quando habebat dictum dolorem, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic, soror Sabina».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod haberet tantum dolorem, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia videbatur mihi, quod ipsa vellet mori».

Interrogata, per quas sorores portata fuit dicta soror ad domum dicti capituli, ut dixit, respondit: «Per sorores Sabinam et Aglent».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dictae sorores portaverunt dictam Ceciliam ad domum dicti capituli, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi eas, et ego portavi tunc lectum ipsius».

Interrogata, quomodo portabant eam, respondit: «Non portabant eam, sed ibat cum pedibus suis, et una ibat ex una parte et alia ex altera, et sic ducebant eam».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta Cecilia oravit dictam sanctam Margaretham, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia audivi».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod statim liberata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic, predictae sorores Sabina et Aglent mihi dixerunt».

Interrogata, si vult plus dicere, respondit: «Non dico plus, sed scio, quod timens Deum fuit».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Triginta septem».

Interrogata, per quot annos fuit in religione, respondit: «Nunc sum in vigesimo quinto anno».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem anni».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Frazer Martinus, prior ecclesie sancti Michaelis et Martinus Rubini interpretes fuerunt modo predicto in dictis predictis.

and then prayed to saint Margaret not to allow her to die a sudden death, and she was cured on the spot.

When asked if there were any present when she had the said pain, as she said, she replied, "Yes, Sister Sabina."

When asked how she knew that she had such a severe pain, as she said, she replied, "Because it seemed to me that she was going to die."

When asked by which of the sisters the said sister had been carried to the chapter house, as she said, she replied, "By Sisters Sabina and Aglent."

When asked how she knew that the said sisters carried the said Cecilia to the said chapter house, as she said, she replied, "Because I saw them, and I carried her bed at that time."

When asked how they carried her, she replied, "They didn't actually carry her, but she went on her own two feet, and one went on one side of her and one on the other, and they led her in this way."

When asked how she knew that the said Cecilia prayed to saint Margaret, as she said, she replied, "Because I heard her."

When asked how she knew that she had been immediately delivered, as she said, she replied, "The aforesaid Sisters Sabina and Aglent told me."

When asked if she had anything more to say, she replied, "I'm saying no more, but I do know that she feared God."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Thirty-seven."

When asked how long she had been in the religious life, she replied: "I am now in my twenty-fifth year."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Seven."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

Brother Martin, prior of the Church of St. Michael, and Martin Rubini were the interpreters in the manner aforesaid in the foregoing depositions.

DIE JOVIS SEXTA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM.

XXIV

Domina Benedicta, filia quondam Domini Stephani de genere Canaco¹³⁰ soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii iuravit ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predicta virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Hoc vidi in ista sancta domina Margaretha, quod quando priorissa precipiebat aliquid sororibus per obedientiam, ista sancta Margaretha festinavit ante esse, et faciebat omnia, que precipiebat priorissa, quasi esset filia pauperis hominis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi et presens fui».

Item dixit, quod ipsa panem portabat assiduo cum pauperibus super collo suo usque ad infirmariam, ubi loquebatur quasi esset una servitialis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc». Item dixit, quod «libenter serviebat infirmis, et quadam vice assabat carnes pro infirmis, et ego dixi sibi: ‚Domina fac me rostire carnes istas, quia non decet, quod vos faciatis hoc’, et ipsa tunc respondit mihi: ‚Tu haberes meritum de hoc a Deo, sed ego nolo perdere meritum meum’».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi oculis meis».

Item dixit: «Ista sancta Margaretha quadam die portabat unam ollam plenam de pollastris^a in scapolario suo, et cum per magnam nivem de coquina ad infirmariam iret, cecidit in nivem, et parum de brodio^b sparsum fuit super brachia sua, et postea portabam dictam ollam infirmis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi et presens fui».

Item dixit: «Ego et soror Sapientia de Vesprimio, que mortua est, iuimus facere dictam sanctam Margaretham duas vestes de cilicio, secreto in quadam camera, et posuimus pecias ad manicas a

^a pollastra *ital.*

^b brodo *ital.*

ON THURSDAY, AUGUST 6

24

Lady Benedicta, daughter of the late Lord Stephen of the Canac kindred,¹³⁰ a sister and nun of the same monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "I saw in this saint Margaret that when the prioress gave the sisters an order as an act of obedience, this saint Margaret hastened to be the first to obey, and she did everything the prioress ordered, as if she were the daughter of a poor man."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it and was present."

She also said that along with the poor she would always be carrying bread on her back up to the infirmary, where she spoke as if she were a servant.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that she gladly served the sick, and one time she was roasting meat for the sick, "and I said to her, 'Lady, let me roast this meat, because it's not fitting that you do this,' and on that occasion she said to me, 'You would have the merit for this from God, but I don't want to lose my merit.'"

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it with my own eyes."

She also said, "One day this saint Margaret was carrying a pot full of chicken broth in her scapular, and when she was going through deep snow from the kitchen to the infirmary, she fell into the snow and a small amount of the broth was spread over her arms, and after that I carried the said pot to the sick."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it and was present."

She also said, "Sister Sapientia of Veszprém, who is dead, and I helped the said saint Margaret to make two hair-shirts se-

¹³⁰ There is no record of such a family; there was a village called Csanak in Komárom county, cf. Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek*, vol. II, 241 [694].

cubito interius, ne cilicium possit apparere, et istud cilicium portabat in secreto».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod portaret predictum cilicium (ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi, quod) aliquando portabat illud». Item dixit: «Ista sancta Margaretha quadam die post completorium in sero duxit me in domum capituli, et dedit mihi disciplinam de virgis, et rogavit me, quod ego battirem eam fortiter et satis, et ego tunc tantum battivi eam, quod ego stanca^a fui». Item dixit: «Quadam die amarissime plorabat, et ego interrogavi eam, quare hoc faciebat, et ipsa respondit: ‚Dicitur, quod pater meus vult me maritare, sed non erit aliquis homo qui possit me trahere de isto clastro, et ante truncarem mihi nasum’».

Interrogata, si aliqui erant presentes tunc, respondit: «Omnes domine de clastro sciebant hoc». Item dixit, quod libenter serviebat infirmis, lavando eis capita et radendo, et hoc videbam.

Interrogata, si vult plus dicere, respondit: «Quod scivi melius dixi, et plura scirem, sed non possum dicere».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, per quot annos stetit in religione, respondit: «In isto monasterio per viginti annos, sed (quot annos) steti in Vesprimio, non recordor».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

^a stanca *ital.*

cretly in a room, and we put pieces on her inside sleeves from the elbow up, so that the hair-shirt could not show, and she wore that hair-shirt in secret.”

When asked how she knew that she wore the aforesaid hair-shirt, as she said, she replied, “Because I saw that she sometimes wore it.”

She also said, “This saint Margaret one evening after compline took me to the chapter house and administered discipline to me with switches, and asked me to give her a good strong beating, and then I beat her so hard that I was worn out.” She also said, “One day she was crying most bitterly, and when I asked her why she was doing this, she replied, ‘It’s being said that my father wants to give me in marriage, but no man will be able to drag me from this cloister, and I’d cut my nose off first.’”

When asked if there were any sisters present at the time, she replied, “All the ladies in the cloister knew it.” She also said that she gladly served the sick, washing and shaving their heads, “and I used to see this.”

When asked if she wanted to say more, she replied, “I have said what I knew quite well, and I know more I could say, but I can’t say it.”

When asked how old she was, she replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked how many years she had been in the religious life, she replied, “I have been in this monastery for twenty years, but I don’t remember how many years I was in the one at Veszprém.”

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, “No.”

DIE EADEM SEXTA JOVIS INTRANTE AUGUSTUM
XXV

Domina Margaretha,¹³¹ mater domini Matthei, ducis Transylvani,¹³² soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii de insula Danubii, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Vidi in ipsa sancta Margaretha maximam humilitatem et maximam obedientiam, et fuit simplex et obediens omnibus sororibus suis, et fuit bona domina et sancta». Item dixit, quod libenter serviebat infirmis parvis et magnis in faciendo coquinam, in magno frigore nudis pedibus lavabat scutellas, scopabat casam, et in aliis, in quibus poterat, serviebat eis cum magna humilitate. Item dixit, quod ivit ad lavandam lanam et filabat et non separabat personam suam ab aliquo servitio, quod facere poterat, ac si esset filia cuiusdam pauperis hominis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit: «Unus homo portabat quamdam puellam, que habebat octo annos ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et illa puella habebat tunc brachium contractum et gambam,^a et quando posita fuit iuxta sepulcrum, ea die qua ibi posita fuit, sanata fuit.

^a gamba *ital.*

¹³¹ She entered the monastery in 1255, after becoming a widow.

¹³² Matthew Csák was an eminent representative of a powerful branch of the Csák kindred—on which kindred see n.126 above—the branch of Trencsén (Trenčín, Slovakia), named after their central estates in the north of Hungary. It was the husband of Margaret, Mathew I, who established the economic and political power of the kindred, serving Béla IV from the very beginning when he was only “younger king,” and hostile to his father, Andrew II. He became member of the royal council and he was granted various court dignities in the 1230s. At the time of the attack of the Mongols he accompanied Béla IV to Dalmatia. He must have died between 1245 and 1249. However, if we rely upon the testimony of his wife, we should put his death to 1254, for she said that she had been widow for 22 years in 1276. Their son, Matthew II, together with his brother Peter, had analogous careers. They joined the “younger king,” Stephen V, and fought in the civil war on his side. Matthew II became voivode (*vajda*) of Transylvania in 1270 and he kept this post till 1275, besides many other dignities (cf. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 329). He was one of the appointed

ON THE SAME DAY, THURSDAY, AUGUST 6

25

Lady Margaret, mother¹³¹ of Lord Matthew, Duke of Transylvania,¹³² a sister and nun of the same monastery on the Island in the Danube, took the oath as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "I saw in saint Margaret the utmost humility and the greatest obedience, and she was simple and obedient to all her sisters, and she was a good and holy lady." She also said that she willingly served the sick, both highly ranked and lowly, in doing the cooking and washing dishes in her bare feet in freezing cold, sweeping the house, and in other ways serving them, so far as she was able, with great humility. She also said that she went to wash wool and spin, and did not avoid other service that she was able to perform, just as if she were the daughter of some poor man.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said, "One man brought a certain eight-year-old girl to this saint Margaret's tomb, and that girl had a lame and withered arm, and when she was placed next to the tomb, on that very day she was cured."

educators of King Ladislas IV. His brother Peter also held a number of important positions, among them that of palatine (cf. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 344). However, in 1273 violent hostilities broke out between two rival factions of the high nobility, one centering around the Csák kindred, the other around the Kőszegis, a powerful kindred with domains in the southwest of the country. In the battle of Föveny (1274), the Csák brothers defeated their rivals and recovered their offices, among them the post of voivode of Transylvania, which Matthew II still possessed at the time of the present testimonies. Later he became palatine (1278–1282), and died in 1283. It is worth mentioning that the most noteworthy personality who bore that name, Matthew III (son of his brother Peter), became for posterity the symbol of feudal particularism in Hungarian history, building up practically an independent country in the northeast of Hungary at the end of the thirteenth century. He was defeated by Charles I of Anjou in 1320 and died in 1321. Cf. Karácsonyi, *A magyar nemzet-ségek*, vol. I, 317–32 [339–54]; Gyula Kristó, *Csák Máté tartományúri hatalma* [The provincial lordship of Matthew Csák] (Budapest: Akadémiai Kiadó, 1973).

Interrogata de nomine, qui portavit dictam puellam, respondit: «Nescio, sed fuit serviens¹³³ domini Matthei de genere Taacs, patris dicte puelle.»

Interrogata de nomine puelle, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dictus homo fuerit serviens dicti domini Matthei, respondit: «Bene scio, bene cognovi eum».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta puella fuerit filia dicti domini Matthei, respondit: «Et una patris et matris illa (?); Mattheus est de parentela mea, quomodo non cognoscam eum et eius filiam?»

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta puella fuerit sic contracta, ut dixit, respondit: «Dominus Mattheus, pater suus portavit eam mihi ad fenestram, et dixit mihi, sicut debilis erat, et ego vidi eam sic contractam; et dixit mihi, quod ego rogarem sanctam Margaretham, ut sanaret ipsa filiam suam».

Interrogata, que erant presentes, quando vidit filiam suam sic contractam, ut dixit, respondit: «Soror Olimpiades».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta puella sanata fuerat illa die, in qua portata fuit ad dictum sepulcrum ut dixit, respondit: «Quia dicta puella venit pedibus suis eadem die ad me, et eam vidi bene sanatam et liberatam, et tunc recessit cum patre suo».

Interrogata, si vidit postea dictam puellam, respondit: «Non; sed vidi patrem suum, qui dixit mihi, quod bene sanata et liberata erat».

Interrogata, quanto tempore stetit sic contracta dicta puella, respondit: «Ab eo tempore circa quod erat in cunabulis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod tanto tempore fuit sic contracta, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia pater suus dixit mihi».

¹³³ The *serviens* is a Hungarian designation for vassals in the thirteenth century. The upper strata of this social category, the “royal *servientes*” became an important part of the would-be lesser nobility, which acquired its first set of institutionalized rights in the Golden Bull of 1222, and gained an elevated status in the 1260s and 1270s. See Péter Váczy, “A királyi szerviensek és a patrimoniális királyság” [Royal *servientes* and the patrimonial kingship], *Századok* 61 (1927): 240–90; Elemér Mályusz “A magyar

When asked the name of the man who brought the girl, she replied, "I don't know, but he was a *serviens*¹³³ of Lord Matthias of the Csák kindred, who was the father of the said girl."

When asked the name of the girl, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how she knew that the said man was in the service of Lord Matthias, she replied, "I know very well, because I know him well."

When asked how she knew that the girl was the daughter of the said Lord Matthias, she replied, "She is the only child of her father and mother, Matthias is my relative, how I would not know him and his daughter?"

When asked how she knew that the said girl was crippled, as she said, she replied, "Her father, Lord Matthias, brought her to the window and described her weakness to me, and I saw her so crippled; and he told me to ask saint Margaret to cure his daughter."

When asked who were present when she saw his daughter crippled in this way, as she said, she replied, "Sister Olimpiades."

When asked how she knew that the said girl was cured on the day she was brought to the said tomb, as she said, she replied, "Because the girl came to me that day on her own two feet, and I saw her delivered and cured, and then she went off with her father."

When asked if she saw the said girl afterwards, she replied, "No, but I saw her father, who told me she was delivered and well and truly healed."

When asked how long the said girl had been crippled in this way, she replied, "Since she was in the cradle."

When asked how she knew that she had been that long crippled, as she said, she replied, "Because her father told me so."

köznemesség kialakulása" [The formation of Hungarian lesser nobility], *Századok* 76 (1942): 272–305, 407–34; for an up-to-date overview of thirteenth-century social history in Hungary see Pál Engel, *The Realm of St. Stephen: A History of Medieval Hungary, 895–1526* (I.B. Tauris, London/New York, 2001), 83–123. In the present case, however, the context suggests rather a lower status familiar.

Interrogata, si scit, quod aliqua verba fuerunt dicta per aliquem quando dicta puella sic fuit sanata, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio, quid tunc dictum fuerat, quia ego stabam ad fenestram, et ipsa puella erat cum aliis iuxta dictum sepulcrum».

Interrogata, si scit, que erant tunc presentes, iuxta dictum sepulcrum, quando sanata fuit, respondit: «Nescio, quia illa fenestra multum parum stat apta, nec audemus sic respicere, unde non poteramus videre, qui ibi essent».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dicta puella sic sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Modo sumus in quinto anno».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Hora misse».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dicta sancta Margaretha mortua est, respondit: «Septem anni sunt». Item dixit: «Quando ego habeam debilitatem aliquam et filii mei aliquam adversitatem, ego recurro ad istam sanctam virginem Margaretham, et ipsam rogo, et habeo quod peto».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Quinquaginta unum, et sunt viginti duo anni, quod ego sum vidua, in quibus steti in isto monasterio per tresdecim annos, et in aliis tamquam religiosa me habui».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Item dixit, quadam die portata fuit quedam nobilis femina, que non potuit ambulare pedibus, ad dictum sepulcrum sancte Margarethe, et ibi stetit per tres dies, et in tertia die fuit resanata, et sorores quando audiverunt hoc a fratribus, cantaverunt in choro nostro: 'Te Deum laudamus'.

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dicta domina fuit portata ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Quinque».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post missam ante tertiam».

Interrogata, que erant presentes, quando sic resanata fuit, respondit: «Nescio».

When asked if she knew of any words spoken by anyone when the said girl was healed, as she said, she replied, "I don't know what was said at the time, because I was standing at the window, and the girl herself was with the others beside the said tomb."

When asked if she knew who were present at the time beside the tomb when she was cured, she replied, "I don't know, because that window was only a little open, and we didn't dare to look, so we couldn't see who were there."

When asked how many years ago the said girl was cured in this way, as she said, she replied, "We are now in the fifth year."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "At the hour of mass."

When asked how many years ago saint Margaret died, she answered, "Seven." She also said, "When I have some illness or my children some adversity, I have recourse to this saint Margaret, and I ask her, and I get what I ask for."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Fifty-one, and I have been a widow for twenty-two years. I have been in this monastery for thirteen years and I have lived almost as a nun in the other nine years."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

She also said that one day a certain noblewoman, who could not walk on her feet, was carried to the said tomb of saint Margaret, and stayed there for three days, and on the third day she was restored to health, and when the sisters heard this from the brothers, they sang the *Te Deum Laudamus* in our choir.

When asked how many years ago the said lady was carried to the said tomb, she replied, "Five."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "After mass, before terce."

When asked who were present, when she was thus restored to health, she replied, "I don't know."

Interrogata de nominibus, qui portaverunt dictam dominam ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de illius domine nomine, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si primo cognoscebat dictam feminam, respondit: «Non cognosco eam, nec unquam vidi eam, nec infirmam nec sanam, nec scio, unde sit, nec unde venerit».

Interrogata de nominibus illorum fratrum, qui tunc dixerunt, quod dicta domina sanata erat, respondit: «Fater Felicianus, qui tunc erat prior in isto monasterio et modo stat in Buda».¹³⁴

Interrogata, si vult aliud dicere, respondit: «Multa bona audivistis de ista domina ab aliis dominabus, et iterum audietis, nolo plus dicere».

EADEM DIE.¹³⁵

XXVI

Domina Judith,¹³⁶ filia quondam domini Moysis comitis palatini domini regis, soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe sub iuramento dixit: «Vidi in ista sancta Margaretha multas venias et orationes cum fletu». Item dixit: «Vidi, quod ipsa portavit per lutum aquam pro infirmis, et portabat ita magnam tinam, quod mirabamur, qualiter poterat portare». Item dixit: «Vidi quod ipsa lavabat lanam in maximo frigore, et faciebat compostam cum manibus suis, et calcabat pedibus suis in tina in maximo frigore, ita quod vestimenta sua congelabantur ab illa aqua, et manus sue propter magnum frigus crepabant et sanguinabant». Item dixit, quod soror Olimpiades, magistra sua, quando ipsa Mar-

¹³⁴ He is Witness 41. He must have been prior in the convent for Dominican friars built upon the Island of Hares, next to the female convent, in order to supervise it. As for the Buda convent of Preacher friars, dedicated to Saint Nicholas and founded after 1250, see Pfeiffer, *Die ungarische Dominikanerprovinz*, 31. This convent was the scene of the General Chapter of the Dominicans in 1254, cf. *Legenda vetus*, 49 n.13.

When asked the name of those who carried the said lady to the said tomb, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked that lady's name, she replied, "I don't know." When asked if she knew the said woman before, she replied, "I don't know her, nor have I ever seen her, either sick or in good health, nor do I know her parentage or where she came from."

When asked about the names of those brothers who told her at the time that the said lady had been cured, she replied, "Father Felician, who was then prior in this monastery and is now in Buda."¹³⁴

When asked if she wanted to say anything else, she answered, "You have heard many good things about this lady from other ladies, and you'll hear them again. I don't want to say any more."

ON THE SAME DAY¹³⁵

26

Lady Judith,¹³⁶ daughter of the late Lord Moses, Count Palatine of our lord the King, a sister and nun of this same monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "I saw this saint Margaret making many *veniae*, many tearful prayers." She also said, "I saw that she herself carried water for the sick through the mud, and she used to carry such a large vessel that we wondered how she was able to carry it." She also said, "I have seen her washing wool in extremely cold weather, and pressed it together with her own hands and trampled it with her feet in a vessel in extreme cold, so that her clothes were freezing from the water and her hands were cracking and bleeding from the great cold." She also said that when Marga-

¹³⁵ August 6.

¹³⁶ Judith, the other daughter of Palatine Mojs, became a widow in 1265 and she entered the monastery at the Island in the same year. She is the sister of Lady Cecilia, witness 19, about their father see p. 328 n. 119 above.

garetha orabat prostrata in terra, aliquando reprehendebat illam, dicens: 'Tu queris Deum in terra cum naso et facie, sicut esses porcus, quare facis hoc, quare destruis te'? Et ipsa omnia sustinebat in pace.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi».

Interrogata, si vult plus dicere, respondit: «Non fui per longum tempus in isto monasterio, et propterea non possum multum dicere, et que scivi dixi».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Quadraginta quatuor».

Interrogata, per quot annos stetit in isto monasterio, respondit: «Per undecim annos».

Interrogata, si est docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE.¹³⁷

XXVII

Domina Anna, filia quondam domini Meloan de Nittra,¹³⁸ soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii, iuravit ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Scio, quod ista sancta Margaretha vitam suam duxit in magna humilitate, et fuit multum devota domino in orationibus suis, de die et de nocte, et libenter ibat ad officia sua, et libenter faciebat officia domus, faciendo coquinam, lavando scutellas et ollas, scopando domos et faciendo omnia alia servitia, que poterat».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi, et aliquando fui socia sua». Item dixit, quod libenter serviebat infirmis,

¹³⁷ August 6.

¹³⁸ This nobleman might belong to the same kindred as the father of the nun Frosia (Witness 15). Fraknói proposed to identify him with Milvan, a descendant of the Hont-Pázmány kindred, which possessed large estates in Nitra county (Fraknói,

ret was lying prostrate on the ground praying, her *magistra*, Sister Olimpiades, sometimes reprimanded her, saying, “‘You are seeking God with your nose and face in the ground like a pig; why are you doing this, why are you destroying yourself?’ And she, Margaret, accepted it all peacefully.”

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “Because I saw it.”

When asked if she wanted to say anything else, she replied, “I have not been long in this monastery, and so I can’t say much, and I have told what I know.”

When asked how old she was, she replied, “Forty-four.”

When asked how many years she had been in this monastery, she replied, “Eleven.”

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, “No.”

ON THE SAME DAY¹³⁷

27

Lady Anne, the daughter of the late Lord Meloan of Nitra,¹³⁸ a sister and nun of the same monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she said under oath, “I know that this saint Margaret led her life in great humility, and was very devoted to the Lord in her prayers, day and night, and she gladly went to her offices, and gladly did household duties, cooking, washing plates and pots, sweeping the house and doing all other menial tasks within her strength.”

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “I saw it, and sometimes I was her companion.” She also said that she

“Bevezetés,” *MRV*, vol. I, CXIII); in opposition to this Attila Zsoldos proposes that he could be Michael, *comes* of Nitra, from the Rosd kindred, whose brother Jacob was already mentioned.

faciendo eis ad comedendum et bibendum, et faciendo eis lectos, et radendo capita, et balneando eas.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi, et mihi ipsi faciebat lectum, quando eram infirma, et rasis caput meum». Item dixit: «Vidi in ipsa maximam penitentiam, et quadam die vocavit me, et feci cum ea unam cordam de caneva, et rogavit me, quod ego ligarem sibi utrumque brachium super carnem cum ipsa corda, et quod multum stringerem, et tunc ego ligavi sibi primo unum brachium cum ipsa corda, et fecit me stringere tantum brachium suum cum ipsa corda, quod ipsa corda videbatur intrare carnem suam, et postea statim fecit me ligare aliud brachium suum de alia parte corde eodem modo».

Interrogata, ubi erant tunc, respondit: «In quadam domo claustrum, in qua moratur domina regina, quando venit ad monasterium illud».

Interrogata, si aliquae erant tunc presentes, vel scirent, quod stringeret sibi brachia, ut dixit, respondit: «Non, quia hoc fecimus in secreto, et mihi dixit, quod non dicerem hoc alteri persone, et nemini propterea dixi, nisi modo».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Per quinque annos ante mortem istius sancte Margarethe».

Interrogata, si scit, quanto tempore portavit dictas cordas ita ligatas et constrictas ad brachia sua, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio, quia in secreto portabat». Item dixit: «De vita istius sancte multa possem et scirem dicere, sed credo, quod illa audivistis ab aliis sororibus et adhuc audietis».

Interrogata super miraculis dixit: «Ista sancta quadam die, in qua erat ita magnus ventus, quod portaverat cooperturam domus capituli in pomerium^a, portabat unam assidem plenam de terris ad furnum,¹³⁹ coopertam de una toallida, et tunc ego que iuva-

^a recte pomarium

¹³⁹ Earth was used to clean the furnace. Another interpretation (V. H. Deák) would favor writing *tartras* instead of *terras*, as it is in the *Legenda maior*. In this case the previous sentence would also need correction (*portabat unam assidem plenam de ter-*

gladly served the sick, making them things to eat and drink, making their beds, shaving their heads, and bathing them.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it, and she made my bed when I was ill, and shaved my head." She also said, "I saw the utmost penitence in her, and one day she called me, and I made a cord of linen with her, and she asked me to tie both her arms over her flesh with the cord and pull it tight, and then I first bound one arm with the cord, and she made me constrict her arm so much with the cord, that it seemed to enter her flesh, and immediately after that she made me bind the other arm with another bit of the cord in the same way."

When asked where they were at the time, she replied, "In a certain room of the cloister, where the lady queen stays when she comes to this monastery."

When asked if there were others present at the time, or who knew that she tied up her arms, as she said, she replied, "No, because we did it in secret, and she told me to say nothing to anyone, so I haven't told anyone until now."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "Five years before the death of the saint Margaret."

When asked if she knew how long she wore the said cords tied up this way and constricting her arms, as she said, she replied, "I don't know, because she wore them in secret." She also said, "I know and could say a lot about the life of this saintly person, but I think you have heard it from the other sisters, and you'll go on hearing it."

When asked about miracles, she said, "One day when there was such a high wind, that it had carried off the roof of the chapter house to the orchard, this saint was carrying a platter of earth to the furnace,¹³⁹ covered with a cloth, and then I, who was helping her at the time, said to her, 'Lady, where are we going? This wind

ris ad furnum) and it is unlikely that a spelling error repeated itself twice. It can be that Garinus himself could not understand the sentence and, trying to give meaning to the phrase, wrote *tartras*, some kind of flat breads.

bam ipsam, dixi sibi: ‚Domina, quo vadimus, ventus iste destruet istas terras, et noli facere malum‘; et tunc ista sancta respondit: ‚Quomodo non nocebit nobis, quia destruxit cooperturam capituli nostri‘, et tunc fecit me stare ibi tantum, quod possent dici septem psalmi penitenciales, et tunc ventus cessavit omnino ita, quod nobis nihil nocuit».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Per duos annos ante mortem ipsius».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «In quadragesima tertia die post festum sancti Gregorii».¹⁴⁰

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Circa nonam».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, respondit: «Nullus».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ventus portavit cooperturam capituli in pomerium, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi».

Interrogata, in quo loco erant tunc, quando ipse steterunt, ut dixit: respondit: «In curia servitium ad celum apertum», et dixit: «Nolo aliquid aliud plus dicere, et ea que dixi, vidi et vera sunt».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, per quot annos stetit in monasterio, respondit: «Per viginti annos».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem anni».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Frater Andreas, prior eremitanorum de Buda¹⁴¹ et frater Martinus, prior ecclesie sancti Michaelis de insula et Martinus Rubini interpretes fuerunt modo predicto in depositionibus sororis Lucie, Catharine, Alexandrie, Benedicte, Margarethe, Judith et domine Anne.

¹⁴⁰ St. Gregory's day is March 12.

¹⁴¹ That is, the Pauline Fathers, the only religious order founded in Hungary, named after Saint Paul of Thebes (Ordo Fratrum Sancti Pauli Primi Eremitae). It was found-

will blow away those and do us harm,' and then this saint replied, 'How would it not harm us, seeing that it has destroyed the roof of our chapter house?'; and then she made me stand there as long as it took to say seven penitential psalms, and then the wind dropped so completely that it didn't harm us at all."

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "Two years before her death."

When asked the month, she replied, "In Lent, the third day after the feast of St. Gregory."¹⁴⁰

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "About nones."

When asked who were there, she replied, "Nobody."

When asked how she knew the wind carried off the chapter roof to the orchard, as she said, she replied, "Because I saw it."

When asked where they were at the time they took up their positions, as she said, she replied, "In the servants' courtyard in the open air," and she said, "I don't want to say any more, and what I said, I saw, and it's true."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked how many years she had been in the monastery, she replied, "Twenty."

When asked how long ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Seven."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

Brother Andrew, prior of the Hermits at Buda,¹⁴¹ and Brother Martin, prior of the Church of St. Michael of the Island, and Martin Rubini were the interpreters in the aforesaid manner in the depositions of Sisters Lucy, Catherine, Alexandra, [Agnes,] Benedicta, Margaret, Judith, and Lady Anne.

DIE VENERIS SEPTIMA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM XXVIII

Domina Catharina cantrix, filia domini Andree de Vardino, soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Ista sancta Margaretha fuit domina bone vite et timens dominum, multum humilis ad sorores suas, et patiens domina, et sancte vite».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi predicta in ea». Item dixit, quod cum magna devotione multum stabat in orationibus de die et de nocte, et aliquando dicebat sororibus, quod excitarent eam, quia parum dormire volebat, et quando erat excitata a somno, tollebat quamdam crucem parvam, quam sepe tenebat iuxta lectum suum, et illam ponebat ante faciem suam ante oculos, et cum magnis lacrymis et devotione illam aspiciebat, et portabat illam ad altare sancte crucis, et ibi stabat in orationibus, donec alie sorores intrabant chorum et incipiebant officium.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi eam sic facientem». Item dixit, quod ista sancta Margaretha semper in paupertate fuit, et paupertatem dilexit in vestibus et aliis rebus.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi», et dixit: «Nunquam vidi, quod ipsa portaret vestes de lino, nec in loco teneret (?) et hoc fecit usque ad mortem suam». Item dixit: «Quando sorores ibant de choro, exhibant ad prandium, ista beata Margaretha remanebat post alias in orationibus ante crucifixum, qui est in capitulo, genibus flexis cum magnis lacrymis, et sepe tamdiu stabat, donec alie comederent usque ad secundam mensem».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, (respondit): «Quia vidi eam sic facientem». Item dixit, quod ab illa Dominica, qua cantatur ‚Judica‘, que est de quadragesima, usque ad pascha faciebat sibi legi et exponi passionem Christi, et quando audiebat, sicut exponebatur, multum plangebat.

ON FRIDAY, AUGUST 7

28

Lady Catherine the cantrix, daughter of Lord Andrew of Várad, sister and nun of the same monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "This saint Margaret was a lady of good life, God-fearing, and very humble towards her sisters, a patient lady of holy life."

When asked about how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw in her the things I said." She also said that she would stand praying with great devotion day and night, and sometimes she would tell the sisters to waken her, because she didn't want to sleep too long, and when she was roused from sleep, she used to take a small cross, which she often kept next to her bed, and placed it before her face and eyes, and gaze upon it with great tears and devotion, and carry it to the altar of the Holy Cross and stand there praying until the other sisters entered the choir and started the office."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she answered, "Because I saw her doing it." She also said that this saint Margaret always lived in poverty, and she loved poverty in her clothing and other things.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it," and, she said, "I never saw her wearing linen garments, nor did she have any, and she did this right up to her death." She also said, "When the sisters left the choir and went to lunch, this blessed Margaret would stay after the others and pray in front of the crucifix, which is in the chapter house, on bended knee and weeping copiously, and she often stayed there while the sisters were eating the second course."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw her doing it." She also said that from the Sunday on which *Iudica* is sung, which is in Lent, right up until Easter, she had read to her, with commentary, the passion of Christ, and when she listened she wept copiously as it was being expounded."

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi eam».

Item dixit, quod quadam die in ramis palmarum legebatur passio Christi, et ipsa incepit tam fortiter plangere, quia cor eius videbatur crepare.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi eam».

Interrogata, quis legebat tunc dictam passionem, ut dixit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, si aliquae de sororibus tunc erant presentes, respondit: «Quando vidi hoc, totus conventus erat presens».

Interrogata, in quo loco legebatur tunc dicta passio, quando sic plangebatur fortiter, quia videbatur cor eius crepare, respondit: «In refectorio, quando eramus in prandio, quia sic consuetum est fieri».

Item dixit, quod in vigilia nativitatis Christi et in vigilia pentecostes et in vigiliis sancte Marie faciebat mille venias, cum mille ,Ave Maria', et hoc faciebat in qualibet predictarum vigiliarum.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod faciebat mille venias cum mille ,Ave Maria', respondit: «Audivi ab ore suo, et multe sorores hoc audiverunt, et receperunt in bonum exemplum, quia iam plures sic faciunt, sicut ipsa faciebat».

Interrogata, per quot annos faciebat predictas venias in dictis vigiliis dicendo ,Ave Maria', ut dixit, respondit: «A pueritia sua usque ad mortem suam».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia secum conversata sum usque a pueritia, et sic vidi eam facientem». Item dixit, quod malas vestes et veteres portabat, et quando per matrem suam mittebantur sibi bone vestes, illas mittebat priorisse, et rogabat, quod darentur pauperibus.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi oculis meis». Item dixit: «Multum habebat de pediculis, et non lavabat sibi caput, nisi raro».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod faciebat coquinam, lavabat scutellas, preparabat pisces «et propter talem laborem ligavimus sibi rupturam, quam habebat in manibus».

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw her."

She also said that one day, on Palm Sunday, the passion of Christ was being read and she began to bewail so loudly that her heart seemed to burst.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw her."

When asked who was reading the said passion on that occasion, as she said, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked if any of the sisters were present then, she replied, "When I saw it, the whole convent was present."

When asked where the said passion was read when she grieved so much, that her heart seemed to burst, she replied, "In the refectory, when we were at the midday meal, because that is the custom."

She also said that on the vigil of Christmas Eve and on the vigil of Pentecost, and on the vigils of the Virgin Mary, she used to make a thousand *veniae*, with a thousand *Ave Marias* and she did this on every one of the aforesaid vigils.

When asked how she knew that she made a thousand *veniae*, together with a thousand *Ave Marias*, she replied, "I heard it from her own mouth, and many sisters heard this, and they took it as a good example, because now more are doing as she used to do."

When asked for how many years she made the aforesaid *veniae* on the said vigils, and the *Ave Marias*, as she said, she replied, "From her childhood until her death."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I spent time with her from the time we were children, and so I saw her doing it." She also said that she wore shabby, old clothing, and when good clothes were sent to her by her mother, she sent them to the prioress with the request that they be given to the poor.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes." She also said, "She had many lice and she did not wash her head, except on rare occasions."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that she did cooking, washed dishes, and prepared fish, "and on account of this work, we bound up the sores she had in her hands."

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc». Item dixit: «Ego pluries quesivi ab ipsa domina sancta Margaretha et rogabam ipsam dicendo: ‚Domina mea, instruas me, quomodo debeo orare Deum et servire sibi’, et ipsa dicebat: ‚Commenda corpus tuum et animam tuam domino, et semper cor haberas ad ipsum, ita quod neque mors, neque alia creatura retrahat te de amore Dei’».

Interrogata, si aliquae erant tunc presentes, quando sic rogavit dictam virginem Margaretham, respondit: «Non, quantum ego sciam». Item dixit: «Quando legebatur evangelium in missa in festivitatibus, ipsa sancta Margaretha postea faciebat sibi exponi evangelium illud, quod tunc in missa lectum erat, faciebat sibi similiter exponi vitas sanctorum, et quando nos eramus in domo illa, in qua sorores laborant, ipsa veniebat illuc et exponebat nobis, sicut expositum erat sibi evangelium et vite sanctorum, sicut melius sciebat, et instruebat nos, quod semper sic faceremus sicut legebatur in ipso evangelio et in vitis sanctorum».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia fui presens».

Interrogata, a quibus audiebat expositionem evangelii et expositionem de vitis sanctorum, respondit: «A fratre Desiderio, qui adhuc est in monasterio».

Interrogata, in quo loco, respondit: «In dominarum capitulo». Item dixit, quod propter multas orationes ista sancta Margaretha taliter destruxerat corpus suum et faciem, quod quasi deformata erat in facie, et ita habebat caput rigidatum propter sparsionem multarum lacrymarum, et ipsa portabat in capite multos per annos revolutos, (?) sed quando mortua fuit, habuit pulchriorem faciem, quam in vita sua.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod semper secum portabat et tenebat de die et de nocte cum magna devotione quamdam crucem, in qua erat de ligno domini.¹⁴²

¹⁴² This was a precious relic of the royal family, which King Andrew II had brought from the Holy Land when he was on the Crusade. On the history of the Fifth Crusade, see James Ross Sweeney, "Hungary in the Crusades 1169–1218," *The International History Review* 3 (1981): 467–81; James M. Powell, *Anatomy of a Crusade, 1213–1221* (Philadelphia: University of Pennsylvania Press, 1986); László

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said, "I often asked the holy Lady Margaret, 'My lady, teach me how I ought to pray to God and serve Him,' and she would say, 'Give your body and soul to the Lord, and always fix your heart upon Him, so that neither death nor any other creature distract you from the love of God.'"

When asked if there were anyone present at the time, when she made this request of the said virgin Margaret, she replied, "So far as I know, there weren't." She also said, "When the Gospel was read at mass on feast days, saint Margaret always had the Gospel that had been read at the mass expounded to her afterwards, and in the same way she had the saints' lives expounded upon to her, and when we were in the room in which the sisters do their work, she herself would come there and expound on it to us just as the Gospel and the saints' lives had been expounded to her, as well as she could, and was teaching us always to do what was being read in the Gospel itself and in the lives of the saints."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I was present."

When asked from whom she heard expositions of the Gospel and the saints' lives, she replied, "From Brother Desiderius, who is still in the monastery."

When asked where, she replied, "In the ladies' chapter house." She also said that this saint Margaret had so destroyed her face and body because of her many prayers, that she was almost deformed in her face, and likewise had her head furrowed with the shedding of many tears, and she bore those marks for many years, but when she died she had a fairer face than she had in life.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that night and day she carried with great devotion and kept by her a certain cross, which had in itself a piece of the Holy Cross of the Lord.¹⁴²

Veszprémy, "II. András magyar király keresztes hadjárata, 1217–1218" [The crusade of Andrew II, King of Hungary, in 1217–1218], in *Magyarország és a keresztes háborúk. Lovagrendek és emlékeik* [Hungary and the Crusades: Military orders and their vestiges], ed. by József Laszlovszky, Judit Majorossy, and József Zsengellér. 99–112.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Vidi cordam ligatam ad collum ipsius sancta Margarethe, et ad illam cordam erat ligata illa crux».

Interrogata, si portabat dictam crucem supra vestes, vel subtus vestes, respondit: «Infra duas tunicas, et sic invenimus quando fuit mortua». Item dixit: «Sepe audivi, quod dicta sancta Margaretha, quando fecerat sibi exponi passiones sanctorum, quod libenter sustineret martyrium pro amore Dei, et quod ad penam traderet corpus suum».

Interrogata, que erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Nulla, et in secreto dixit hoc mihi».

Interrogata, si vult aliquid aliud dicere de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Que scivi dixi».

Interrogata de miraculis, respondit: «Vidi quamdam feminam ita contractam intrantem ecclesiam, quod nullo modo poterat ire, nisi quando iuvabat se manibus, iuxta sepulcrum istius virginis Margarethe, et tunc dicta domina Margaretha, filia domine Anne, dixit: 'Si ista femina, que ita contracta est, surgeret et sanaretur, ego crederem, quod beata Margaretha esset sancta'; et tunc ipsa femina surrexit in pedibus, et fuit sanata, et ivit ter circa sepulcrum, et tunc sorores de mandato priorisse cantaverunt: 'Te Deum laudamus'.

Interrogata, in quo loco ipsa erat, quando vidit ipsam dominam sic contractam iuxta dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «In choro ad fenestram».

Interrogata, si alique alie erant tunc ad dictam fenestram quando vidit ipsam feminam sic contractam iuxta sepulcrum, respondit: «Soror Stephania^a et predicta soror Margaretha erant ibi».

Interrogata, si viderat eam prius, antequam intrasset dictam ecclesiam, respondit: «Vidi ipsam ante per septimanam unam intrantem et exeuntem sic contractam de ecclesia, sed ante non videram ipsam».

Interrogata, si scit nomen dicte femine, respondit: «Nescio».

^a recte Stephana

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I saw a cord tied around saint Margaret's neck, and the cross was tied to the cord."

When asked if she wore the said cross over or under her clothes, she replied, "Under two vests, and we found this out when she died." She also said, "I often heard the said saint Margaret say, after she had had expounded to her the passions of the saints, that she would gladly suffer martyrdom for the love of God, and that she would hand her body over to pain."

When asked who were present on those occasions, she replied, "No one; she told me this in secret."

When asked if she wanted to say more about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she answered, "I have said what I know."

When asked about miracles, she replied, "I saw entering the church a woman so crippled that she could not move in any way without the help of her hands. I saw her beside the tomb of the virgin Margaret, and then Lady Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, said, 'If this woman, who is so crippled, got up and were healed, I would believe that the blessed Margaret was a saint;' and then the woman got up on her feet and was healed, and she went three times around the tomb, then the sisters, at the command of the prioress, sang *Tē Deum laudamus*.

When asked where she was when she saw the woman so crippled beside the said tomb, as she said, she replied, "In the choir, at the window."

When asked if there were any others at the said window, when she saw this cripple woman at the tomb, she replied, "Sister Stephana and the aforesaid Sister Margaret were there."

When asked if she had seen her before she entered the church, she replied, "I saw her one week before entering and leaving the church in this cripple state, but I hadn't seen her before that."

When asked if she knew the name of the said woman, she replied, "No, I don't."

When asked if she knew where the said woman was born, she replied, "No, I don't."

Interrogata, si scit, de quo loco fuerit nata dicta femina, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si ab eo tempore, quo fuit sanata dicta femina, vidit eam, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si scit, cuius filia fuit dicta femina, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si scit, quod aliqua verba dixit predicta femina, quando sanata fuit, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Quinque, sicut credo».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Circa pentecosten».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Non recordor». Item dixit: «Quadam die in cena domini debebam regere chorum, quia cantrix eram, et habebam tantum malum in gutture, quod multum dolebat, nec cantare poteram, et tunc rogavi istam sanctam Margaretham, quod per merita sua et passionem Christi, quam exponi audiebat cum lacrymis suis, resanaret me, quod possim cantare et facere officium meum, et hoc dixi post completorium, et quando surrexi ad matutinum, ita fui liberata et sanata, quod bene feci officium meum».

Interrogata, si aliqui erant tunc presentes, quando sic rogavit beatam Margaretham, ut dixit, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, per quot dies habuit infirmitatem illam in gutture, ut dixit, respondit: «Per quatuor dies».

Interrogata, per quot dies stetit, quod non habuit infirmitatem illam, vel similem, postquam fuit sic liberata, respondit: «Postea non habui illam infirmitatem, nec similem usque ad hodiernum diem».

Interrogata, si aliqui sorores sciebant, quod haberet tunc dictam infirmitatem, respondit: «Sic, soror Candida».¹⁴³

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod sic fuit sanata, ut dixit, respondit: «Tres anni».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «De mense paschali». Item dixit: «Quodam tempore habui malam voluntatem et iram contra quamdam meam sororem, et cum essemus in refectorio in

When asked if she had seen the woman since she was healed, she replied, "No."

When asked if she knew whose daughter the said woman was, she replied, "No."

When asked if the aforesaid woman uttered any words when she was healed, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "Five, I think."

When asked the month, she replied, "Around Pentecost."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "I don't remember." She also said, "One day at the Lord's Supper, I was supposed to lead the choir, because I was the chief singer, and I had such a sore throat that it hurt terribly and I couldn't sing, and then I asked this saint Margaret to heal me through her merits and the passion of Christ, which she tearfully used to hear expounded, so that I could sing and perform my office, and I said this after compline, and when I got up for matins, I was so healed and delivered, that I performed my office well."

When asked if there were others present at the time when she asked this of the blessed Margaret, as she said, she answered, "No."

When asked how many days she had that pain in her throat, as she said, she replied, "For four days."

When asked how many days she went without having that throat pain or something similar after she was delivered in this way, she replied, "I did not have that pain afterwards, nor have I had anything like it to this very day."

When asked if other sisters at the time knew she had the said pain, she replied, "Yes, Sister Candida."¹⁴³

When asked how many years it had been since she was cured, as she said, she replied, "Three."

When asked the month, she replied, "The month of Easter." She also said, "One time I had an ill will and anger against a certain one of my sisters, and when we were in the refectory, I kept

¹⁴³ Candida is Witness 30.

prandio cogitabam, quomodo possem facere, vel dicere sibi iniuriam, et quando fuimus pranse, ista sancta Margaretha vocavit me, et dixit mihi: ‚Catharina, quid cogitabas in prandio, ego scio malas cogitationes tuas, tollas eas de corde tuo, et ne repellas Deum a te’; et dixit mihi omnia, que cogitaveram, et tunc humiliavi me, et habui bonam pacem et bonam voluntatem contra sororem meam».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, per quot annos fuit in monasterio, respondit: «Per viginti».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE.¹⁴⁴

XXIX

Domina Margaretha, filia quondam Drisii de Betama, soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit, sub iuramento: «Vidi in ista domina, quod ipsa fuit bona domina et devota et humilis, timens Deum, et istum ordinem dilexit et regulam suam observavit». Item dixit: «Vidi, quod ipsa serviebat cum magna humilitate, et septimanam suam servabat in servitiis ecclesie et in aliis, sicut alia de aliis sororibus». Item dixit, quod multum libenter stabat in orationibus, et post completorium orabat quousque ibat ad dormiendum, et postea surgebat ad matutinum et ubi erat in officio, et post matutinum stabat in orationibus usque ad missam, et postea audiebat missam, nisi quando erat infirma.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi». Item dixit, quod post missam stabat in orationibus usque ad horam

¹⁴⁴ August 7.

thinking during the midday meal how I could injure her by word or deed, and when we had eaten, this saint Margaret called me over and said to me, 'Catherine, about what you were thinking during the midday meal? I know your evil thoughts; remove them from your heart, and don't drive God away from you'; and she told me everything I had been thinking, and then I humbled myself, and had goodwill and peace towards my sister."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how many years she had been in the monastery, she replied, "Twenty."

When asked how many years it had been since the said virgin Margaret died, she answered, "Seven."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she answered, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY¹⁴⁴

29

Lady Margaret, daughter of the late Drisius of Betama, a sister and nun of the same monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she answered under oath, "I saw in this lady that she was good and devout and humble and God-fearing, that she loved this order and observed its rule." She also said, "I have seen her serving with great humility, and she kept her week to do chores in the church and other places, just like any of the other sisters." She also said that she very gladly stayed at her prayers, and after compline, she would pray until she went to bed, then would get up for matins, and both at her office and after matins she kept at her prayers until mass, and after she heard mass, too, except when she was ill.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it." She also said that after mass she stayed at her prayers until the noon meal, and after that, if she had anything to do for the monastery, she did it, sometimes spinning, sometimes washing wool, and doing other chores.

prandii, et post prandium si habebat facere aliquid pro monasterio, illud faciebat, quandoque filando, quandoque lavando lanam, et faciendo alia servitia.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Presens fui». Item dixit, quod in quolibet tempore serviebat libenter infirmis, et quod in obedientiam querebat a priorissa, quando erat malum tempus et magnum frigus et magnum lutum, septimanam suam ad serviendum infirmis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia presens fui et vidi». Item dixit, quod in vigiliis sancte Marie semper ieiunabat in pane et aqua.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ieiunaret in pane et aqua in dictis vigiliis, ut dixit, respondit: «Bene scio, quia ipsa inter nos erat et videbam eam». Item dixit, quod libenter serviebat infirmis, et eis faciebat lectos, et quadam die rasis capita septem vel octo infirmis, a nona usque ad vespas.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi et fui una ex illis, cui rasis caput». Item dixit, quod ipsa libenter portabat veteres vestes, «et quando ego habui officium dividendi vestes inter sorores, dicebam sibi: ‚Domina, quare portatis ita viles vestes? Dabo vobis bonas et novas, et bonam chlamydem et novam’; et ipsa dicebat: ‚Non, sed da mihi duas veteres chlamydes, et de illis faciam mihi unam chlamydem’». Item dixit: «Quando ipsa sancta Margaretha videbat vestes malas et squantatas sororibus, ipsa rogavit me, quod ego darem eis meliores vestes pro Deo, et (si) ego non possem facere hoc, quod ego dicerem priorisse; et pro se ipsa aliquando a me petebat aliquas petias, de quibus posset appetiari vestes suas, et ego dabam ei, quando habebam».

Interrogata, si alique sorores erant tunc presentes, quando petebat et dicebat predicta, respondit: «Non, sed dicebat mihi soli». Item dixit, quod septimanam suam faciebat in coquina conventus, sicut alie de sororibus, et quod lavabat scutellas et ollas, et pisces purgabat in maximo frigore.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi, et secum fui in illo servitio». Item dixit, quod quando aliqua de sororibus moriebatur, et portabatur in choro ecclesie, ipsa sancta Mar-

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I was present." She also said that at any time she would gladly serve the sick, and as an act of obedience she would petition the prioress to have her week for serving the sick when the weather was bad and there was severe cold and a lot of mud.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I was present and I saw it." She also said that at the vigils of the Virgin Mary she always fasted on bread and water.

When asked how she knew that she fasted on bread and water on the said vigils, as she said, she replied, "I know it well, because she was among us and I used to see her." She also said that she gladly served the sick, and made their beds, and that one day she shaved the heads of seven or eight sick people, from nones up to vespers.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it and was one of those whose heads she shaved." She also said that she gladly wore old clothes, "and when I had the duty of dividing garments among the sisters, I used to say to her, 'Lady, why do you wear such poor clothing? I'll give you good, new clothes, and a good, new cloak,' and she'd say, 'No, but give me two old cloaks, and I'll make myself one out of them.'" She also said, "When this saint Margaret saw bad, stained clothes on the sisters, she herself asked me to give them better ones for God, and if I couldn't do this, to tell the prioress; and from time to time she would ask me for bits of cloth to patch her garments with, and when I had them, I gave them to her."

When asked if any sisters were present when she made the aforesaid requests and said those things, she replied, "No, she said it just to me." She also said that she did her week in the kitchen of the convent, just like the other sisters, and washed dishes and pots, and cleaned fish in the freezing cold.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it, and I was with her in that service." She also said that when any of the sisters was dying and being carried into the choir of the church, saint Margaret herself would stay at her prayers and offices with more tears and greater devotion than the other sisters.

garetha stabat in officiis cum lacrymis et orationibus, (cum) magna devotione, plus quam aliqua alia de sororibus.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «In eodem choro eram et videbam eam». Item dixit, quod quando respiciebat corpus Christi per fenestram chori, aliquando videbat ibi aliquem pauperem, «et tunc rogabat me cum magna humilitate, quod ego dicerem priorisse, quod mitteret illi pauperi aliquod vestimentum, quo posset cooperire corpus suum».

Interrogata, si alique erant presentes, quando dicebat sibi ista, respondit «Non, quia dicebat mihi hoc in secreto». Item dixit: «Quando eram ita infirma, quod non poteram dicere horas meas, ista sancta Margaretha horas dicebat pro me».

Interrogata, si vult plus dicere, respondit: «Quod vidi oculis meis dixi, et alia bona, que audiui ab ea, non possum dicere».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Quadraginta quatuor».

Interrogata, per quot annos stetit in monasterio, respondit: «Per sexdecim».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE¹⁴⁵

XXX

Domina Candida, filia quondam domini Tauri de Gaura¹⁴⁶ soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Hoc bene scio, quod fuit bone vite et sancte et bone conversationis et magne devotionis, et habuit magnam humilitatem versas sorores suas, et obediens fuit priorisse et sororibus istius monasterii». Item dixit: «Vidi, quod cum magna humilitate serviebat (tam) infirmis, quam sanis, et portabat aquam

¹⁴⁵ August 7.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I was in the same choir and I saw her." She also said that when she was gazing at the body of Christ through the choir window, she would sometimes take notice of some poor person, "and then she would ask me with great humility to tell the prioress that she might give the poor person some clothing with which to cover his body."

When asked if there were any there when she said these things to her, she replied, "No, because she would say it to me in secret." She also said, "When I was so ill I couldn't say my hours, this saint Margaret said them for me."

When asked if she wanted to say more, she answered, "I have told what I saw with my own eyes, and I can't say how many other good things I heard from her."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Forty-four."

When asked how many years she had been in the monastery, she replied, "Sixteen."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY¹⁴⁵

30

Lady Candida, daughter of the late Lord Taurus of Gaura,¹⁴⁶ a sister and nun of the same monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "I know well that she was of good and holy life and of good ways, and very devout, and she had great humility towards her sisters, and was obedient to the prioress and the sisters of this monastery." She also said, "I saw that she served both the sick and the well with great humility. She carried water, prepared their baths, bathed them, shaved their heads, and did other

¹⁴⁵ Wertner believes this family to be the Óváry-Kéméndy kindred, see Wertner, "A Margit-legenda," 34 (cf. Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek*, vol. II, 94–109 [547–54]), and that Tauros should be read Maurus, a name that appears in charters of the 1240s.

ad faciendum balnea eis, et eas balneabat, et radebat eis capita, et alia servitia, et hoc vidi, quod ipsa mihi fecit, quando fui infirma, et mihi rasis tunc (caput)». Item dixit: «Vidi, quod in quadam estate, multe de sororibus erant infirme, et ipsa sancta Margaretha non erat bene sana, et multum debilis erat, sed semper volebat servire infirmis, et serviebat in quantum poterat, confortando se et dicendo: ‚Bene sum sana, bene sum sana, bene possum vobis servire;’ et eis multum libenter serviebat, et ego ipsa tunc infirma eram, et istud bene scio». Item dixit: «Libenter serviebat conventui et in luto et frigore, aliquando habebat vestimenta sua affangata usque ad genua, et quando peius tempus erat, petebat a priorissa, quod tunc daret sibi septimanam suam ad serviendum, et aliquando manus habebat per servitium, quod faciebat in magno frigore, crepitas usque ad sanguinem».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Omnia vidi oculis meis».

Item dixit, quod quando sic serviebat, ipsa lavabat scutellas et ollas et coquinam faciebat et appagiabat pisces et alia, que pertinent ad coquinam, et si aliqua alia volebat tunc illud servitium facere, ipsa non lassabat,^a et cum magna alacritate faciebat hoc.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi oculis meis». Item dixit: «Vidi in ea maximas orationes, ipsa stabat in orationibus ab aurora usque ad prandium, nisi quando erat in officiis cum aliis sororibus, et tunc nec parentum, patris, nec matris, vel alterius persone (gratia) dimittebat orationes suas, nisi quando per obedientiam vocabatur, et istud bene scio et vidi».

Interrogata, in quo loco stabat ad orandum, ut dixit, respondit: «Ipsa habebat in choro locum suum secretum, in quo orabat». Item dixit: «Vidi, quod quadam die dicta sancta Margaretha tantum stetit in orationibus super genua et gabetos, quod ego legi totum psalterium, et hoc probavi et tunc domina Anna, soror sua venit, et dum iret ad eam, quedam assis cecidit super caput ipsius sancte Margarethe, et tamen ipsa noluit se movere, sed stetit ut prius in orationibus».

^a From Italian *lasciare*, rather than Latin *lassare*

services; and I saw this, because she did it for me when I was ill, and then she shaved my head." She also said, "One summer, I saw, many of the sisters were sick, and the saint Margaret herself was not very well and was very weak, but she always wanted to serve the sick, and she did so as much as she could, comforting them and saying, 'I'm fine, I'm fine, and well able to serve you,' and she served them very gladly. I myself was ill at the time, and I know this well." She also said, "She served the convent gladly in the cold and mud, sometimes with her clothes tucked up to her knees, and when the weather got worse, she used to petition the prioress to give her, out of turn, her week for service, and sometimes she had her hands chapped to the point of bleeding because of the service she did in the severe cold."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it all with my own eyes."

She also said that when she served in this way, she herself washed the dishes and pots, did the cooking, and cleaned the fishes, and other kitchen duties, and if someone else at such times wanted to do that service, she would not let her, and did it with great alacrity.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes." She also said, "I saw her praying a great deal; she would stay at her prayers from dawn until the midday meal, except when she was at her duties with the other sisters, and on those occasions she didn't put off her prayers for the sake of relatives, father or mother, or anyone else, except when she was positively ordered to do so. I saw this and I know it well."

When asked where she stayed to pray, as she said, she replied, "She had her own private place in the choir, where she used to pray." She also said, "One day, I saw, the said saint Margaret stayed on her knees and elbows praying for as long as it took me to read the whole psalter, and I witnessed this, and then her sister, Lady Anne, came, and while she was going up to her, a plank fell on saint Margaret's head, but she still wouldn't move, but stayed as before at her prayers."

Item dixit: «Vidi, quod in orationibus suis semper fuit sollicita et inventa^a usque ad mortem suam».

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Quia hoc vidi, et sexta die antequam mortua fuisset, in illa infirmitate in qua mortua est, vidi, quod stabat in orationibus suis». Item dixit, quod quadam die magistra sua Olimpiades dicebat sibi: ‚Vos domina destruitis personam vestram, quid facitis? Vos quotidie statis in orationibus tenendo faciem et nasum super terram, sicut porcus, numquid queritis Deum in terra?’ Et illa cum magna humilitate et patientia sustinebat talia verba, nec commovebatur». ¹⁴⁷

Interrogata, que erant presentes, quando dicta verba dicebat sibi, respondit: «Elisabeth, filia Olimpiadis.» Item dixit, quod pater, mater, soror, frater ipsius venerant ad istud monasterium, et dixerunt sibi, quod volebant eam maritare regi Bohemie, et tunc non potuit orare, sicut facere consueverat, sed in meridie et post completorium recuperavit orationes suas, «et tunc dixit mihi cum magno fletu, sicut volebant eam maritare, dicendo: ‚Antequam ego faciam istud, manibus meis tajabo mihi nasum.’»

Interrogata, que erant presentes, quando dixit, quod pater suus volebat eam maritare, ut dixit, respondit: «Tunc eramus in choro ecclesie, et nulla persona presens erat.»

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc dictum fuit sibi, ut dixit, respondit: «Non recordor». Item dixit: «Quid plus dicere possum? tamen iterum dicam, paupertatem diligebat, et veteres vestes libenter portabat et ruptas et petiatis, et quadam die venerat pater suus ad istud monasterium et ipsa habebat manicam vestimenti sui laceratam usque ad carnem, et tunc cucurrit et fecit apponi unam petiam in ipsa manica, propter timorem patris sui».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi omnia, et ipsam petiam tunc apposui». Item dicebat: «Quando debebat recipere corpus Christi, sicut est consuetudo in isto monasterio, ipsa post completorium incipiebat stare in orationibus cum magnis lacrymis per maiorem partem noctis usque ad illam horam,

^a *recte intenta*

¹⁴⁷ Olimpiades's scolding of Margaret is also mentioned by Judith, witness 26.

She also said, "I saw her always mindful and intent at her prayers and so she was found to be right up to her death."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it, and the week before she died from the illness that took her, I saw her steadily at prayer." She also said that one day her *magistra* Olimpiades said to her, "My lady, you are destroying yourself. What are you doing? Every day you keep on praying with your face and nose on the ground like a pig. You're not looking for God on the ground, are you?" And she put up with these remarks with great humility and was not affected by them."¹⁴⁷

When asked who were present when she said these words to her, she replied, "Elizabeth, Olimpiades's daughter." She also said that her father, mother, sister, and brother had come to this monastery and told her they wanted her to marry the King of Bohemia, and on that occasion she was unable to pray as she usually did, but she made up for what she missed at midday and after compline, "and she said to me at that time, with much weeping, how they wanted to marry her off, saying, 'Before I do that, I'll slice my nose with my own hands.'"

When asked who were present when she said that her father wanted to marry her off, as she said, she replied, "We were in the choir of the church at the time, and there was no one present."

When asked how many years ago this had been said to her, as she said, she replied, "I don't remember." She also said, "What more can I say? But I shall say again that she loved poverty, and she always willingly wore old clothes that were torn and patched, and one day her father had come to this monastery, and she had the sleeve of her robe torn through to the flesh, and on that occasion she ran and had a patch put on her sleeve, for fear of her father."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it all, and I myself put the patch on at the time." She also said, "When she was to receive the body of Christ, as is the custom in this monastery, she would begin praying steadily after compline, with much weeping, for most of the night, right up to the hour in which she received the body of Christ, and at both matins and the mass she read her part and did her office with the rest in the choir,

in qua recipiebat ipsa corpus Christi, et in matutinis tunc et in missa legebat lectionem suam, et officium faciebat cum aliis in choro, et quando recipiebat ipsum corpus, ipsa erat in magnis lacrymis et in magna devotione».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquae alie de sororibus sciebant predicta, respondit: «Multe alie sciebant hoc, sed ego non possum eas nominare».

Interrogata, quanto tempore predicta virgo Margaretha fecit predicta, ut dixit, respondit: «Usque ad mortem suam».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, quod fecit sic usque ad mortem suam, respondit: «Ego recipiebam corpus Christi secum, et ipsam videbam, et aliquando associavi ipsam, (?) sicut mihi dicebat». Item dixit, quod per totam quadragesimam transibat cum magna humilitate et ab illa Dominica, qua cantatur ‚Judica‘ usque ad cenam domini illud magis faciebat, et cum magnis lacrymis, plus quam in aliis diebus, et in cena domini pedes lavabat sororibus, et cum magna devotione et humilitate osculabatur pedes ipsarum, et cum velo quod portabat in capite sugabat pedes ipsarum, et postea per totam noctem sequentem et diem usque ad Sabathum stabat in orationibus, nec dormiebat, nec comedebat, nec sedebat, nec alicui persone volebat loqui.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi oculis meis, et omnes sorores sciunt illud, et hoc faciebat omni anno».

Interrogata, in quo loco stabat tunc ad orandum, quando sic stabat, quod nec comedebat, nec bibebat, nec dormiebat, ut dixit, respondit: «In loco suo secreto qui est in choro stabat in nocte, et in die ante altare».

Interrogata, quomodo stabat sic in dictis locis, ut dixit, respondit: «De die bene videbamus eam ego et alie sorores, et de nocte, transeundo ante ostium illius loci, videbamus eam sic orantem».

Interrogata, quae erant alie sorores, quae videbant eam tunc, respondit: «Omnes, quae volebant eam videre».

Interrogata, quanto tempore fecit predicta, respondit: «Omni anno faciebat hoc». Item dixit, quod in qualibet vigilia-

and when she received the host itself, she wept much and was very devout.”

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “Because I saw it.”

When asked if any of the sisters knew the aforesaid, she replied, “Many others knew this, but I can’t name them.”

When asked how long the aforesaid virgin Margaret had done the aforesaid, as she said, she replied, “Until her death.”

When asked how she knew that she did this right up to her death, she replied, “I used to receive the body of Christ with her, and I saw her, and sometimes I spent time with her at her request.” She also said that for the whole of Lent she passed her time in great humility, and from the Sunday on which *Iudica* is sung right up to the Lord’s Supper, she did this with even greater fervor than on other days, and with floods of tears, and at the Lord’s Supper she used to wash the sisters’ feet and kiss them with great devotion and humility, and dry them with the veil she wore on her head, and after that she remained at prayer for the whole of the following night and day right up to Holy Saturday, without sleeping or eating or sitting or wanting to speak to anyone.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “I saw it with my own eyes, and all the sisters know it, and she did it every year.”

When asked where she stayed praying, when she did it in this way, not eating or drinking or sleeping, as she said, she replied, “She stayed in her own private place, which is in the choir, by night, and by day before the altar.”

When asked how she stayed like this in the said places, as she said, she replied, “By day other sisters and I had good sight of her, and at night we saw her praying like this as we passed by the choir door.”

When asked who the other sisters were, who saw her on those occasions, she answered, “Everyone who wanted to see her.”

When asked how long she did the aforesaid, she replied, “She did it every year.” She also said that at every vigil of the Lord’s Nativity, of Pentecost, and of the Virgin Mary, every year, she fast-

rum nativitatis domini et pentecostes et sancte Marie, quolibet anno, ieiunabat in pane et aqua, et faciebat mille venias cum mille ‚Ave Maria’.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Bene scio, quia sic ieiunabat et sic faciebat; in una de vigiliis sancte Marie, in qua infirma erat, et non poterat facere predictas venias et dicere mille ‚Ave Maria’, rogavit me, quod ego illud facerem pro ea, et sic feci». Item dixit: «Numquam audiui tempore vite sue, quod aliquod turpe verbum, vel blasphemia, sive iniuria exiret de ore suo». Item dixit, quod quando aliqua de sororibus offendebat eam in aliquo, ipsa non expectabat, quod illa sibi faceret veniam, sed ipsa sancta Margaretha ibat ad eam, et humiliavit se sibi, petendo veniam, quam illa petere debebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod quando rex Bela, pater suus et regina mater sua, vel eius frater mittebat sibi aurum, vel argentum, vel gemmas, nihil recipere volebat, sed mittebat illud priorisse ad opus ecclesie.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Hoc vidi sepe». Item dixit, quod pater et mater dicte virginis Margarethe valde diligebant eam, et ipsa hoc sciens, magis se humiliavit «et dixit mihi quandoque cum fletu: ‚Deus, vellem quod ego essem una ancilla pauperis potius, quam filia regis, quia magis possem servire Deo’».

Interrogata, si aliqua erat presens, quando hoc sibi dixit, respondit: «Nulla persona».

Interrogata, si aliquid aliud vult dicere super vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Tantam bonitatem vidi in ea, quod lingua mea non posset dicere».

Interrogata super miraculis dixit: «Quedam de sororibus ita dolebat in gutture, quod non poterat bene loqui, neque cantare, et hoc sibi duravit a Dominica palmarum usque ad matutinum quinte ferie, et tunc incepit cantare, et ego interrogavi eam: ‚Quomodo potes cantare, es tu guarita?’ respondit: ‚Bene possum cantare et bene sum guarita invocando nomen beate Margarethe’».

Interrogata de nomine illius sororis, que sic infirmabatur, respondit: «Catharina cantrix, filia Andree».

ed on bread and water, and made a thousand *veniae*, along with a thousand *Ave Marias*.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I well know that she fasted and acted in this way. At one vigil of the Virgin Mary, when she was ill and could not make the aforesaid *veniae* and say the thousand *Ave Marias*, she asked me to do them for her, and I did." She also said, "I never at any time in her life heard a foul, blasphemous, or unjust word from her mouth." She also said that when any of the sisters offended her in anything, she did not wait for her to ask pardon, but would go to her and humble herself before her, seeking the pardon that the other one should have been asking.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that when King Béla, her father, and her mother, the queen, or her brother sent her gold or silver or jewels, she wanted to take nothing but sent it to the prioress for the work of the church.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I often saw it." She also said that the father and mother of the said virgin Margaret loved her very much, and knowing this, she humbled herself the more, "and once she said to me with tears, 'Lord, would that I were a poor man's maid rather than a king's daughter, because then I could serve God better.'"

When asked if anyone was present when she said this to her, she replied, "No one."

When asked if she wanted to say any more about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she replied, "Such goodness I saw in her, that my tongue couldn't express it."

When asked about miracles, she said, "One of the sisters had such a sore throat that she couldn't speak well or sing, and this condition lasted from Palm Sunday until the very early Friday morning, and then she began to sing, and when I asked her, 'How can you sing? Are you cured?' she replied, 'I can sing well and I've been well and truly cured by calling on the name of the blessed Margaret.'"

When asked the name of that sister who was ill in this way, she replied, "The cantrix Catherine, daughter of Andrew."

When asked if any other sisters knew about the said illness, she replied, "I don't know."

Interrogata, si aliquae aliae sorores sciebant de dicta infirmitate, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si aliquae aliae sorores audiverunt, quando ipsa quesivit, quomodo guarita erat, et illud quod sibi dixit dicta Catharina, respondit: «Non, quia loquebatur sibi plane in aure».

Interrogata, in quo loco erant tunc, respondit: «In choro».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Nescio pro vero, tamen credo, quod modo sunt tres anni».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «In mense paschali».

Interrogata, quanto tempore vidit eam sic liberatam, ut dixit, respondit: «Usque nunc». Item dixit: «Dum essem quodam tempore in tantum infirma quod medicus, qui me medicabat, desperatus erat de vita mea, et postquam levatus sol erat, respexi in orientem, et visum (est) mihi, quod ego viderem tres portas et per illas ibant tres societates sanctorum, et veniebant ad claustrum istud, et fuerunt iuxta lectum, in quo tunc iacebam, et ego dixi eis: ‚Ad quid venistis vos?‘ Et ipsi responderunt: ‚Nos venimus ad dicendum domino Philippo archiepiscopo Strigoniensi, qui facit inquisitionem de sanctitate istius virginis Margarethe, quod dicere volumus testimonium pro ea et de sanctitate eius‘; et vidi inter ipsas tres personas, quas cognovi, et erant sanctus Bartholomeus¹⁴⁸ et sanctus Demetrius¹⁴⁹ et sanctus Laurentius,¹⁵⁰ et tunc venerunt quedam de istis sororibus, et ego dixi eis, quod sic in isto monasterio ego vidi talem visionem et omnia narraui eis, ut videram, et ipse responderunt mihi: ‚Visio vestra non est vana, imo vera est, quia archiepiscopus est hic, et facit inquisitionem de sanctitate beate Margarethe‘, et tunc ego scivi, quod illa inquisitio fiebat, et ante nihil sciveram, nec audiveram de hoc, propter gravem illam infirmitatem, quam habebam».

Interrogata, quis fuit ille medicus, qui medicabat eam, respondit: frater *Rudolphus* de ordine predicatorum.

¹⁴⁸ Saint Bartholomew the Apostle, together with Saint Andrew, one of the first martyrs; his feast-day is August 24.

¹⁴⁹ Saint Demetrius, one of the best known of the Greek martyrs, put to death in 303 in Achaia during the reign of Emperor Maximianus; his feast-day is October 26. Some of his relics were kept in Szávaszentdemeter (Sremska Mitrovica, Serbia).

When asked if any other sisters heard, when she asked how she had been cured, and what the said Catherine said to her, she replied, "No, because she was speaking softly into my ear."

When asked where they were at the time, she replied, "In the choir."

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "I don't know for sure, but I think it is three years ago now."

When asked the month, she replied, "In the month of Easter."

When asked how long she had seen her thus delivered, as she said, she replied, "Until now." She also said, "Once when I was so ill that the doctor who was treating me had despaired of my life, and after the sun rose, I looked to the east and it seemed to me that I saw three gates and through them were going three companies of the saints, and they came to this cloister and were next to the bed I was lying in, and I said to them, 'Why have you come?' and they answered, 'We have come to tell Lord Philip, archbishop of Esztergom, who is conducting an inquiry into the sanctity of this virgin Margaret, that we wish to testify on her behalf and on behalf of her sanctity'; and among them I saw three whom I knew, Saint Bartholomew,¹⁴⁸ Saint Demetrius,¹⁴⁹ and Saint Lawrence,¹⁵⁰ and then some of these sisters came and I told them this vision I had had in this monastery, and I recounted to them everything as I had seen it, and they replied to me, 'Your vision is not empty, indeed it is true, because the Archbishop is here, and he is making an inquiry into the sanctity of the blessed Margaret,' and it was then I learned that that inquiry was taking place, although I had known nothing about it, nor heard about it, because of that severe illness I had."

When asked who the doctor was, who was treating her, she replied, "Father Rudolph of the Order of the Preachers."

On his cult in Hungary, see Péter Tóth, ed., *Szent Demeter. Magyarország elfeledett védőszentje* [Saint Demetrius: A forgotten patron-saint of Hungary] (Budapest: Balassi, 2007).

¹⁵⁰ Saint Lawrence, deacon and martyr, executed under Emperor Valerian in 258; his feast-day is August 10.

Interrogata, per quot dies habuit infirmitatem illam, respondit: «A die festivitatis sancte virginis Margarethe martyris¹⁵¹ usque ad festum sancti Jacobi proxime venientis». ¹⁵²

Interrogata, per quot (dies) habuerat illam infirmitatem, quando vidit visionem illam, respondit: «Per octo dies».

Interrogata, cuiusmodi infirmitas erat illa, quam tunc habebat, respondit: «Acuta».

Interrogata, que fuerunt ille sorores, quibus dixit visionem predictam, respondit: «Catharina cantrix et Margaretha, filia domine Anne».

Interrogata de aliis, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod habuit dictam infirmitatem, respondit: «Quinque anni».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio nomina mensium, sed scio, quod fuit illo tempore, quo dixi».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio, sed dicte sorores, quibus dixi tunc, dixerunt mihi, quod fuit quinta feria».

Interrogata, in qua domo tunc iacebat, respondit: «In infirmaria».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Triginta minus duobus».

Interrogata, per quot annos stetit in isto monasterio, respondit: «Per viginti unum».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Predicti priores Martinus (et Andreas) interpretes fuerunt modo predicto in depositionibus sororis Catharine, Margarethe et Candide.

¹⁵¹ Saint Margaret of Antioch, a third-century martyr, whose feast-day is July 20. Her cult in Hungary was intensified by her reliquary head, brought home by King Andrew II from his Crusade. Cf. Imre Orbán, “*Ecce, iam vici mundum!*” *Antiochiae Szent Margit tisztelete Magyarországon* [“*Ecce, iam vici mundum!*” The cult of St Marga-

When asked how many days she was ill, she answered, "From the day of the feast of the holy virgin Margaret the Martyr¹⁵¹ until the feast of Saint James following."¹⁵²

When asked how many days she had had that illness when she saw the vision, she replied, "Eight."

When asked what kind of illness it was, that she had at the time, she answered, "An acute fever."

When asked who the sisters were, to whom she told the aforesaid vision, she replied, "The cantrix Catherine, and Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne."

When asked about others present, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked how many years ago it was that she had the said illness, she replied, "Five years."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know the names of the months, but I know it was at the time I said."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't know, but the said sisters, the ones I spoke to at the time, told me it was a Friday."

When asked in which room she was lying at the time, she replied, "In the infirmary."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Twenty-eight."

When asked how many years she had been in the monastery, she replied, "Twenty-one."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

The aforesaid priors Martinus and Andrew were the interpreters in the aforesaid manner in the depositions of Sisters Catherine, Margaret, and Candida.

ret of Antioch in Hungary] (Budapest: METEM, 2001), 112–14. Her cult no doubt played a role in King Béla IV giving her name to two of his daughters.

¹⁵² Saint James, apostle and martyr, beheaded during the reign of Herodes Agrippa, around 44. His feast-day is July 25.

DIE SABATHI OCTAVA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM
XXXI

Domina Elisabeth, filia comitis Germani de Salon¹⁵³ soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Ab eo tempore, circa quod cognovi istam sanctam Margaretham, de qua facitis inquisitionem, vidi, quod fuit bona et humilis domina, et in multis orationibus stetit, et libenter serviebat in officiis suis». Item dixit, quod magistre sue multum fuit obediens. Item dixit: «Vidi, quod habebat tantam compassionem de infirmis sororibus et servitilibus, et ipsa frequenter mittebat eis quid apponebatur sibi ad manducandum ac bibendum in refectorio, et frequenter ieiuna surgebat ex mensa».

Interrogata, si aliqua de sororibus scivit, vel vidit, respondit: «Soror Ancilla».

Item dixit, quod quando ipsa sancta Margaretha videbat pauperes in ecclesia, dabat eis vestimenta, si habebat penes se, vel alias eleemosynas, et si non habebat, rogabat priorissam, quod aliquid daret eis pro amore Dei, «et nobis sororibus, que non habebamus aliquid, de quo possemus facere eleemosynam, dicebat, quod nos oraremus (pro) ipsis pauperibus».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi et audiui».

Interrogata, in quo loco erat tunc dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Ad fenestram, per quam videmus corpus Christi». Item dixit: «Vidi et audiui, quod quando videbat homines claudos, cecos, et similes, ipsa flebat et reddebat gratias Deo, dicens: ,Domine Deus, sic potuisti facere de me' ». Item dixit: «Vidi, quod ipsa in vigiliis nativitatis domini et sancte Marie et pentecostes, omni anno, ieiunabat in pane et aqua, et mille venias faciebat in qualibet vigiliarum ipsarum, et faciebat mille ,Ave Maria' ».

¹⁵³ There is no such family name in the Hungarian charters; the place name perhaps stands for the city of Salona (Split) in Dalmatia (cf. Fraknói, "Bevezetés," *MRV* vol. I, CXXXIII).

ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 8

31

Lady Elizabeth, daughter of *comes* Germanus of Salon,¹⁵³ a sister and nun of the same monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "From about the time I got to know this saint Margaret, about whom you are conducting an inquiry, I saw that she was a good and humble lady, and she stayed at her many prayers and gladly performed her duties." She also said that she was very obedient to her *magistra*. She also said, "I saw that she had so much compassion for the sick sisters and servants, and she often sent them what was set before her in the refectory to eat and drink, and she often got up hungry from the table."

When asked if any of the sisters knew this or saw it, she replied, "Sister Ancilla."

She also said that when saint Margaret would see poor people in the church, she gave them clothes, if she had any in her possession, or other alms, and if she did not have anything, she would ask the prioress to give them something for the love of God, "And to us sisters, who did not have anything from which we could give alms, she used to say that we should pray for the poor."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw and heard it."

When asked where the said virgin Margaret was at that time, she replied, "At the window, through which we see the body of Christ." She also said, "I have seen and heard that when she saw lame people, or blind, and the like, she wept and thanked God, saying, 'Lord God, you could have done this to me.'" She also said, "I saw that at the vigils of our Lord's Nativity and of the Virgin Mary, and of Pentecost, she fasted every year on bread and water, and she made a thousand *veniae* each of these vigils, and she made a thousand *Ave Marias*."

When asked for how long she did this, she replied, "From about the time I got to know her until her death, and it's now twenty years that I've been in this monastery."

Interrogata, per quantum tempus fecit hoc, respondit: «Ab eo tempore, circa quod cognovi eam usque ad mortem suam, et modo sunt viginti anni, quod sum in isto monasterio».

Interrogata, si alique de sororibus videbant, quod sic ieiunaret, et faceret mille venias, ut dixit, respondit: «Omnes sorores videbant et sciebant hoc». Item dixit, quod in illis duabus septimanis, que precedunt festum resurrectionis, de die et nocte stabat in magnis orationibus cum multis lacrymis, et multum habebat se libenter quod alie sorores non viderent eam, «et nos que desiderabamus semper videre eam, videbamus eam sic orantem et flentem, et vidi, quod aliquando tot lacrymas fundebat, quod velum suum, cum quo sugabat illas, ita balneabatur ut postea premebat illud, et aqua exibat ex illo». Item dixit: «Vidi multoties quando recipiebat corpus Christi, eadem die stabat in magna devotione et orationibus, et quando veniebat ad mensam, quasi nihil comedebat». Item dixit, quod ita erat humilis et obediens, quod semper, quando priorissa aliquid precipiebat, ipsa volebat esse prima, «ut daret nobis bonum exemplum ad faciendum illud, quod priorissa precipiebat, lavando lanam, scopando domum, faciendo balnea infirmis et lectos suos».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi et presens eram». Item dixit: «Vidi, quod quoties transibat per aliquem locum, ubi esset signum crucis, flexis genibus ponebat se ad terram, et orabat, et hoc non dimittebat, quantumcumque iret in magna frequentia ad aliquem locum». Item dixit: «Vidi et audiui, quod domina Maria, mater sua dixit, quod pater suus de mandato domini pape volebat eam maritare regi Bohemie, ut haberet pacem secum, et ista sancta Margaretha respondit: ‚Prius volo, quod corpus meum incidatis per petias, quam frangam fidem, quam promisi Christo, et ante sustinerem omnem excommunicationem, quam ego frangerem fidem, quam promisi domino Jesu Christo’.»

Interrogata, si alique de sororibus erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Sic, soror Olimpiades».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non computavi numerum annorum». Item dixit, quod quando audiebat passiones sanctorum, eas audiebat multum libenter et dicebat:

When asked if any of the sisters saw that she fasted in this way and made a thousand *veniae*, as she said, she replied, "All the sisters saw and knew this." She also said that in these two weeks before the feast of the Resurrection she stayed night and day at her prayers, praying intensely and weeping much, and she was very happy for the other sisters not to see her, "and we who always wanted to see her, saw her praying and weeping in this way, and I saw that sometimes she poured forth so many tears that the veil with which she dried them got so wet that she would later squeeze it, and water came out." She also said, "I often saw, when she was receiving Christ's body, she would stand that whole day with great devoutness at her prayers, and when she came to table, she ate almost nothing." She also said that she was so humble and obedient that when the prioress gave some order, she always wanted to be the first to "give us a good example of what the prioress ordered, washing wool, sweeping the house, and making baths for the sick and making their beds."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it and was present." She also said, "I saw that whenever she passed through a place where there was a sign of the cross, she would bend her knees, place herself on the ground, and pray, and she did not omit this, however often she went any place." She also said, "I saw and heard that her mother, Lady Mary, told her that her father, at the command of the lord Pope, wanted to marry her to the king of Bohemia, so as to secure peace with him, and this saint Margaret answered, 'I'd rather you cut my body in pieces than I break the faith I promised to Christ,' and 'I would sustain all manner of excommunication rather than break the faith I promised to my Lord Jesus Christ.'"

When asked if any of the sisters were present at the time, she replied, "Yes, Sister Olimpiades."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "I haven't counted the number of years." She also said that when she was listening to the passions of the saints, she did so very gladly, and would say, "God, would that I had lived in those days, because I would gladly have suffered in the same way."

„Deus, vellem, quod fuisset tempore illo, quia libenter passa fuisset eodem modo’.»

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Presens fui et audiui».

Interrogata, si aliquae sorores erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Dicebat hoc in presentia omnium sororum, et semper laudabat illas virgines, quae sic fuerunt martyrizatae». Item dixit, quod ipsa sancta Margaretha, quando dicebatur, quod Tartari veniebant, dicebat: «Rogo Deum pro christianis, quod ipsi non veniant, sed quantum est pro me, vellem, quod iam ipsi venissent, quia libenter sustinerem pro fide Christi mortem».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Audiui ab ore ipsius».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recordor, sed homines de isto regno bene sciunt, quod dicebatur quod Tartari veniebant».

Interrogata, si aliquae sorores erant tunc presentes, quando dixit sibi predicta verba, respondit: «Mihi soli dixit».

Interrogata, si vult aliquid dicere, respondit: «Plus non dico; sed scio, postquam cognovi eam, ipsa fuit domina bona et sancta usque ad consummationem vite suae, et quod servavit regulam et ordinem suum melius et strictius, quam aliqua alia de sororibus, quia ultra ordinem (et) regulam melius et strictius semper volebat facere aliqua bona».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Viginti septem, et fui in isto monasterio viginti annis».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Credo, quod sunt septem anni».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I was present and heard it."

When asked if any sisters were present at these times, she replied, "She used to say this in the presence of all the sisters, and she always praised those virgins who were martyred in this way." She also said that this saint Margaret, when the word was that the Tartars were coming, said, "For the sake of Christendom, I ask God that they do not come, but as for me, I wish they were already here, because I would gladly sustain death for the faith of Christ."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I heard it from her own mouth."

When asked how long ago this was, she replied, "I don't remember, but the people of this kingdom well know that there was talk about the Tartars coming."

When asked if any sisters were present at the time she said the aforesaid words, she replied, "She spoke to me alone."

When asked if she wanted to say more, she replied, "I'm not saying any more; but I know that during the period I knew her she was a good and holy lady right up to the end of her life, and that she observed the rule and her order better and more strictly than any other of her sisters, because she always wanted to do good in a better and stricter way, beyond what her rule and order requires."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "Twenty-seven, and I have been in this monastery for twenty years."

When asked how many years it had been since the said virgin Margaret died, she answered, "Seven, I think."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she answered, "No."

EADEM DIE.¹⁵⁴

XXXII

Domina Elisabeth, filia quondam comitis Adriani,^a soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit, quod dicta sancta Margaretha multum obediens fuit, et semper voluit habere pacem cum sororibus suis. Item dixit, quod semper voluit esse prima ad faciendum omnia servitia, que necessaria erant, ut daret bonum exemplum aliis sororibus in faciendo lectos et alia servitia, et libenter serviebat omnibus sororibus. Item dixit, quod bene et fortiter servabat regulam suam.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod nolebat habere multum de vestibus, et si aliquando videbat aliquem pauperem, si habebat duas tunicas, dabat sibi unam, et si non habebat, rogabat priorissam, quod mitteret ipsi pauperi aliquam vestem.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi».

Interrogata, in quo loco erant tunc, quando videbat pauperem, et quod dabat sibi tunicam, ut dixit, respondit: «Ad fenestram in choro, unde sorores vident corpus Christi». Item dixit, quod quando videbat ipsa aliquem debilem, tunc dicebat: ‚Domine Deus, bene potuisses me facere talem’, et consulebat sororibus, que ibi erant, quod dicerent ‚Ave Maria’ pro eo.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi». Item dixit, quod tantum portabat tunicam suam, quod frangebatur, et postea faciebat appetiari; et si aliquando serviendo sororibus, eundo et redeundo per lutum ad coquinam tunica sua et fatigabatur, et nocte illa faciebat sic in illa tunica.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Sepe vidi». Item dixit: «Per totam quadragesimam non mutabat tunicam, nec lavabat sibi caput, et rara vice pro aliis temporibus, ita quod capilli sui tenebant se simul ad modum feltri, et quando so-

^a Adam *ms.*

¹⁵⁴ August 8.

ON THE SAME DAY¹⁵⁴

32

Lady Elizabeth, daughter of the late *comes* Adrian, a sister and nun of the same monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath that the said saint Margaret was very obedient, and always wanted to have peace with her sisters. She also said that she always wanted to be the first to do any service that needed to be done, so as to give an example to the other sisters in making beds and other services, and she served the other sisters willingly. She also said that she kept her rule well and rigorously.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that she refused to have much in the way of clothing, and if she ever saw a poor person, if she had two tunics, she would give him one, and if she did not, she would ask the prioress to send that poor person some article of clothing.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it."

When asked where they were on the occasions when she would see a poor person and give them a tunic, as she said, she replied, "At the choir window, from which the sisters see the body of Christ." She also said that when she saw anyone weak, she would say, "'Lord God, you might well have made me like this,' and she would enjoin the sisters who were with her to say the *Ave Maria* for him."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it." She also said that she wore a tunic so much that it used to tear, and then she would have it patched; and if ever in serving the sisters at any time, coming and going through mud to the kitchen and her tunic got torn, and she did those services that night in that tunic.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I often saw it." She also said, "For the whole of Lent she didn't change her tunic or wash her head, and rarely at other times, so that her hair got to be like felt, and when the sisters asked her to get her

rores rogabant eam, quod faceret sibi lavari caput, vel radi, ipsa respondebat: ‚Non, volo quod vermes castigent corpus meum‘».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi et audivi». Item dixit: «Postquam cognovi eam, ipsa non intravit balneum, nec in sanitate, nec in infirmitate».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Continue et magno tempore steti cum ea». Item dixit, quod si aliquando aliqua soror dolebat, vel flebat de morte vel infirmitate alicuius sui consanguinei, ipsa dolebat et flebat cum ea, et dicebat: ‚Deus vellet, ut hoc venisset mihi et non tibi‘.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Vidi et mihi hoc fecit et dixit». Item dixit, quod post completorium, quando habebat aliquos infirmos in cura, ibat ad infirmariam, et serviebat illis, et semper voluit esse ultima post alias sorores ad colligendum se in lecto suo.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia presens fui et vidi».

Item dixit: «In qualibet vigilia sancte Marie ieiunabat in pane et aqua, et dicebat mille ‚Ave Maria‘ et hoc idem faciebat et dicebat in qualibet vigilia nativitatis domini», et dixit, quod plures de hoc sumpserunt exemplum ab ipsa, et quod hodie faciunt.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi, et ab ea recepi exemplum, et hoc hodie servo». Item dixit, quod in die parasceve nihil comedebat, nec bibebat, et quod in Sabatho sancto sequenti ieiunabat in pane et aqua, et si dies annunciationis sancte Marie fuisset eadem die, servabat ieiunium, quod debebat facere in illa die in pane et aqua, post festum resurrectionis, et illud tunc faciebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi». Item dixit, quod in vigilia pentecostes dixit mille ‚Veni sancte Spiritus‘, et si mater sua erat tunc in monasterio (et) non poterat illa die facere illud, faciebat in alia die, quando poterat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia tota die illa videbam eam in orationibus, et frequenter querebat a me, si facerem simile».

Interrogata, si vult aliud dicere de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil volo plus dicere de hoc». Item dixit super miraculis: «Quinque anni sunt, quod

hair washed or shaved, she answered, 'No, I want the worms to chastise my body.'

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it and heard it." She also said, "In the time I knew her, she never took a bath either in sickness or in health."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I was with her continually for a long time." She also said that if ever any of the sisters was sad, or weeping over a death or the sickness of any relative, she herself mourned and wept with her and would say, "Would to God that this had come upon me and not you."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I saw it, and she did and said this to me."

She also said that after compline, when she had any sick ones under her care, she would go to the infirmary and serve them, and always wanted to be the last of the sisters to settle into bed.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I was present and saw it."

She also said, "At every vigil of the Virgin Mary she fasted on bread and water, and said a thousand *Ave Marias*, and she did and said this same thing at every vigil of our Lord's Nativity," and she said that more had taken her example and were doing it today.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it. I took her example and I keep it today." She also said that on Good Friday she neither ate nor drank anything, and on Holy Saturday, she fasted on bread and water; and if the day of the Assumption of St. Mary was the same day, the fast she was supposed to do that day on bread and water she reserved until after the feast of the Resurrection, and then she did it.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it." She also said that on the vigil of Pentecost she said a thousand times, *Veni, Sancte Spiritus*, and if her mother was in the monastery and she could not do it that day, she did it on another day when she could.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because all that day I saw her at her prayers, and she often asked me if I did likewise."

ego habebam quamdam sororem in guarda,^a que habebat febrem quartanam quandoque, et quandoque tertianam, et duravit sibi infirmitas circa tres menses, et multoties rogabam Deum et sanctam Margaretham, quod liberaret dictam sororem, et frequenter lavi capillos sancte Margarethe istius cum aqua, et dabam illam lavaturam ad bibendum dicte infirme, et postea liberata fuit».

Interrogata de nomine dicte sororis, respondit: «Soror Maria, filia Michaelis».

Interrogata, per quot vices lavit dictos capillos, et dedit ipsam lavaturam ad bibendum ipsi infirme, ut dixit, respondit: «Per quinque vices».

Interrogata, in quot diebus lavit dictos capillos quinquies, ut dixit, et dedit lavaturam predicte infirme, respondit: «In quinque diebus qualibet die semel».

Interrogata, quantum stetit, antequam esset bene liberata, postquam incepit sibi dare dictam lavaturam, ut dixit, respondit: «In sequenti septimana sanata fuit, et (nec) illam infirmitatem, nec aliam habuit postea».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Nescio, sed scio, quod sunt viginti anni, quod intravi monasterium illud, et tunc habebam primos dentes».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem anni».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non»

EADEM DIE¹⁵⁵

XXXIII

Domina Catharina, filia quondam domini Marci de Simigio, soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii, iuravit, ut supra.

^a guarda *ital.*

¹⁵⁵ August 8.

When asked if she wanted to say anything else about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I don't wish to say more about it." She also said about the miracles, "Five years ago I had a certain sister under my care, who had sometimes a quartan fever, sometimes a tertian fever, and her illness lasted three months, and many a time I asked God and saint Margaret to deliver the said sister, and I often washed the hair of this saint Margaret with water and gave the wash-water to the said sick girl to drink, and she was delivered."

When asked the sister's name, she replied, "Sister Mary, daughter of Michael."

When asked how many times she washed the said hair and gave the wash-water to the aforesaid sick girl, as she said, she replied, "Five times."

When asked how many days she washed the said hair five times, as she said, and gave the wash-water to the aforesaid sick girl, she replied, "Once a day every day for the five days."

When asked how long it was before she was fully delivered after she began giving her the said wash-water, as she said, she replied, "She was cured in the following week, and she hasn't had this or any other illness since."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't know, but it's been twenty years since I entered this monastery, and I had my first teeth at that time."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Seven."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY¹⁵⁵

33

Lady Catherine, daughter of the late Lord Marcus of Somogy, a sister and nun of the same monastery, took the oath, as above.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Super omnes ipsa sancta Margaretha habuit amorem Dei et obediens fuit».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia vidi». Item dixit, quod libenter et magna cum humilitate serviebat infirmis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi oculis meis». Item dixit, quod quedam de sororibus istis in gutture habebat magnum malum, et debebat medicari stercore de bove, et alie sorores abhorrebant apponere illam medicinam, et eam reliquerunt, et ipsa sancta Margaretha illam medicinam apposuit et ligavit eam».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi oculis meis et presens fui». Item dixit, quod quedam servitialis erat multum scabiosa, et habebat totas carnes suas rubeas et infirmabatur ad mortem, et tunc sancta Margaretha fecit sibi balneum, et eam balneaverat manibus suis, lavit et rasit sibi caput.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi ipsam servitalem sic infirmam, et audivi a sororibus, quod eam laverat et balneaverat et caput sibi raserat». Item dixit, quod si aliqua de sororibus infirmabatur, ipsa erat prima, que hoc sciebat, quia multum vigilabat in nocte.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Quia multoties vidi hoc».

Item dixit, quod non spectabat personam suam, nec verecundiam habebat facere vilissima servitia, in scopando domos et claustrum, et quadam die quedam infirma desiderabat habere budellas de porco et ipsa procuravit quod apportarentur sibi, et recepit plenas budellas ipsas, sicut de porco tracte fuerant, et evacuavit eas, et lavit et paravit, et super vestes suas sparsa fuit illa putredo, que erat in ipsis budellis, et portavit ipsam tunicam in dorso, sicut prius, et humiliter hoc sustinuit.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi cum oculis meis, et illud servitium facere nolui, sed ita placuit sibi». Item dixit, quod quando aliqua de sororibus erat tristis pro morte alicuius sui parentis, vel pro aliqua alia causa, et ipsa ibat et tristabatur cum ipsa.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "Before all the others, this saint Margaret loved God and was obedient."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it." She also said that she served the sick gladly and with great humility.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it with my own eyes." She also said that one of these sisters had a very sore throat, and had to be medicated with cow's dung, and the other sisters shrank from applying that medicine and abandoned her, but this saint Margaret applied that medicine and bandaged her.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I saw it with my own eyes and was present." She also said that a certain servant had a skin disease, all her flesh was red, and she was sick to the point of death, and then saint Margaret made her a bath and bathed her with her own hands, and washed and shaved her head.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw the servant herself sick in this way, and I heard from the sisters that she had washed and bathed her and shaved her head." She also said that if any of the sisters was sick, she was the first to know it, because she stayed awake a great deal at night.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "Because I saw it many times."

She also said that she had no regard for herself, nor was she ashamed to do the meanest tasks in sweeping the rooms and the cloister, and one day a certain sick person had a craving for pig intestines, and she herself arranged for them to be brought to her, and received the full intestines just as they had been drawn from the pig, and she emptied them, washed and prepared them, and the smelly mess that was in the intestines was all over her clothes, and she wore the tunic on her back, as before, and humbly put up with this.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes, and I did not want to do that service, but it pleased her." She also said that when any of the sisters was depressed over the death of a parent or for any other reason, she herself would go and mourn with her.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Hoc mihi fecit et aliis sororibus». Item dixit, quod in magno frigore et magna nive semper habebat ruptos calceos.

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: («Vidi»). Item dixit, quod in magno frigore, quando alie sorores erant ad calefaciendum se, ipsa stabat in orationibus suis.

Interrogata, quomodo (scit) hoc, respondit: «Vidi». Item dixit: «Quando exibat ipsa de orationibus suis, tantum pulchra erat in facie, quod nos non audebamus eam respicere».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, (respondit): «Ego ipsa tunc non audebam eam guardare in facie». Item dixit: «Quando ipsa loquebatur cum sororibus, multum habebat in ore suo nomen Jesu, et tunc semper cum suspiriis oculos levabat in celum».

Interrogata, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Vidi hoc et presens fui». Item (dixit): «Ego semel feceram sibi offensam, et ipsa venit ad me, petendo cum humilitate, quod ego parcerem sibi de offensa, quam ego feceram ei, et quod haberem pacem cum ea». Item dixit: «Si ego credidissem, quod omnia sua bona facta deberent reduci ad sanctitatem eius, plura potuissem notasse, quam notavi, sed ea que recordor dixi».

Interrogata super miraculis dixit: «Post mortem dicte Margarethe habui tam magnum malum in capite, quod videbatur mihi, quod oculi mei exirent de capite meo, et tunc ivi ad locum, in quo solebat orare, et posui caput in locum illum, in quem in orationibus suis consueverat ponere caput suum, sperando de sanctitate sua, et statim fui sana et liberata ab illo dolore».

Interrogata, si aliquae de sororibus erant presentes, respondit: «Non, sed bene sciebant, quod ego habebam illum dolorem».

Interrogata, que fuerunt ille sorores, que sciebant, quod haberet tam magnum malum, respondit: «Iam magnum tempus est, quod ego non recordor».

Interrogata, per quot dies habuerat illud malum in capite, respondit: «Ab aurora inceperat in nativitate sancte Marie, et post nonam eadem die sanata fui». Item dixit: «A nativitate sancte Marie usque ad festum sancte Margarethe virginis proxime preteritum habueram febrem quartanam, et usque ad tempus, in quo in-

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "She did this for me and other sisters." She also said that in severe cold and heavy snow she always had worn out shoes.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I saw it." She also said that in severe cold, when the other sisters were for warming themselves, she went on praying.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I saw it." She also said, "When she left off praying, she was so fair of face that we didn't dare look at her."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I myself didn't dare on these occasions to look her in the face." She also said, when she was speaking with the sisters, she often had the name of Jesus on her lips, and then she would sigh and raise her eyes to heaven.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I saw it and was present." She also said, "One time I had done her an offence, and she came in person to me, humbly asking me to forgive her for the offense I had done her, and to make peace with her." She also said, "If I had thought that all her good deeds were to be counted towards her sainthood, I could have noted more than I did, but I've said what I remember."

When asked about miracles, she said, "After the death of the said Margaret, I had such a headache that I thought my eyes would pop out of my head, and then I went to the place where she used to pray, and I put my head on that spot on which she had been accustomed to lay her head in prayer, hoping for [some result from] her sanctity, and I was immediately well and delivered from that pain."

When asked if any of the sisters were present, she replied, "No, but they well knew that I had that pain."

When asked who those sisters were, who knew that she had such a severe pain, she replied, "It's a long time ago, I don't remember any more."

When asked for how many days she had had that headache, she replied, "It started at dawn on the Nativity of the Virgin Mary, and after nones of the same day, I was cured." She also said, "From the Nativity of The Virgin Mary until the Feast of Saint Margaret the Virgin following, I had had a quartan fever, and until the time when

cepi habere predictam infirmitatem, nolui dicere testimonium de sanctitate sua, ante primos inquisitores, et in ipsa infirmitate promisi isti sancte Margarethe, quod, si me liberaret de dicta infirmitate, ego dicerem testimonium de sua sanctitate, et eadem die, qua hoc promisi, fui tota sanata et liberata, nec postea habui eandem infirmitatem, nec similem».

Interrogata, si alique de sororibus erant presentes, quando promisit et sic liberata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Hoc promisi in corde meo, sed quando sanata fui, hoc dixi sororibus».

Interrogata de nominibus sororum dictarum, respondit: «Catharina priorissa et soror Lucia».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de die, in qua liberata fuit et sanata, ut dixit, respondit: «Die Dominica».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post vespervas in eadem hora».

Interrogata, quantum tempus est, quod dixit predictis Catharine priorisse et sorori Lucie, sicut promiserat et liberata fuerat, respondit: «Illa die, in qua consueveram habere dictam infirmitatem, et iacebam in lecto, et expectabam dictam infirmitatem, et quando sensi, quod eram sanata et liberata, surrexi eadem die, et hoc dixi dicte sorori Lucie, et in sequenti die hoc dixi priorisse».

Interrogata, si alie sorores sciebant, quod haberet dictam infirmitatem, respondit: «Omnes sciebant hoc».

Interrogata, in quo loco erat, quando hoc dixit predictae Lucie, respondit: «In infirmaria».

Interrogata, in qua hora dixit, respondit: «Antequam esset finitum completorium».

Interrogata, in quo loco erant tunc, quando hoc dixit priorisse, respondit: «In infirmaria».

Interrogata de hora diei, quando dixit priorisse predicta verba, respondit: «Post nonam».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam viginti sex, vel viginti septem, et sunt viginti anni quod ego sum in isto monasterio».

I began to have the aforesaid illness, I was unwilling to give testimony about her sanctity in front of the first inquisitors, and in that sickness I promised this saint Margaret that, if she would free me from the said illness, I would give testimony about her sanctity, and on the very day I made this promise, I was completely delivered and cured, and since then, I haven't had the same illness or anything like it."

When asked if any of the sisters were present when she made the promise and was delivered in this way, as she said, she replied, "I made this promise in my heart, but I told the sisters about it when I was cured."

When asked the names of the said sisters, she replied, "The Prioress Catherine and Sister Lucy."

When asked the month, she said, "I don't know."

When asked the day she was delivered and cured, as she said, she replied, "Sunday."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "After vespers, in the same hour."

When asked how long ago it was since her speaking to the aforesaid prioress, Catherine, and to Sister Lucy about her promise and deliverance, she replied, "On the day I usually had the said illness I was lying in bed and waiting for the onset of the illness, and when I sensed that I had been delivered and cured, the same day I got up and I told Sister Lucy about it, and the next day I told the prioress."

When asked if other sisters knew that she had the said illness, she replied, "They all knew it."

When asked where she was when she told this to the aforesaid Lucy, she replied, "In the infirmary."

When asked at what hour she said it, she replied, "Before the end of compline."

When asked where they were when she told the prioress, she replied, "In the infirmary."

When asked the hour of the day when she said the aforesaid words to the prioress, she replied, "After nones."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I think I'm twenty-six or twenty-seven, and it's been twenty years since I've been in this monastery."

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE JOVIS TERTIA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM.

Interrogata, si scit, quod soror Agnes,¹⁵⁶ filia quondam Gregorii de Somogio habuit post mortem predictae virginis Margarethe aliquam infirmitatem in aliqua parte sui corporis, respondit: «Scio, quod habuit inflaturam in facie sua, et credebam de illa inflatura deberet perdere oculum, et postea sanata fuit, et dixit mihi, quod quamdam petiam de vestibis istius sancte Margarethe posuerat super faciem suam et sanata fuit».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Sicut credo, unus annus fuit circa festum sancti Joannis baptiste».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post tertiam».

Interrogata, in quo loco erant, respondit: «Ante infirmariam».

Interrogata de presentibus, qui erant ibi, quando hoc sibi dixit, respondit «Non habeo in mente».

Interrogata, quando habuerat dictam infirmitatem et inflaturam, respondit: «A festo sancti Joannis baptiste usque ad festum sancti Petri».

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Vidi eam omni die».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

¹⁵⁶ Agnes is Witness 23.

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3

When asked if she knew that Sister Agnes,¹⁵⁶ daughter of the late Gregory of Somogy, had any illness in any part of her body after the death of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I know that she had a swelling on her face and I thought that she would lose an eye from that swelling, and later she was healed, and she told me that she had put a bit of this saint Margaret's clothing over her face and had been healed."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "I think it was one year ago, around the feast of St. John the Baptist."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "After terce."

When asked where they were, she replied, "In front of the infirmary."

When asked about those present there when she said this to her, she replied, "I have no recollection."

When asked when she had had the said illness and swelling she replied, "From the feast of St. John the Baptist until the feast of St. Peter."

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I saw her every day."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

EADEM DIE SABATHI
OCTAVA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM.
XXXIV

Domina Chinga, filia quondam comitis Badoldy,¹⁵⁷ soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Scio, quod ista domina fuit bona domina et devota et obediens, et quod stabat in orationibus ante auroram usque ad horam misse, et quod libenter humiliavit se ad omne servitium, lavando scutellas et ollas, et faciendo alia in coquina, que erant necessaria».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi hoc cum oculis meis». Item dixit: «Sepe vidi, quod ipsa stabat in orationibus usque ad matutinum, et aliquando ducebat me secum et nullam aliam, et quando orabat, ego stabam aliquando longe ab ea, et aliquando videbatur mihi, quod loqueretur cum aliqua persona, et vocem audiebam, sed verba non intelligebam». Item dixit, quod impetraverat a priorissa, quod posset servire infirmis, et libenter eis serviebat, in eundo et redeundo pro servitiis eorum per pluviam per lutum et per nutum et quod vestes suas propter hoc balneatas et fangulentas tenebat in dorso de nocte.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi». Item dixit, quod si priorissa precipiebat aliquid sororibus in comuni, ipsa erat prima, que faciebat illud, quod priorissa precipiebat, et libenter serviebat omnibus servitilibus infirmis et sanis.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi». Item dixit, quod in qualibet vigilia beate Marie virginis ipsa ieiunabat in pane et aqua, et faciebat mille venias et dicebat mille ‚Ave Maria’.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, quod in predictis vigiliis ieiunaret in pane et aqua, et faceret mille venias, respondit: «Vidi».

¹⁵⁷ There is no evidence of a family name Badoldi; most likely he is a member of the illustrious Ratold (Rátót) kindred. Fraknói, “Bevezetés,” *MRV*, vol. I, CXXXIII; Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek*, vol. III, 3–20 [911–30].

ON THE SAME SUNDAY, AUGUST 8

34

Lady Kinga, daughter of the late *comes* Badoldi,¹⁵⁷ a sister and nun of the same monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "I know that this was a good, devout, and obedient lady, and she kept at her prayers from before dawn right up to the time of mass, and she gladly humbled herself to every service, washing the dishes and pots, and doing other things in the kitchen that had to be done."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw this with my own eyes."

She also said, "I have often seen her staying at prayer until matins, and sometimes she took me and no one else with her, and when she prayed, I sometimes kept a long way off from her, and it sometimes seemed to me that she was speaking with somebody, and I could hear her voice but I couldn't make out the words." She also said that she had requested from the prioress that she might serve the sick, and she served them gladly, coming and going to serve them through rain and mud, and because of this, she wore soaked and muddy clothes on her back at night.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it." She also said if the prioress gave a general instruction to the sisters, she was the first to do what the prioress wanted, and she gladly served all the servants in sickness and in health.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it." She also said that on every vigil of the blessed Virgin Mary, she used to fast on bread and water, make a thousand *veniae*, and say a thousand *Ave Marias*.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, that on the aforesaid vigils she used to fast on bread and water and make a thousand *veniae*, she replied, "I saw it."

When asked how she knew that she said a thousand *Ave Marias*, as she said, she replied, "I myself on her advice say a thousand *Ave Marias* on the aforesaid vigils, and I fast and make

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicebat mille ‚Ave Maria’, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego ipsa de consilio suo in predictis vigiliis dico mille ‚Ave Maria’, et ieiuno et facio venias, sicut ipsa faciebat, et ipsa aliqua vice dixit mihi, quod sic dicebat et faciebat». Item dixit, quod si de nocte aliquo tempore audiebat aliquam sororem lamentantem, ipsa incontinenti ibat ad eam, et querebat: ‚Quid habes soror, vis tu aliquid?’ Et si oportebat, ibat nudis pedibus per lutum ad coquinam, et calefaciebat vestes, vinum, vel aliud, et portabat dicte infirme, et ponebat in loco, in quo habebat dolorem, et dabat ei bibere dictum vinum, si oportebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ita surgebat et ibat nudis pedibus ad coquinam, ut dixit, respondit: «Aliqua vice surrexi, et ivi cum ea, et vidi hoc». Item dixit, quod ipsa faciebat coquinam pro infirmis manibus suis, et dabat ad comedendum et bibendum eis, ducebat eas ad privata, et privata purgabat quando oportebat.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi hoc».

Interrogata, quoties vidit eam sic facientem, respondit: «Sepissime». Item dixit, quod plura alia bona fecit «sed propter pueritiam meam non recordor de omnibus, et que scivi dixi».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam triginta annos, et viginti unus anni sunt, quod ego sum in monasterio».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE¹⁵⁸

XXXV

Domina Anglent, filia quondam Andree de Vesprimio, soror et monialis dicti monasterii, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Ista sancta Margaretha nimis devota fuit et timens Deum, et multum fuit in orationibus».

¹⁵⁸ August 8.

veniae, the way she herself used to, and once she said to me that she did and said these things.” She also said that if ever she heard any sister lamenting during the night, she would go straight away to her and ask “‘What’s wrong, sister? Do you want anything?’ And if she had to, she would go on bare feet through the mud to the kitchen and warm up clothing, wine or something else and take it to the said sick person, and place it on the spot she was having the pain, and give her the said wine to drink, if it was necessary.”

When asked how she knew that she got up in this way and went on bare feet to the kitchen, as she said, she replied, “One time I got up and went with her, and I saw it.” She also said that she cooked for the sick with her own hands, and gave food and drink to them, took them to the latrines, and cleaned the latrines when necessary.”

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, “I saw it.”

When asked how many times she saw her doing this, she replied, “Very often.” She also said that she did many other good deeds, “but because I was young I don’t remember them all, and I have said what I know.”

When asked how old she was, she replied, “I think I’m thirty, and I have been in the monastery for twenty-one years.”

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, “No.”

ON THE SAME DAY¹⁵⁸

35

Lady Anglent, daughter of the late Andrew of Veszprém, a sister and nun of the said monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath, “This saint Margaret was very devout and God-fearing, and prayed a great deal.”

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi». Item dixit, quod cum magno desiderio serviebat infirmis et toti conventui.

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Multoties vidi».

Interrogata, si aliud vult dicere, respondit: «Infirma sum et non possum loqui, sed scio, quod totam bonitatem in se habuit».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam quinquaginta annos».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod est in monasterio, respondit: «Nescio, sed bene scio, quod habebam primos dentes in ore, quando data fui monasterio Vesprimiensi, et postea semper fui in illo monasterio et in isto».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE.¹⁵⁹

XXXVI

Domina Alincha, filia quondam domini Petri de generatione Aycha,¹⁶⁰ soror et monialis eiusdem monasterii, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Ista sancta Margaretha totum desiderium suum habuit inflammatum ad amorem Dei, et multum devote stabat in orationibus suis, (et) si aliquis respiciebat faciem suam, multum diligebat videre eam».

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi cum oculis meis». Item dixit, quod in tantum humiliabat se priorisse, quod quando priorissa precipiebat aliquid communiter sororibus, ipsa prius quam alie volebat facere illud, quod priorissa precipiebat, et si aliqua vice aliqua de sororibus retrahebat se a servitiis, ipsa confortabat se ad hoc, et dabat nobis bonum exemplum».

¹⁵⁹ August 8.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it." She also said that she served the sick and the whole convent with great desire.

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I've seen it many times."

When asked if she wanted to say more, she replied, "I'm sick and can't speak, but I know she had complete goodness in her."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I think I'm fifty."

When asked how many years she had been in the monastery, she replied, "I don't know, but I well know that I had my first teeth in my mouth when I was given to the monastery of Veszprém, and after that, I have always been in that monastery and in this one."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY¹⁵⁹

36

Lady Alincha, daughter of the late Lord Peter of the Ajka kindred,¹⁶⁰ a sister and nun of the same monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "This saint Margaret had her whole heart afire for the love of God, and she kept at her prayers with great devotion, and if anyone would look upon her face, it was a great pleasure to see her."

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes." She also said that she humbled herself to the prioress so much that if ever the prioress gave a general order to the sisters, she wanted to do it before any of the others; and if at any time any of the sisters shrank from the services, she would personally set herself to the task, and give us a good example."

¹⁶⁰ Descendants of this kindred from the locality of Ajka in Veszprém county are often mentioned in medieval charters. Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek*, vol. I, 79–90 [93–104].

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Vidi cum oculis meis, et cum ipsa fui sepe in servitiis illis». Item dixit: «Soror Elisabeth, que erat multum veterana, que mortua est, quodam tempore habuit longam infirmitatem et magnam per octodecim annos, et pervenit ad tantam debilitatem, fluxum ventris et vomitum, quod non poterat se elevare de lecto per se, et dixit, quod sorores quadam die erant ita fatigate, quod nulla volebat ire ad eam iuvandam, et ista sancta Margaretha tunc petiit in obedientiam a priorissa, quod ipsam deberet habere in guardiam suam, et priorissa hoc sibi concessit, et dixit, quod acciperet secum unam sociam, et tunc accepit me, et ivi secum ad dictam infirmam, et ipsa sancta Margaretha tunc levavit eam de lecto suo cum manibus suis, et posuit eam ad scamnum super concham, et propter fetorem fluxus et vomitus ego traxi me in partem, quia fetorem illum non poteram sustinere, et dicebat mihi: ‚Soror mea, si tu non potes hoc sustinere, removeas te, permitte me facere hoc’, et postea iterum accepit eam in brachiis suis, et posuit eam in lectum suum, et mirabar, quod poterat eam sustinere, quia erat multum magna, et postea ista sancta Margaretha cum manibus suis istam concham portavit ad aquam, et lavit eam tunc manibus suis, et illa pluries fecit hoc».

Interrogata, que erant presentes, quando ista sancta Margaretha petiit in obedientiam a priorissa, ut dixit, respondit: «Totus conventus».

Interrogata, si aliqua alia vidit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha apportavit dictam concham et fecit dicta, ut dixit, respondit: «Soror Ancilla et ego, que tunc erat infirma, et hoc fuit per tres annos ante mortem suam». Item dixit, quod libenter audiebat exponi passiones martyrum, et magno cum fletu, et quadam die exposita fuit sibi passio sancti Jacobi martyris et tunc dixit mihi: ‚Placent tibi ea, que audisti?’ Et ego respondi: ‚Placent, sed quid ad nos, postquam non possumus sustinere ista’; et ista tunc dixit mihi: ‚Deus, vellem, quod fuisset tempore illo, et fuisset tajata in petiis pro amore Jesu Christi, ita quod passio mea durasset multum, et quod in fine truncavissent caput meum pro fusione sanguinis Jesu Christi’; et quando hoc dicebat, videbatur multum gaudere».

When asked how she knew the aforesaid, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes, and I often performed these services alongside her." She also said, "Sister Elizabeth, who was very old and is now dead, one time had a long, severe illness for eighteen years and got so weak with diarrhea and vomiting, that she could not lift herself out of bed, and one day the sisters were so tired that no one wanted to go and help her, and then this saint Margaret petitioned the prioress for an act of obedience, that she should look after her, and the prioress granted this, and told her to take one companion, and on that occasion she took me, and I went with her to the said sick sister, and saint Margaret herself raised her from the bed with her own hands and placed her on the stool over the chamber-pot, and because of the stench of the diarrhea and the vomit, I stood aside, because I couldn't stand that stench, and she said to me, 'My sister, if you can't stand this, remove yourself, let me do it,' and then she took her again in her arms and put her to bed, and I marveled that she could carry her, because she was very big, and after that, this saint Margaret carried that bed pan to the water with her own hands, and washed it with her own hands, and she did this many times."

When asked if there were people present when this saint Margaret asked the prioress for this act of obedience, as she said, she replied, "The whole convent."

When asked if anyone saw that the said virgin Margaret carried the said bed pan and did the said things, as she said, she replied, "Sister Ancilla, who was sick, and myself, and this was three years before her death." She also said that she gladly heard the passions of the saints expounded to her, and with much weeping, and one day the passion of St. James the Martyr had been expounded to her, and she said to me, 'Do you like what you heard?' And I replied, 'Yes, but how does it apply to us, now that we can't undergo these things?' And then she said to me, 'God, I wish I had lived in those days and been torn to pieces for the love of Jesus Christ, such that my passion would have lasted long, and in the end they had cut off my head, the blood which Jesus Christ shed'; and when she said this, she seemed to rejoice greatly."

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, quod libenter audiebat exponi passiones sanctorum, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia videbam in facie sua et frequenter faciebat mentionem de istis».

Interrogata, si aliqui erant presentes, quando dixit sibi, quod libenter permetteret se occidi pro amore Jesu Christi, ut dixit, respondit: «Mihi soli dixit».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod ipsa soror Margaretha dixit sibi predicta, respondit: «In illo anno, quo mortua est».

Interrogata super miraculis dixit: «In secunda Dominica adventus domini per tres annos, antequam moreretur predicta virgo Margaretha, dum esset cum aliis sororibus in refectorio in cena, et magnum dolorem haberem in corde, et nulla de sororibus videretur habere curam de me, cepi cogitare et dicere intra me, (si) non essem soror, et essem inter parentes meos, multos haberem, qui curarent me, et post cenam intraverunt sorores in processionem in ecclesiam, secundum consuetudinem nostram, et ego remansi in refectorio propter dictum dolorem, et quando sorores redierunt, ipsa sancta Margaretha venit ad me, et dixit mihi: ‚Soror, quid habes? quomodo stas tu?‘ Et ego dixi: ‚Hic sum‘, et tunc sancta Margaretha respondit: ‚Quid est, quod propter dolorem tuum non velles esse in ordine?‘ et postea ad tres dies non audebam respicere ad faciem suam, quia dixerat mihi omnia, que cogitaveram».

Interrogata, si aliqui sorores erant presentes, quando dixit sibi predicta, respondit: «Mihi soli dixit». Item dixit: «In inquisitione sua quam fecerunt primi inquisitores in facto isto pro verecundia nolui ire coram eis, et postea, quando audivi, quod dominus papa mittebat huc alios inquisitores, similiter cogitavi in corde meo: ‚Nihil scis dicere coram eis‘, et postea habui maximam infirmitatem acutam per sex dies, de qua credebam me mori, et tunc cogitavi in corde meo, si Deus me sanaret de infirmitate ista, quod ego dicerem testimonium coram inquisitoribus pape^{a 161} si venirent, et ea die liberata fui de illa infirmitate».

^a proprie ms.

¹⁶¹ On the two investigations, see *Introduction*, 19–20 n. 45–48, and documents no.s 1–4 in chapter IV, *Correspondence*.

When asked how she knew this—that she gladly listened to the passions of the saints being expounded, as she said—she replied, “Because I saw it in her face and she often mentioned these matters.”

When asked if there were any present when she told her that she would gladly allow herself to be killed for the love of Jesus Christ, as she said, she replied, “She said it to me alone.”

When asked how many years ago Sister Margaret said the aforementioned things, she replied, “She did so in the year she died.”

When asked about miracles, she said, “On the second Sunday of Advent, for three years before the aforesaid virgin Margaret died, while she was at supper with the other sisters in the refectory and I had a very great sadness in my heart, and none of the sisters seemed to care about me, I began to think and say to myself that if I weren’t a sister and was among my relatives, I would have many who cared about me, and after dinner the sisters went in procession to the church, according to our custom, and I remained in the refectory because of the aforesaid sadness, and when they came back, saint Margaret herself came to me and said, ‘Sister, how are you? How are things with you?’ And I said, ‘I’m here,’ and then saint Margaret replied, ‘Why is it that you wouldn’t want to be in the order, because of your sadness?’ And after that for three days I didn’t dare look her in the face, because she had told me everything I had been thinking.”

When asked if there were other sisters present when she said the aforesaid things, she replied, “She said it to me alone.” She also said, “In the inquiry that the first inquisitors made, I didn’t want to go before them about this matter out of shyness, and later, when I heard that the lord Pope was sending other inquisitors here,¹⁶¹ I thought much the same thing in my heart, ‘You know nothing to say to them,’ and after that, I had an extremely severe illness for six days, from which I thought I would die, and then I thought in my heart that if God cured me of this illness, I would give testimony in the presence of the papal inquisitors, if they came; and that day I was delivered from that illness.”

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, respondit: «Possunt esse tres septimane».

Interrogata, in quo die ita cogitavit et sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Quadam die Jovis».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post nonam et ante vespas».

Interrogata, si aliquae sorores sciebant, quod haberet dictam infirmitatem, respondit: «Totus conventus sciebat hoc, sed maxime soror Elisabeth, quae est modo sacristiana».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam circa triginta annos, et fui in isto monasterio per viginti annos».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Non computavi annos».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

Dominus Petrus (prior) et rector monasterii sancte crucis de ordine signatorum et Martinus de Nitra scholasticus predicti monasterii interpretes fuerunt modo predicto in depositionibus sororum Elisabethe, filie comitis Ermani et Elisabethe, filie quondam comitis Adriani, Catharine, Chinge, Aglent et Alinche.

DIE MERCURII SECUNDA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM. XXXVII

Domina Maria, filia domini Michaelis, soror et monialis eiusdem ordinis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata, si aliqua de sororibus istis dixerit sibi, quod de aliquo dolore quem haberet, sanata fuisset per aliquem modum, respondit: «Bene recordor, quod Margaretha, filia domine Anne dixit mihi, quod ipsa mirabatur de medicinis, quae fiebant beate Margarethe pro dolore, quem habebat in spatula sua, et pensando^a

^a pensando *ital.*

When asked how long ago this was, she replied, "Possibly three weeks."

When asked on what day she had those thoughts and was healed, as she said, she replied, "Some Thursday."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "After nones and before vespers."

When asked if any sisters knew that she had the said illness, she replied, "The whole convent knew it, but above all Sister Elizabeth, who is now the sacristan."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I think I'm about thirty, and I have been twenty years in this monastery."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "I haven't added up the years."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she answered, "No."

Lord Peter, the prior and rector of the church of the Holy Cross [at Budafelhévíz], of the Order of the Crusaders, and Martin of Nitra, a schoolmaster of the aforesaid monastery, were the interpreters in the aforesaid manner in the depositions of Sisters Elizabeth, daughter of *comes* Hermann, and Elizabeth, daughter of the late *comes* Adrian, Catherine, Kinga, Aglent, and Alincha.

ON WEDNESDAY, SEPTEMBER 2

37

Lady Mary, daughter of Lord Michael, a sister and nun of the same order, took the oath, as above.

When asked if any of these sisters told her about being cured in any manner of any illness she had had, she replied, "I well remember that Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, told me that she began to wonder at the medicines that were being made for the blessed Margaret for the pain she had in her shoulder, and as she thought about this in her heart, she began to have a severe pain in her own shoulder, and asked God to forgive her, because she had thought ill about the pain saint Margaret was experiencing, and

sic in corde suo, in sua spatula incepit habere magnum dolorem, et rogavit Deum, quod placeret quia malum pensaverat de dolore quem habebat sancta Margaretha, et ivit ad ipsam, et petivit veniam de eo quod male cogitaverat, et tunc sanata fuit».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc dixit sibi, respondit: «Non recorder».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recorder».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Sic habeo in mente, die Lune fuit, sed non bene scio».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «In mane».

Interrogata, in quo loco, respondit: «Ante infirmariam».

Interrogata de presentibus, respondit: «Nullus erat presens».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

Dominus Petrus presbyter et rector ecclesie sancte crucis de aquis calidis de ordine cruce signatorum et *Martinus de Nitra* scholasticus eiusdem ecclesie interpretes fuerunt modo predicto in isto dicto.

DIE VENERIS VIGESIMA OCTAVA MENSIS AUGUSTI XXXVIII

Frater Marcellus de ordine fratrum predicatorum,¹⁶² iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Ego fui a tenera etate istius beate virginis, de qua facitis inquisitionem istam, prelatus et confessor suus; postquam habuit septem annos, sicut mihi videtur, semper fuit magne humilitatis in scopando domos, in lavando scutellas et ollas et alia necessaria faciebat pertinentia ad coquinam».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «De mea licentia plurima de istis faciebat, et aliquando, sicut prelatus dominarum monasterii Vesprimiensis, in quo a pueritia nutrita fuit, intran-

¹⁶² On his person, see *Introduction*, 21–22 n. 51–59.

she went to Margaret in person and asked pardon from her for the bad thing she thought, and then she was healed.”

When asked how many years ago she said this to her, she replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked the month, she replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked the day, she replied, “I have the impression that it was a Monday, but I’m not sure.”

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, “In the morning.”

When asked where, she replied, “In front of the infirmary.”

When asked about those present, she replied, “There was no one present.”

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, “No.”

Lord Peter, priest and rector of the church of the Holy Cross of Budafelhévíz, a member of the Order of Saint John, and Martin of Nitra, schoolmaster of the same church, were the interpreters in the aforesaid manner in this statement.

ON FRIDAY, AUGUST 28

38

Brother Marcellus of the Order of the Preachers,¹⁶² took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he said under oath, “From her earliest years I was supervisor and confessor of this blessed virgin, about whom you are making this inquiry; after she was seven years old she was always, in my opinion, of great humility in sweeping the rooms, washing plates and pots, and doing other necessary tasks around the kitchen.”

When asked how he knew the aforesaid, he replied, “She did most of these things with my permission, and sometimes in my capacity as supervisor of the ladies of the monastery of Veszprém, in which she was brought up from childhood, I went into

do illud monasterium, in quo predicte domine non erant ita incluse, sicut modo sunt in isto monasterio, vidi ipsam facientem humilitatem predictam». Item dixit: «Vidi, quando sibi dabantur pretiosa vestimenta, sicut filie regis, pre nimia humilitate erubescere portare illa, cum alie huiusmodi pretiosas vestes non haberent, et illa optima vestimenta dabat sororibus indigentibus, et viles vestes ab eisdem recipiebat et portabat; et hoc vidi quod pluries fecit».

Interrogatus, in quo monasterio vidit eam facientem predicta, respondit: «In isto monasterio, in quo mortua est, et in illo de Vespirmio, in quo primo tradita fuit». Item dixit: «Ad eius petitionem sibi cilicium de crinibus equorum et pecudum, ad modum retis ligatum, procuravi, et illud in manibus suis dedi, et me sciente illud super se indutum portavit, precipue temporibus et diebus ieiuniorum, sicut in quadragesima et sextis feriis et in vigiliis sanctorum et in ieiuniis quatuor temporum.»

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod portabat dictum cilicium, ut dixit, respondit: «Sicut confessor suus frequenter secreto querebam ab ea: ‚Habes modo cilicium?‘ At ipsa respondebat, quod in predictis temporibus portabat, et taliter hoc scio.» Et dixit, quod «Quadam die rex Bela, pater istius beate Margarethe venerat ad monasterium istud conferendo cum dicta filia sua, apposuit manum super humerum suum, et in recessu eiusdem regis ista beata Margaretha dixit mihi: ‚Multum gaudeo, quod pater meus non perpendit, quando me tetigit, de cilicio, quod habebam in dorso‘». Item dixit: «Cum magna humilitate et devotione serviebat sororibus infirmis, et quanto graviores erant infirmitates et magis contagiose, tanto diligentius serviebat eis, in lavando pedes ipsarum et earum capita radendo et ipsarum vestes purgando de vermicibus et lectos earum sternendo et totum illud quod erat ad earum commodum».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Scio, quia aliquando, sicut prior provincialis, visitando infirmas dominas et alias istius monasterii, predicte infirme mihi exponebant, sicut ista beata Margaretha eis serviebat in predictis».

Item dixit: «Aliquando sibi inhibui, ne predicta faceret, timens, ne occasione huiusmodi incurreret infirmitatem aliquam».

that monastery, in which the aforesaid sisters were not so shut in as they are now in this monastery, and saw her doing the aforesaid humble tasks." He also said, "I saw that when she was given precious garments, as the daughter of a king, she blushed from an excess of humility to wear them when others didn't have costly garments like this, and she used to give those very fine garments to impoverished sisters, and got shabby clothes from them in exchange, and wore them; and I often saw her doing this."

When asked in what monastery he saw her doing the aforesaid things, he replied, "In this monastery, in which she died, and in the monastery at Veszprém, to which she was first handed over." He also said, "At her request, I obtained for her a hair-shirt of horse and cow hair, made like a net, and I gave this into her own hands, and with my knowledge she wore this upon herself, particularly on fast days, such as at Lent and on Fridays, and on the vigils of saints and during the four seasonal fasts."

When asked how he knew that she wore the said hair-shirt, as he said, he replied, "As her confessor I frequently asked her in secret, 'Do you have the hair-shirt on now?' And she would answer that she wore one at the aforesaid times. And that's how I know." And he said, "One day, King Béla, the father of this blessed Margaret, had come to this monastery to confer with his daughter; he put his hand on her shoulder, and after he had left this blessed Margaret said to me, 'I'm very glad that when my father touched me, he didn't discover the hair-shirt I had on my back.'" He also said, "She served sisters who were sick with great humility and devotion, and the more serious and contagious their ailments were, the more attentively she served them, by washing their feet, and shaving their heads, and cleaning the vermin from their clothes, and making their beds, and doing everything for their comfort."

When asked how he knew the aforesaid, he replied, "I know, because sometimes when I was visiting the sick ladies and others in this monastery as prior provincial, the aforesaid sick persons told me how this blessed Margaret served them in the aforesaid ways."

He also said, "Sometimes I discouraged her from doing the aforesaid things, fearing that she would get some illness from it."

Interrogatus, que fuerunt ille infirme, que sibi dixerunt predicta verba, respondit: «Plures fuerunt, sed pre nimia multitudine sororum de ipsarum nominibus non recordor ad presens».

Interrogatus de presentibus, quando infirme predictae sibi dixerunt verba predicta, respondit: «Priorissa, que tunc erat, que mortua est, et subpriorissa et alie sorores seniores, que tunc sequebantur me per illud claustrum visitando dictas sorores».

Interrogatus de presentibus, quando inhibuit predictae virgini Margarethe, ne sic faceret predictis infirmis propter occasionem infirmitatis, ne inde possit contaminari, ut dixit, respondit: «Olimpiades, que fuit semper magistra sua et supradicta priorissa, de aliis non recordor».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod sic visitavit predictas sorores infirmas et sanas, respondit: «Non bene recordor, sed pluries hoc feci, quia per duodecim annos fui provincialis et amplius, et ad officium meum spectabat visitare easdem».

Interrogatus de mensibus, quibus fecit predicta, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de diebus, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de horis dierum (respondit): «Aliquando post prandium, aliquando ante, sicut melius vacare poteram ad predicta». Item dixit: «Quando pater suus, vel mater sua, vel fratres sui aliquod argentum, seu danarios^a sibi dabant, de eis eleemosinas fieri cupiebat, et mihi pluries provinciam visitanti ratione officii mei, supplicavit, quod de predictis denariis,¹⁶³ vel argento deberem indigentibus verecundis et aliis pauperibus subvenire».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod predictum argentum, vel denarios reciperet a dictis parentibus suis, respondit: «Ita scio, quod de licentia mea, quando presens fui, recipiebat predicta».

^a recte denarios

¹⁶³ The medieval silver *denarius* was used extensively during the Arpad dynasty and had no standard value, workshops minting differing numbers of coins from the same quantity of silver. However, King Béla III standardized its value and ordered the minting of bigger and almost pure silver coins, and this act became a point of reference later as well. (For example, the Hungarians' *Magna Carta*, the Golden Bull of 1222, stated: "The money is valid from Easter to Easter, and it should be like it used

When asked who those patients were who said the aforementioned words to him, he replied, "There were a lot of them, but I don't remember individual names at the moment because of their large number."

When asked about those who were present when the aforesaid patients said the aforementioned words, he replied, "The prioress at that time, who is dead, and the sub-prioress and other senior sisters, who were following me through this cloister as I visited the said sisters."

When asked who were present when he discouraged the aforesaid virgin Margaret from doing these tasks for the aforesaid sick, because of the chance that she could be infected, as he said, he replied, "Olimpiades, who was always her *magistra*, and the above-mentioned prioress; I don't remember the others."

When asked how many years it had been since he visited the ailing and healthy sisters in this way, he replied, "I don't remember well, but I did this many times, because I was provincial for more than twelve years, and it was part of my duty to visit them."

When asked about the months in which he did the aforesaid, he replied, "I don't recall."

When asked about the days, he replied, "I don't recall."

When asked about the hours of the day, he replied, "Sometimes after the midday-meal, sometimes before it, whenever I could the better spare time to do the aforesaid." He also said, "When her father or mother, or her brothers, gave her any silver or coins of lesser value, she wanted them to be given as alms, and she often entreated me, as I visited the province often by virtue of my duty, to give sums from the aforesaid *denarii*,¹⁶³ or silver, to help those ashamed of their want, or other poor people."

When asked how he knew that she received the aforesaid silver, or *denarii*, from her said parents, he replied, "I know it, be-

to be in the time of Béla III") Later the *denarius* was devalued to such an extent that King Andrew III declared in a law in 1298 that "for two years the coin can include non-precious metal to a fifth part, and afterwards to a maximum of a tenth of it." Márton Gyöngyössi, *Magyar pénztörténet 1000–1540* [History of coinage in Hungary, 1000–1540] (Budapest: Martin Opitz Kiadó, 2012), 26–32.

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod fuerunt predicta, respondit: «Annos non recordor, sed hoc pluries fecit, quando eram provincialis».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Non recordor, nec de die».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Recordari non possum». Item dixit: «Quando me continebat absentem esse ab isto monasterio, ratione officii mei, ipsa beata Margaretha pluries me requisivit, quod sibi concederem, quod per manus alicuius fratris antiqui, hic residentiam facientis, de illis rebus quas a parentibus suis predicto modo ipsam recipere continebat, posset facere elemosinas, et sibi concessi quemdam fratrem *Georgium*, multum antiquum, qui tunc in isto monasterio morabatur».¹⁶⁴

Interrogatus de presentibus, quando hoc sibi concessit, respondit: «Soror Olimpiades, magistra sua».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Non recordor, nec de die, nec de hora diei». Item dixit: «Quodam tempore veni de monte Pesulano, a capitulo generali,¹⁶⁵ et inveni (inter) istas dominas ita silentium neglectum, quod mihi multum turbatus fui, et tunc, sicut ipsarum prelatus, intravi ad locum illum, in quo (in) ista inquisitione recepistis (dicta) ipsarum, et ipsas multum redargui, comminando, quod penitentiam eis iniungerem, sicut regula ipsarum requirit, et ex hoc contra ipsas multum turbatus claustrum ipsarum non intravi, et eas sic dimisi; et ista beata Margaretha eadem die ante vespas misit dictam magistram suam et sororem Margaretham, filiam domini Gulielmi, qui fuit cognatus regis Bele, ad fenestram rotundam, mihi humiliter supplicando, quod similem penitentiam, quam deberem iniungere predictis dominabus dicta occasione, eidem iniungerem, nec parcerem sibi, si aliis videretur, quod ei deferrem pro eo quod esset filia regis, et ita feci, imponendo predictis dominabus die sequenti in capitulo, quod in medio refectorii super nudam tabulam sedendo in terra comederent panem

¹⁶⁴ See *Legenda vetus*, cap. 14.

¹⁶⁵ The Dominican Order had its Chapter General in Montpellier in 1265.

cause she received the aforesaid in my presence and with my permission.”

When asked how many years ago the aforesaid happened, he replied, “I don’t recall the years, but she did this many times when I was provincial.”

When asked the month, he replied, “I don’t remember, nor do I remember the day.”

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, “I can’t remember.” He also said, “When it so happened that I was away from this monastery for reasons related to my duty, the blessed Margaret asked me herself many times to allow her to give alms, from the things she happened to get from her parents in the aforesaid way, by agency of some old brother who lived here, and I assigned to her a certain Brother George, a very old man who was staying in this monastery at the time.”¹⁶⁴

When asked about those present, when he granted her this, he replied, “Sister Olimpiades, her *magistra*.”

When asked how many years ago this was, he replied, “I don’t recall.”

When asked the month, he replied, “I remember neither the month or day, nor the hour of the day.” He also said, “One time I came from the general chapter at Montpellier,¹⁶⁵ and found the silence so unobserved among these ladies that I was very upset, and then, as their supervisor, I went into the place in which you have been taking their depositions in this inquiry, and I severely upbraided them with threats of enjoining penance, just as their rule requires, and because I was very upset with them, I did not enter the cloister, but dismissed them; and that very day, before vespers, this blessed Margaret sent her *magistra* and Sister Margaret, the daughter of Lord William, who was a relative of King Béla, to the round window, begging me humbly to give her the same penance that I was going to give the aforesaid ladies, and not to spare her, if others thought it good that I should defer to her because she was the king’s daughter; and that’s what I did, prescribing for the aforesaid ladies in the chapter house the next day that they should sit on the ground in the refectory on a bare board and consume bread

et aquam, et ista beata Margaretha totum illud servavit, sicut postea scivi per eamdem et alias dominas, quibus dictam penitentiam iniunxi; et bene fuerunt viginti».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «De Augusto».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Quinta feria feci comminationem, et in sexta faciendo capitulum inter eas, penitentiam predictam eisdem iniunxi». Item dixit: «Quodam tempore domina regina mater sua dixit mihi, quod rex, pater suus eam tradere volebat nuptui regi Bohemie, ut tranquillitatem et pacem cum eo posset habere, qui rex Bohemie ad ipsum regem Hungarie, patrem istius beate Margarethe, propter hoc nuncios speciales destinaverat, et tunc de mandato regine, matris ipsius ab eadem virgine Margaretha diligenter investigavi super hoc de voluntate sua, et ipsa mihi finaliter respondit, quod prius sustineret se excommunicari, quam consentire parentibus suis, et quod nulla ratione contra professionem, quam fecerat, volebat venire».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «De annis nescio, sed fuit illo tempore, quo dominus *Conradus* ivit versus Apuliam contra regem Sicilie.»¹⁶⁶

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, in quo loco predicta verba dixit ipsi virgini Margarethe, respondit: «In loco, in quo recepistis dicta istarum dominarum».

Interrogatus de presentibus, respondit: «Soror Olimpiades, priorissa que erat tunc temporis, que mortua est, soror Margaretha, que erat germana sua et fuit filia domini Gulielmi, de aliis non recordor».

Interrogatus, si adhuc consecrata erat, quando predictus rex, pater ipsius beate Margarethe voluit eam tradere in uxorem regi Bohemie, respondit: «Non; sed tunc me rogavit, ut eam facerem

¹⁶⁶ Conradin, grandson of Emperor Frederick II and the last ruler of the Hohenstaufen line, departed for the conquest of the Kingdom of Naples in 1267.

and water; and this blessed Margaret dutifully did all this, as I afterwards learned from her and from other ladies, on whom I enjoined the said penance, and there were a good twenty of them.”

When asked how many years ago this was, he replied, “I don’t recall.”

When asked about the month, he replied, “In August.”

When asked about the day, he replied, “On Friday I made the threat, and on Saturday, as I was conducting the chapter among them, I enjoined the aforesaid penance on them.” He also said, “Once the lady queen, her mother, told me that the king, her father, wanted to give her in marriage to the King of Bohemia, so that he could have peace and tranquility with him, and that the King of Bohemia had sent special envoys for this purpose to the King of Hungary, father of the blessed Margaret, and at that time by the command of the queen, her mother, I carefully inquired from the virgin Margaret as to her wishes in the matter, and she herself gave me a final answer, that she would rather undergo excommunication than go along with her parents’ wishes, and that she did not want for any reason to go against the profession she had made.”

When asked how many years ago this was, he replied, “I don’t know about the years, but it happened at the time when Lord Conrad went against Apulia in the war with the King of Sicily.”¹⁶⁶

When asked the month, he replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked the day, he replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked where he said the aforesaid words to the virgin Margaret, he replied, “In the place where you have taken the depositions of these ladies.”

When asked who were present, he replied, “Sister Olimpiades, the prioress of the time who is now dead, Sister Margaret, who was her relative and daughter of Lord William; I don’t remember anyone else.”

When asked if she had been consecrated yet, when the aforesaid king, father of the blessed Margaret, wanted to give her in marriage to the King of Bohemia, he replied, “No, but she asked me at the time to have her consecrated, and she was then consecrated by the archbishop of Esztergom.” He also said, “The afore-

consecrari, et tunc consecrata fuit per archiepiscopum Strigoniensem». Item dixit: «Predicta beata Margaretha in orationibus fuit assidua, in devotione prompta, et quando corpus Christi levabatur, prorumpebat in lacrymas, et gloriosam virginem Mariam cum magna humilitate nominabat, eiusdem vigiliis in pane et aqua ieiunabat, et multorum aliorum sanctorum et maxime apostolorum (vigiliis) ieiunabat, et predicta omnia mihi dixit quando confessionem audiui ab ea».

Interrogatus, si predicta virgo Margaretha ordinem suum et regulam bene servavit tempore vite sue, respondit: «In omnibus et per omnia valde bene».

Interrogatus, si scit, per quot tempus infirmitatis, de qua obiit predicta virgo, confessa fuit, respondit: «Sic, priori provinciali me vidente et presente, et corpus Christi in eadem infirmitate recepit me vidente et presente a predicto priore, et oleum petiit et inuncta fuit».

Interrogatus de nomine dicti prioris provincialis, respondit: «Frater Michael, qui modo stat in Pest».¹⁶⁷ Item dixit: «Postquam dicta beata virgo mortua fuit, erat tante pulchritudinis et splendoris in facie, quod dominus Philippus,¹⁶⁸ tunc archiepiscopus Strigoniensis dixit, presentibus episcopo Vacienti¹⁶⁹ et preposito Budensi:¹⁷⁰ 'Non debetis plorare super istam dominam, dirigendo sermonem ad istas dominas et sorores istius monasterii, que sibi astabant, quia iam videtur habere principium resurrectionis sue' ». Item dixit: «Postquam sepulta fuit bene per octo dies tantus fuit odor, et odoris fragrantia circa ipsius sepulcrum, quod nos fratres et seculares persone super hoc multum mirabamur, et dubitantes ne aliqua de sororibus aliquid odoris circa corpus ipsius, vel eius sepulcrum posuisset, frater Michael, qui tunc erat provincialis, una mecum et quibusdam aliis fratribus, diligenter investigavimus ab

¹⁶⁷ On Michael, see p. 326 n. 117. On the monastery of St. Anthony in Pest, see *Legenda vetus*, 80–81 n. 57.

¹⁶⁸ Archbishop Philip arrived three days after Margaret's death at the convent on the Island. His words, recalled here in Marcellus's testimony, are also reported in the *Legenda vetus*, cf. p. 77 n. 53.

¹⁶⁹ Philip, bishop of Vác between 1262 and 1277.

said blessed Margaret was assiduous in prayer and prompt in devotion, and when the body of Christ was elevated, she would burst out in tears, and she called upon the name of the glorious Virgin Mary with great humility, and at her vigils fasted on bread and water, and fasted also at the vigils of many other saints and at those of the apostles in particular; and she said all the foregoing things to me when I heard her confession.”

When asked if the aforesaid virgin Margaret during her life observed her order and rule well, he replied, “Very well, in all things and in every way.”

When asked if he knew at what point in the illness, from which the aforesaid virgin died, she had made her confession, he replied, “Yes, [and it was] in the sight and presence of the provincial prior and myself, and during that same illness she received the body of Christ in the presence and sight of myself from the aforesaid prior, and she asked for the oil and was anointed.”

When asked about the name of the said provincial prior, he replied, “Father Michael, who now is in Pest.”¹⁶⁷ He also said, “After the said blessed virgin Margaret died, there was such beauty and splendor in her face that Lord Philip,¹⁶⁸ then archbishop of Esztergom, said in the presence of the bishop of Vác,¹⁶⁹ and the provost of Buda,¹⁷⁰ ‘We shouldn’t mourn over this lady when we address these ladies and sisters of this monastery who used to stand by her, because she seems already to be having the start of her resurrection.’” He also said, “After she was buried for a good eight days, there was such a sweet scent and fragrance around her tomb, that we brothers and secular persons too wondered much about it, and having our doubts about whether any of the sisters had put some sweet agent around her body or her tomb, Brother Michael, who was provincial at the time, together with myself and some other brothers, made careful inquiries of those same sisters, as to

¹⁷⁰ Master Ákos the chronicler, provost of Buda between 1254 and 1272 and the procurator of the nuns of the Island from 1261 until his death. On his person see Györfy, *Krónikáink és a magyar őstörténet. Régi kérdések – új válaszok*, 193–201, cf. *Legenda vetus*, 60–61 n. 29.

eisdem, si aliquid fecissent circa corpus predictum et ipsius sepulcrum, ut ex hoc alicuius odoris refragantia esset ibi, et precepimus eisdem strictissime et virtute obedientie et sub pena excommunicationis quod super hoc nobis dicerent veritatem, que responderunt iure iurando et dixerunt, quod per eas, nec per aliam personam eis scientibus, nihil fuerit appositum, vel factum».

Interrogatus, si scit, quod factum fuerit aliquid, quod predictus odor esset ibi, sicut dixit, respondit: «Juro omnipotenti Deo, quod nec scivi, nec feci, nec usque ad hodiernam diem scire potui, quod aliquis hoc fecisset, quantumcumque hoc investigaveram».

Interrogatus, quomodo hoc scit, quod predictus odor ibi fuerit, respondit: «Ego sensi, et alii fratres, qui tunc erant ibi et qui venerunt de aliis conventibus».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod predicti fratres senserunt predictum odorem, respondit: «Scio, quod super hoc admirantes de hoc inter nos sepe contulimus». Item (dixit): «Frater *Joannes* conversus, qui fuit socius meus, cum essem provincialis, a festo sancti Dominici, quod fuit in Augusto, usque ad festum purificationis, habuit quartanam, et cum indigerem eius societate ex eo, quod debebam me transferre ad visitandum loca remota, misi dictum fratrem ad ipsam beatam Margaretham, mandando sibi per eundem fratrem in hec verba: ‚Rogo te beata Margaretha, quod cum orationibus tuis sanes fratrem istum, quia multum eo indigeo’, et predictus frater eadem verba dixit sibi ad fenestram rotundam, et illa respondit: ‚Quando erit dies abcessionis tue?’, et ipsi dixit: ‚Hodie’, et illa dixit ad eum: ‚Vadas et iuva te cum tuis orationibus, et ego in quantum potero iuvabo cum meis, et esto securus in domino Jesu Christo’; et ab illa die sanatus (est), et postea illam infirmitatem non habuit».¹⁷¹

Interrogatus, si aliqui erant presentes, quando ipse frater Marcellus dixit eidem fratri predicta verba, respondit: «Non mihi videtur, quod aliquis alius presens fuerit».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod predictus frater predicta verba dixit predicte virgini Margarethe, respondit: «Scio ex ipsius fratris relatione».

¹⁷¹ This same miracle is described in the *Legenda vetus*, 88 n. 67.

whether they had done anything to the aforesaid body and tomb to make a sweet smell come from it, and we commanded them in the strictest terms and by virtue of obedience and under pain of excommunication to tell us the truth, and they replied under oath that nothing had been done or applied by them or anyone else, so far as they knew.”

When asked if he knew of anything that had been done to account for the aforementioned sweet smell he had talked about, he replied, “I swear to Almighty God that I neither knew nor did I do nor was I able to have known to this very day about anyone doing this, to the extent of my examination.”

When asked how he knew that the aforesaid sweet smell was there, he replied, “I smelled it, and so did other brothers who were there at the time or came from other religious houses.”

When asked how he knew that the aforesaid brothers smelt the odor, he replied, “I know, because we often discussed it with amazement among ourselves.” He also said, “Father John, the convert, who was my associate when I was provincial, had a quartan fever from the feast of Saint Dominic, in August, until the feast of the Purification, and I needed to have him with me because I had to go and visit remote areas, so I sent the said brother to the blessed Margaret with the following instructions to her conveyed by the same brother, ‘I’m asking you, blessed Margaret, to cure this brother with your prayers, because I have great need of him’ and the aforesaid brother said exactly that at the round window, and she answered him, ‘Which day will you be leaving?’ and he said, ‘Today,’ and she said to him, ‘Go and help yourself with your own prayers, and I will help you with mine, so far as I can, and be untroubled, in our Lord Jesus Christ’; and from that day he was healed, and has not had that illness since.”¹⁷¹

When asked if there were others present when he, Brother Marcellus, said the aforesaid words to the same brother, he replied, “I don’t think there was anyone else there.”

When asked how he knew that the aforesaid brother said the aforesaid words to the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, “I know from the brother’s own report.”

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod predicta virgo sibi responderit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ille frater dixit mihi».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod predictus frater sic sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ita scio, quod predictus frater tribus annis, tunc temporis incipiendo, sequendo me, quando provinciam visitabam, fuit socius meus, et illam infirmitatem, vel consimilem non habuit».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Non recordor de numero annorum».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «De Februario».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Non recordor, sed fuit secunda, vel tertia die post purificationem». Item dixit: «Veneram de Strigonio ad istud monasterium, et ista beata Margaretha dixit mihi: ‚Nos fuimus in periculo submersionis propter inundationem Danubii, si pervenissemus, ubi pervenissemus ossa mea, (?) aqua usque huc venit mihi;’^a certum locum demonstrando, et ego respondi: ‚Vadas, vadas, hoc ego non credo; et tunc illa dixit: ‚Domine Jesu Christe, ostendas veritatem istius facti priori, qui hic est, ut ipse credat verbis meis; et cum tanta velocitate statim aqua reversa fuit, quod oportuit me ascendere, fugiendo ante aquam, super asidem positum super murum, in quo sunt columnae, que sustinent porticum ipsius claustrum, et satis maior fuit aqua, quam prius fuerat, et usque ad matutinum aqua ita se retraxit, quod vix vestigia ipsius apparebant».

Interrogatus, cuiusmodi tempus erat tunc, respondit: «Sicut recordor, serenum erat».

Interrogatus, qui erant tunc presentes, quando dicta virgo Margaretha dixit et rogavit, ut dictum est supra, respondit: «Priorissa, que tunc erat, et est mortua, soror Judith, que tunc erat subpriorissa, Margaretha, filia domine Anne, et soror Olimpiades; de aliis non recordor».

Interrogatus, in quo loco erant, quando tunc sic rogavit et predicta aqua sic crevit, respondit: «Ante loquutorium, quod est in cemeterio dominarum».

^a *lectio dubia*

When asked how he knew what the aforesaid virgin answered him, as he said, he replied, "The brother told me."

When asked how he knew that the aforesaid brother was cured in this way, as he said, he replied, "I know it, because the aforesaid brother, beginning from that time, was my associate and followed me for three years, when I visited the province, and he did not have that illness or anything like it in that period."

When asked how many years ago this happened, he replied, "I don't know how many years."

When asked the month, he replied, "February."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't remember, but it was the second or third day after Purification." He also said, "I had come from Esztergom to this monastery and this blessed Margaret said to me, 'We were in danger of being submerged because of the flooding of the Danube [...]' and the water came up to here on me'—indicating a certain place—and I answered, 'Come, come, I don't believe this,' and then she said, 'Lord Jesus Christ, show to the prior who is here the truth of what happened, so that he may believe my words'; and at once the water backed up so fast that I had to flee from it and get up on a beam (?) on the wall in which are the pillars that support the porch of this cloister, and the water was quite a bit higher than it had been before, and until early morning it ebbed away, so that hardly a trace of it was seen."

When asked what the weather was like then, he replied, "It was clear, as I remember."

When asked who were present when the said virgin Margaret spoke and made the requests noted above, he replied, "The prioress at the time, who's now dead, Sister Judith, who was subprioress at the time, Margaret, daughter of Lady Anne, and Sister Olimpiades; I don't remember any others."

When asked where they were when she made her request in this way and the water so rose, he replied, "In front of the parlor, which is in the ladies' resting place."

When asked how many years ago the aforesaid happened, he replied, "I don't remember."

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod predicta fuerunt, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Credo, quod fuerit in Aprili, quando solent inundare aque».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Post prandium inter nonam et vespas».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Non recordor ad presens, sed habemus in scriptis et de tempore mortis et de die».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est ipse frater Marcellus, respondit: «Nescio numerum annorum, sed bene recordor, quod fui in ordine predicatorum fratrum quadraginta duos annos».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

ULTIMA DIE MENSIS AUGUSTI

XXXIX

Frater Petrus, de ordine predicatorum, nunc provincialis in Hungaria, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe dixit: «Vidi in ista sancta Margaretha multam humilitatem et bonitatem, et audivi de ea et de vita et conversatione multa bona, sed omnia scire non possum, quia parum fui conversatus in isto monasterio, tempore vite sue, quia tunc provincialis non eram».

Interrogatus, que fuit illa humilitas et bonitas, quam vidit in ea, ut dixit, respondit: «Portabat abitum abiectum, et quod me et alios fratres rogabat et adstringebat, quantum poterat ad aliqua suffragia pro ea facienda in orationibus et missis et aliis».

Interrogatus, que fuerunt illa bona, que audivit de ea et de conversatione sua, respondit: «Quia erat in orationibus suis multum assidua, et quod libenter serviebat sororibus maxime infirmis, et quod sorores pacificabat, quando aliqua materia alicuius iniurie videbatur inter eas».

When asked the month, he replied, "I believe it was in April, when the waters usually flood."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "After the mid-day meal, between nones and vespers."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't remember at present, but we have the day and time of death in the records."

When asked how old he, Brother Marcellus, was, he replied, "I don't know how old, but I well remember that I have been in the Order of the Preachers for forty-two years."

When asked if he had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, he replied, "No."

ON THE LAST DAY OF AUGUST

39

Brother Peter, of the Order of the Preachers, now provincial in Hungary, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he said, "I saw much humility and goodness in this saint Margaret, and I heard much good about her and her life and behavior, but I couldn't know everything, because I had too little to do with this monastery during her lifetime, because at that time I wasn't provincial."

When asked what the humility and goodness was that he saw in her, as he said, he replied, "She wore lowly garments, and the fact that she asked and insisted that other brothers and myself would give her as much help as possible in prayers and masses and other things."

When asked what the good things were that he heard about her life and behavior, he answered, "That she was very persistent in her prayers, and that she gladly served the sisters, especially when they were sick, and she made peace among the sisters, when any grounds for hard feelings appeared among them."

Interrogatus, si vult aliquid dicere de miraculis, dixit: «Post mortem istius sancte Margarethe ego, qui tunc eram lector Jauriensis, vocatus fui, et veni cum quibusdam aliis fratribus de dicto conventu Jauriensi¹⁷² ad istud monasterium, occasione mortis ipsius, et sexta die post mortem ipsius ivi ad locum, in quo sepulta erat, lapide nondum superposito, et percepi et sensi mirabilem fragrantiam, quasi essent imposita aliqua aromata et odorifera olfanda circa pedes eius et caput, et hoc sensi et percepi pluries, et tunc dixi fratri Michaeli, tunc provinciali: ‚Quid est hoc, quod iste locus ita fragrat et ita redolet, videatis, ne aliquid odoriferum appositum sit hic’; et tunc ipse provincialis dixit mihi: ‚Ego istius rei requisivi cum omni diligentia veritatem a priorissa, sorore Olimpiade et ab aliis, que interfuerunt exequiis suis, per iuramentum et aliter, sicut districtius potui, (sed) numquam potui invenire, quod aliquid ibi positum fuerit, vel factum, quod spectaret ad aliquam fragrantiam, vel odorem alicuius rei’ ».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando sensit et percepit fragrantiam illam circa sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Frater Marcellus et predictus frater Michael, tunc provincialis et frater Desiderius».

Interrogatus, si aliqui fuerunt presentes, quando dixit predicta verba fratri Michaeli et quando ipse frater respondit, ut dixit, respondit: «Predicti fratres Marcellus et Desiderius». Item dixit: «Quadam die Dominica post matutinum, cum significatum esset nobis de infirmitate istius sancte Margarethe, audivi quamdam vocem in somnis: ‚Agnä (?) mortua est’; et statim mane sequenti hoc dixi fratribus, et veniens huc, inveni, quod ista sancta eadem nocte mortua est».

Interrogatus, quibus fratribus dixit visionem predictam, respondit: «Fratri Jacobo et quibusdam aliis de conventu, de quorum nominibus non recordor ad presens». Item dixit: «Quodam tempore habebam magnum dolorem dentium, et genam multum inflatam, et rogavi quodam sero istam beatam Margaretham, quod liberaret me, et promisi, quod in singulis diebus in honorem suum

¹⁷² The convent in Győr was one of the oldest Dominican convents in Hungary. Cf. *Legenda vetus*, 81 n. 58.

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he said, "After the death of this saint Margaret, I, who was at that time lector of Győr, was summoned and came with certain other brothers from the said convent at Győr¹⁷² to this monastery because of her death, and on the sixth day after her death I went to the place where she was buried; the stone had not yet been put in place, and I perceived and smelt a wondrous fragrance, as if some aromatic perfume had been placed around her feet and head; I sensed this several times, and then I said to Brother Michael, the provincial at that time, 'What's going on, that this place is so full of fragrance? See if some kind of perfume has been applied here,' and then the provincial said to me, 'With all diligence have I demanded the truth about this matter from the prioress, from Sister Olimpiades, and from others who were at her funeral, under oaths and in other ways as strictly as I could, but I have never been able to find that anything was put here, or done, that had to do with this fragrance or the smell of anything.'"

When asked who were present when he smelt and perceived that fragrance round the tomb, as he said, he replied, "Brother Marcellus and the aforesaid Brother Michael, the provincial at the time, and Brother Desiderius."

When asked if there were any present when he said the aforesaid words to Brother Michael and when the brother himself responded, as he said, he replied, "The aforesaid Brothers Marcellus and Desiderius." He also said, "One Sunday, after matins, when we had gotten word of this saint Margaret's illness, I heard a voice as I slept [saying], 'The Lamb (?) is dead,' and immediately the following morning I told this to the brothers, and coming here, I found that this holy one had died that very night."

When asked what brothers he had told about the aforesaid vision, he replied, "Brother James and certain others in the convent, whose names I don't recall at the moment." He also said, "Once I had a terrible toothache and a very swollen cheek, and one evening I asked this blessed Margaret to deliver me, and I promised to genuflect every day in her honor; and the next morning I found myself completely delivered from the aforesaid pain and

inflecterem genua; et in mane sequenti inveni me liberatum omnino a predictis dolore et tumore, et hoc dixi tunc fratri Nicolao, qui erat tunc de illo conventu, qui viderat tumorem gene mee».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod habuit tumorem et dolorem et ita liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Non recordor, sed fuit in hyeme».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Non recordor». De hora diei dixit.

Interrogatus, quanto tempore habuerat dolorem et tumorem, ut dixit, respondit: «Quatuor diebus».

Interrogatus, quantum fuit sine illo dolore et tumore post liberationem illam, respondit: «Ab eo tempore circiter non habui illum dolorem, nec consimilem».

Interrogatus, in quo loco erat, quando retulit predicto Nicolao, sicut liberatus erat, respondit: «In Jaurino, in cella mea».

Interrogatus, si aliqui erant presentes, quando dixit predicta verba predicto fratri Nicolao, respondit: «Nullus».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Circa septem anni».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Nescio, sed per triginta annos et plus fui in ordine isto».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE JOVIS TERTIA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM

XL

Domina Aglent, filia quondam domini Ladislai de Serenna,¹⁷³ soror et monialis predicti monasterii, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata, si soror Cecilia habuit magnum dolorem postquam mortua est virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Scio, quod ista Cecilia stabat in choro, et habuit magnum dolorem ad cor, sed non

¹⁷³ Aglent is the sister of Witness 9. About her family, see n. 76.

swelling, and I told this at the time to Brother Nicholas, who was then of that convent and had seen the swelling in my cheek.”

When asked how many years ago he had the swelling and pain and was thus delivered, as he said, he replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked the month, he replied, “I don’t remember, but it was in winter.”

When asked the day, he replied, “I don’t remember.” He had already spoken about the hour of the day.

When asked how long he had had the pain and swelling, as he said, he replied, “Four days.”

When asked how long he was free of that pain and swelling after the cure, he replied, “From that time to this, I haven’t had that pain or anything like it.”

When asked where he was when he told the aforesaid Nicholas how he had been delivered, he replied, “In Győr, in my cell.”

When asked if there were anyone present when he said the aforesaid words to the aforesaid Brother Nicholas, he replied, “No one.”

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, “About seven.”

When asked how old he was, he replied, “I don’t know, but I’ve been in this order for thirty years and more.”

When asked if he had been coached or asked to say this testimony, he replied, “No.”

ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3

40

Lady Aglent, daughter of the late Lord Ladislás of Serenna,¹⁷³ a sister and nun of the aforesaid monastery, took the oath, as above.

When asked if Sister Cecilia experienced a great pain after the death of the virgin Margaret, she replied, “I know that this Cecilia was standing in the choir and she experienced a great pain in her heart, but I wasn’t there; she went to her cell and I went to

eram ibi, et ipsa ivit ad cellam suam, et ego ivi ad eam circa horam tertie, et habebat tam magnum dolorem quod videbatur mori, et ego et soror Agnes et soror Sabina portaveramus eam ad domum capituli ante crucifixum, in quodam loco, ubi consueverat orare beata Margaretha, et ego ivi ad fenestram et dixi, quod unus presbyter veniret ad dandum sibi corpus Christi, et quando tornavi^a ad eam, ipsa Cecilia invocabat sanctam Margaretham, et clamando sic sanctam Margaretham in hora none, in qua portavimus eam ad dictum locum, statim sanata fuit».

Interrogata, quantum duravit sibi dicta infirmitas, respondit: «Eadem die sanata fuit, qua incepit habere dictum dolorem».

Interrogata, quomodo portaverunt eam, [respondit ...]^{b 174}

Interrogata, cuiusmodi verba dicebat, quando invocavit istam sanctam Margaretham, ut dixit, respondit: «Audiui, quod dicebat: ,Sancta Margaretha, rogo te, quod non moriar ista subitanea morte».

Interrogata, si aliqui erant presentes, quando rogavit et sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ille due sorores, quas ego nominavi».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Fuit hoc anno, postquam venistis».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «De mense Augusti».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor». De hora diei dictum est.

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem anni sunt, sicut credo».

Interrogata, si est docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non» [...]^{c 175}

^a tornare *ital.*

^b vacat

^c vacat

her about terce, and she was in such great pain that she seemed to be dying, and Sister Agnes, Sister Sabina, and I carried her to the chapter house, up to the crucifix, where the blessed Margaret used to pray, and I went to the window and said that a priest should come to give her the body of Christ, and when I went back to her, Cecilia herself was calling upon saint Margaret and as she cried aloud in this way to saint Margaret, she was immediately cured at nones, when we carried her to the said place.”

When asked how long her said illness lasted, she replied, “She was cured on the same day she began to have the pain.”

When asked how they carried her, [she replied...] ¹⁷⁴

When asked what kind of words she used when she invoked this saint Margaret, as she said, she replied, “I heard her saying, ‘Holy Margaret, I ask you that I might not die this sudden death.’”

When asked if there were anyone present when she made this request and was healed, as she said, she replied, “Those two sisters I named.”

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, “It was this year, after you came.”

When asked the month, she replied, “August.”

When asked the day, she replied, “I don’t remember.”
A statement has been made about the hour of the day.

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she answered, “It has been seven, I think.”

When asked if she had been coached or asked, she replied, “No.” [...] ¹⁷⁵

¹⁷⁴ The text is missing here but we can complete the details on the basis of the 23th deposition, where Agnes told that Sabina and she (Agilent) took her from either side and lead her in this way.

¹⁷⁵ The end of this deposition and the beginning of the following one are missing.

XLI

[Frater Felicianus ordinis predicatorum].¹⁷⁶

[Interrogatus ...] ille Benedictus,¹⁷⁷ respondit: «Nescio nomen ville sue».

Interrogatus, quando ipse viderat eum cecum, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Circa festum purificationis beate Marie vidi donec fuit liberatus, ut dixi superius».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus Benedictus sanatus et liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Presens fui».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes tunc, respondit: «Frater Michael provincialis, predictus frater Vincentius, qui modo est sacristanus, frater Gerardus et multi alii».

Interrogatus, si dictus Benedictus dicebat aliqua verba apud dictum sepulcrum, quando sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Per merita istius sancte Margarethe sum sanatus».

Interrogatus, si ipse, vel fratres tunc dixerunt aliquid ipsi Benedicto, respondit: «Non, nisi quod dedimus gratias Deo».

Interrogatus, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi Benedicto, postquam venit ad sepulcrum istud, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Nulla, quod ego sciam».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dictus Benedictus sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Non computavi annos».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Circa festum pentecostes». De die dixit supra.

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Post tertiam, ante prandium».

Interrogatus, si vidit eum postea sic sanatum et liberatum, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic, multoties ad istud sepulcrum cum uxore et filiis suis, cum multis eximiis post liberationem suam, tempore quo eram prior in domo ista». Item dixit: «Quidam nobilis de genere Caach,¹⁷⁸ qui vocatur dominus Mattheus, sicut mihi videtur,

¹⁷⁶ The beginning of this deposition is missing; in the remaining part the witness mentions that after Margaret's death he was the prior of the Dominican house on the Danube Island and witnessed several miraculous cures. Depositions 25 and 54 both mention that Felician had witnessed a miraculous cure.

[Brother Felician of the Order of the Preachers]¹⁷⁶

[When asked]... that Benedict [...],¹⁷⁷ he replied, "I don't know the name of his village."

When asked when he had seen him blind, before he was cured, as he said, he replied, "I saw him about the feast of the Purification of the Blessed Mary, until he was delivered, as I said earlier."

When asked how he knew that the said Benedict was delivered and cured, as he said, he replied, "I was there."

When asked who were present at the time, he replied, "Brother Michael the provincial, the aforesaid Brother Vincent, who is now sacristan, Brother Gerard, and many others."

When asked if the said Benedict spoke any words at the said tomb the time he was cured, as he said, he replied, "I've been cured through the merits of this saint Margaret."

When asked if he or the brothers said anything at the time to Benedict himself, he replied, "No, but we did thank God."

When asked if any medicine had been made for or given to Benedict, after he came to the tomb, and before he was cured, as he said, he replied, "None that I know."

When asked how many years ago the said Benedict was cured, as he said, he replied, "I haven't counted the years."

When asked the month, he replied, "Around the feast of Pentecost." He talked above about the day.

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "After terce, before the midday meal."

When asked if he saw him after that, delivered and cured, as he said, he replied, "Yes, often, at this tomb with his wife and children, and with many distinguished people after his deliverance, at the time when I was prior in this house." He also said, "A certain nobleman of the Csák kindred,¹⁷⁸ called Lord Matthew, I think,

¹⁷⁷ Benedict is Witness 94; probably deposition 96 is his as well.

¹⁷⁸ On Matthew II Csák, see p. 364–65 n. 132 above.

venit ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et fecit portari per quemdam suum servientem quamdam suam filiam, que erat contracta in manu et pede, et quando dicta puella posita fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, statim sanata et curata fuit».

Interrogatus de nomine servientis, qui portavit dictam puellam ad sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio nomen eius».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod predicta puella fuit contracta in manu et pede, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi eam, quia non poterat ambulare».

Interrogatus, in qua manu et quo pede dicta puella contracta erat, ut dixit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, si ante eam viderat, vel nisi tunc, respondit: «Nisi tunc».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta puella curata et liberata fuit, respondit: «Quia primo vidi eam contractam, ut dixi, et postea vidi eam sanatam, et ivit ad dominas cum pedibus suis, et ad petitionem dominarum introduxi eam ad illas dominas».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta puella iverat pedibus suis ad dominas, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi eam sic euntem».

Interrogatus, que fuerunt domine, ad quarum petitionem introduxit dictam puellam, ut dixit, respondit: «Soror Olimpiades et uxor quondam domini Matthei de genere Caach, cuius nomen nescio et alie multe».

Interrogatus, quot annos habebat dicta puella, quando liberata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Credo, quod habebat quinque, vel septem annos».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dicta puella liberata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «In estate, sed nomen mensis nescio».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Circa vespas».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando dicta puella liberata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Frater Vincentius, frater Gerardus et plures alii, de quibus non recordor».

came to the tomb of the saint Margaret, and had his daughter, who had a withered hand and leg, carried there by one of his servants, and when the said girl was put down at the said tomb, she was immediately cured and healed."

When asked the servant's name, who carried the said girl to the tomb, as he said, he replied, "I don't know his name."

When asked how he knew that the girl had a withered hand and leg, as he said, he replied, "I saw her, and she couldn't walk."

When asked in which hand and foot the girl was withered in, as he said, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked if he had seen her before, or only then, he replied, "Only then."

When asked how he knew that the said girl was delivered and cured, he replied, "Because first I saw her crippled, as I said, and later I saw her cured, and she went to the ladies on her own two feet, and at the ladies' request I introduced her to the ladies."

When asked how he knew that the said girl had gone on her two feet to the ladies, as he said, he replied, "I saw her going in this manner."

When asked who the ladies were at whose request he introduced the said girl, as he said, he replied, "Sister Olimpiades and the wife of the late Lord Matthew of the Csák kindred, whose name I don't know, and many others."

When asked how old the said girl was when she was delivered, as he said, he replied, "I think she was five, or seven."

When asked how many years ago it was when the said girl was delivered, as he said, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the month, he replied, "In the summer, but I don't know the name of the month."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "Around vespers."

When asked who were present when the said girl was delivered, as he said, he replied, "Brother Vincent, Brother Gerard, and many others, whom I don't remember."

Interrogatus, que verba dicta fuerunt, quando dicta puella sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Dictus dominus Mattheus pater suus publice dicebat, quod dicta puella sua sanata fuit ad invocationem istius sancte Margarethe, et semper invocaverat nomen eius pro ipsa sua puella, ex quo audivit, quod inceperat facere miracula».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore postea vidit dictam puellam sic sanatam, ut dixit, respondit: «Pater suus ivit statim ad partes suas ultra silvas¹⁷⁹ cum magno gaudio, et postea non vidi eam, sed patrem suum postea pluries interrogavi de ipsa, et ipse respondit mihi, quod erat bene sanata et liberata».

Interrogatus, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit dicte puelle, quando portata fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Non, quod ego sciam». Item dixit: «Quidam nobilis homo de genere Cata,^{a180} qui vocatur Petrucius, languit diu hic, et movere se non poterat, ad invocationem istius sancte Margarethe curatus fuit hic, coram multitudine».

Interrogatus, de quo loco est dictus Petrucius, respondit: «Cata».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod diu languit hic, (et) quod non poterat se movere, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego vidi ipsum, et portabatur in lecto suo per servientes suos ad sepulcrum».

Interrogatus de nominibus illorum servientium, respondit: «Nichil scio».

Interrogatus, que est ista sancta Margaretha, ad cuius invocationem sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Sancta Margaretha, que fuit filia regis Bele, cuius corpus est in ista ecclesia».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod ad invocationem istius sancte Margarethe sanatus fuit, respondit: «Hoc ipse clavavit coram multitudine, et filii sui et cognati sui hoc dicebant».

Interrogatus, in quo loco erat tunc dominus Petrucius, quando sic clamabat, respondit: «Ante ecclesiam in predicatione».¹⁸¹

^a Tata *ms.*

¹⁷⁹ These words *ultra silvas* refer to Transylvania.

¹⁸⁰ Also mentioned in depositions 54 and 75. See *Legenda vetus*, 112–13 n. 87.

¹⁸¹ This could be a sermon in front of the church (since the crowd was too large, but would they arrange a mass in the convent's western courtyard?); or the “*predication*”

When asked what words there were when the said girl was healed, as he said, he replied, "The said Lord Matthew, her father, said in public that his girl was cured at the invocation of this saint Margaret, and that he had always invoked her name on behalf of this girl, from the time he heard she had begun performing miracles."

When asked for how long afterwards he saw the said girl who had been cured in this way, as he said, he replied, "Her father went immediately to his own parts beyond the woods¹⁷⁹ with great joy, and I didn't see her after that, but later I asked her father many times about her, and he told me that she was well and truly delivered and healed."

When asked if any medicine had been made for or given to the said girl, when she was brought to the said tomb before she was cured, as he said, he replied, "Not to my knowledge." He also said, "A certain nobleman of the Káta kindred, called Petrucius,¹⁸⁰ was ill here for a long time and couldn't move, but at the invocation of the saint Margaret he was cured here, in the presence of many."

When asked where the said Petrucius came from, he replied, "Káta."

When asked how he knew that he was ill for a long time here and that he could not move, as he said, he replied, "I saw him, and he used to be carried to the tomb on his bed by his servants."

When asked the names of those servants, he replied, "I know nothing."

When asked who the saint Margaret was at whose invocation he had been cured, as he said, he replied, "Holy Margaret, who was the daughter of King Béla, and whose body is in this church."

When asked how he knew that he [the nobleman] had been cured at the invocation of saint Margaret, he replied, "He himself shouted it in front of many, and his children and kinsmen said it too."

When asked where Lord Petrucius was at the time when he shouted in this way, he replied, "During the sermon, in front of the church."¹⁸¹ When asked where the said Petrucius was at the time

here may refer either to the pulpit or the western nave, while the *ecclesia* would be the nuns' choir to the east.

Interrogatus, in quo loco erat tunc dictus Petrucius, quando sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Hoc audiui ab eo, et postea vidi eum frequenter sanatum et liberatum venire huc, cum uxore et filiis».

Interrogatus, si scit, quibus verbis interpositis curatus fuit, respondit: «Quomodo possem hoc scire? nescio».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dictus Petrucius clamabat coram multitudine magna, quod curatus erat, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Post missam in predicatione, et hoc multoties dixit».

Interrogatus de presentibus, respondit: «In predicatione erat, et multi erant presentes, et non possum dicere nomina illorum».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est ipse testis, respondit: «Habeo circa octuaginta annos, et per triginta annos fui in ordine isto, et per quinque annos fui prelatus in domo ista».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

DIE MARTIS VIGESIMA MENSIS OCTOBRIS.

XLII

Frater Jordanus,¹⁸² ordinis predicatorum, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Audiui, quod predicta virgo Margaretha dum esset in etate quatuor, vel quinque annorum tradita fuit monasterio de Vesprimio, et tante fuit simplicitatis, quod aliquando fratres predicatorum putabat non esse viros».

Interrogatus, a quo audivit, quod predicta virgo Margaretha tradita fuit predicto monasterio, ut dixit, respondit: «A fratre Gerardo, qui tunc erat confessor domine regine, matris predictae virginis Margarethe».

Interrogatus, a quo audivit, quod fuerit predictae simplicitatis, respondit: «A sorore Olimpiade».

¹⁸² Brother Jordanus was the Queen's confessor in the 1250s.

he was cured, as he said, [...] he replied, "I heard it from him, and I later saw him often coming here, cured and delivered, with his wife and children."

When asked if he knew what words had accompanied his healing, he replied, "How could I know that? I don't know."

When asked how many years ago the said Petrucius shouted before a large crowd that he had been cured, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "After mass, during the sermon, and he said it many times."

When asked about those present, he replied, "He was at the sermon, and there were many present, and I can't give you their names."

When asked how old he, the witness, was, he replied, "I'm about eighty, and I have been in this order for thirty years, and I was superior in this house for five years."

When asked if he had been coached or asked to give this testimony, he replied, "No."

ON TUESDAY, OCTOBER 20

42

Brother Jordanus¹⁸² of the Order of the Preachers took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I have heard that the aforesaid virgin Margaret was handed over at the age of four or five to the monastery of Veszprém, and she was so simple that sometimes she thought that the friars preachers were not men."

When asked from whom he heard that the aforesaid virgin Margaret was handed over to the aforesaid monastery, as he said, he replied, "From Brother Gerard, who was then confessor to the lady queen, mother of the aforesaid virgin Margaret."

When asked from whom he heard she was so simple, he replied, "From Sister Olimpiades."

Interrogatus, quot annorum erat tunc predicta virgo Margaretha, quando erat predictae simplicitatis, respondit: «Nescio».

Item dixit: «Audivi a domina regina, matre eiusdem virginis Margarethe, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha fuit tanti silentii, quod ipsa regina, mater sua vix extrahebat verbum de ore eius, et quando sibi loquebatur, pro magno gaudio reputabat».

Interrogatus, quando fuit hoc, respondit: «Postquam ipsa venit ad istud monasterium». Item dixit: «Processu temporis confessor et familiaris fui predictae domine regine, et tunc temporis conversationem et familiaritatem habui in isto monasterio, et pluries ad fenestram fui locutus isti virgini Margarethe, et semper vidi et audivi omnem humilitatem et omnem mansuetudinem in ea, et semel expertus fui patientiam suam in eo, quod satis rigide redargui eam de quodam facto, et ipsa cum multa patientia sustinuit verba illa dicendo: ‚Frater Jordane, indulgeatis mihi’». Item dixit, quod «Magne contemplationis et orationis fuit, quod taliter scio, quod aliquando predicto tempore volui sibi loqui ante tertiam, et mihi semper dicebatur, quod in oratione erat, et causa veniendi ad me (non) volebat dimittere orationes suas».

Interrogatus, quot annorum poterat esse tunc dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Credo, quod erat viginti annorum et plurius». Item dixit: «Audivi ab omnibus sororibus, cum quibus locutus fui, quod ipsa virgo Margaretha numquam aliquam iniuriam verbo, vel facto fecit alicui de sororibus istius monasterii».

Interrogatus de nominibus predictarum sororum, a quibus audivit hoc, respondit: «A domina Alexandria et a quadam domina Reta [...] ^a comitis Nave, ^b ¹⁸³ cuius nomen nescio, et a quibusdam aliis, quarum nomina non habeo in mente». Item dixit: «Audivi, quod libenti animo in omnibus servitiis se libenter exhibuit, sicut est in lavando scutellas et purgando domos et in serviendo ad mensam per septimanam suam».

Interrogatus a quibus audivit hoc, respondit: «A sororibus eiusdem claustrii».

^a vacat

^b lectio dubia

When asked how old the aforesaid virgin Margaret was when she was so simple, he replied, "I don't know."

He also said, "I heard from the lady queen, mother of the same virgin Margaret, that she was so given to silence that the queen herself, her mother, could scarcely drag a word out of her mouth, and counted it a great joy when she spoke to her."

When asked when this was, he replied, "After she came to this monastery." He also said, "In the course of time I was confessor and part of the household of the aforesaid lady queen, and at that time, I spent time here and became familiar with this monastery, and I talked many a time at the window with this virgin Margaret, and I always saw and heard all humility and all mildness in her, and on one occasion, I experienced her patience in that I had quite roughly reprimanded her about a certain thing she had done and she took these words with much patience, saying, 'Father Jordanus, be forbearing with me.'" He also said, "She was very contemplative and prayerful, and I know as much, because once during the aforesaid time I wanted to speak to her before the third hour and I kept getting told that she was at prayer and didn't wish to put off her prayers to come to me."

When asked how old the said virgin Margaret could have been at that time, he replied, "I think she was twenty or more." He also said, "I heard from all the sisters I talked to that the virgin Margaret never injured any of the sisters of the monastery in word or deed."

When asked the names of the aforesaid sisters, from whom he heard this, he replied, "From Lady Alexandra and a certain Lady Reta [...] of the *comes* of Nava,¹⁸³ whose name I don't know, and from certain others, whose names I don't have in mind." He also said, "I heard that she displayed a willing spirit in all her services, such as washing dishes and cleaning the house and serving at table when her week came round."

When asked from whom he heard this, he replied, "From sisters of this cloister."

¹⁸³ The names are written erroneously; some text is missing.

Interrogatus de nominibus illarum sororum, respondit: «Non recordor».

Item dixit: «Audivi, quod libenter serviebat sororibus infirmis, et vigilabat in servitiis ipsarum, et hoc audivi a predictis sororibus, et specialiter a domina Judith, cui in infirmitate sua magnam pietatem exhibuit, sicut ipsa Judith mihi retulit».

Item dixit: «In hoc maxime noto sanctitatem eius, quod quoties secum contuli super aliquo facto, semper omnem modestiam^a consideravi esse in ea». Item dixit: «Cum essem prior Strigoniensis,¹⁸⁴ quidam nobilis homo, qui vocatur comes Andreas, infirmabatur, et ad eius petitionem sibi concessi, quod in infirmania fratrum iaceret in dicta infirmitate, et postmodum gravem patiebatur acutam, et tunc dixi sibi: ‚Habeo de crinibus beate virginis Margarethe, et si placet vobis portabo et dabo vobis de lavatura dictorum capillorum, et spero firmiter, quod per hoc alleviabimini’; qui et devote recepit, et vel in eadem nocte, vel crastina liberatus fuit ab infirmitate, et reddebat gratias Deo et isti virgini Margarethe».

Interrogatus, ubi morabatur iste nobilis, respondit: «In diversis locis, sicut habebat possessiones suas, sed tunc venerat Strigonium».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Credo, quod sunt sex anni, vel quinque».

Interrogatus, de quo mense fuit hoc, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Credo circa vespas».

Interrogatus de presentibus, respondit: «Fratres aliqui illius conventus, sed nominum illorum non recordor».

Interrogatus, si aliqua verba dicta fuerant tunc, quando recepit dictam sanitatem, respondit: «Non recordor, que verba dicta fuerunt».

Interrogatus, si postquam recepit dictam lavaturam, antequam esset liberatus, ut dixit, eidem data, vel facta fuit aliqua medicina, respondit: «Non, quod ego sciam».

^a medicinam *ms.*

When asked the names of those sisters, he replied, "I don't remember."

He also said, "I heard that she gladly served the sick sisters and stayed awake serving them, and I heard this from the aforesaid sisters, especially from Lady Judith, to whom she showed much kindness when she was ill, as Judith herself told me."

He also said, "I particularly note her sanctity in this, that every time I conferred with her about something that had happened, I always thought there was complete modesty in her." He also said, "When I was prior of Esztergom,¹⁸⁴ a certain nobleman, called *comes* Andrew, was ill, and at his request, I allowed him to lie in the brothers' infirmary, and after a while, he began to suffer a sharp pain, and then I said to him, 'I have some of the blessed virgin Margaret's hair, and if you like, I'll bring and give you some wash-water from the said hair, and I firmly believe you'll be made better by it'; he devoutly received it, and either the same night or the next he was freed from his illness, and gave thanks to God and this virgin Margaret."

When asked where this nobleman lived, he replied, "In different places, according to where he had property, but at that time he had come to Esztergom."

When asked how many years ago this was, he replied, "I think it was five or six years ago."

When asked in what month it was, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "Around vespers, I think."

When asked about those present, he replied, "Some brothers of that convent, but I don't recall their names."

When asked if any words had been spoken, when he received the said healing, he replied, "I don't recall what words there were."

When asked if after he received the said wash-water, before he was healed, as he said, any medicine had been made for or given to him, he replied, "Not that I know of."

¹⁸⁴ On the Dominican convent at Esztergom, see p. 230 n. 73 above.

Interrogatus, quanto tempore stetit sanus, postquam liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ab eo tempore circiter sanus fuit, sicut ego vidi».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore predictus nobilis habuerat predictam acutam, ut dixit, respondit: «Per quatuor, vel quinque dies, sicut credo». Item dixit: «Quedam nobilis de Strigonio pregnans erat, et gravem patiebatur infirmitatem, adeo, quod in partu modis omnibus expirare deberet, et tunc ego sibi dixi, quod habebam ex cilicio, quod ista sancta virgo Margaretha portaverat in dorso, et illud sibi dedi, credens, quod propterea deberet liberari, quod penes se retinuit; et infirmitas talis fuit, quod nullus medicorum, sicut credo, eam potuisset iuvare».

Interrogatus de nomine predictae domine, respondit: «Nescio nomen eius, sed maritus eius vocatur Vanchus, qui est civis Strigoniensis».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore predicta domina fuerat sic infirma, respondit: «Per quatuor septimanas, vel quinque, sicut recorder».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando sibi dedit illud cilicium, ut dixit, respondit: «Quedam persone, quarum nomina nescio, et quidam frater, socius meus mecum erat, cuius nomen nescio».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod predicta domina tenuerat penes se dictum cilicium, ut dixit, respondit: «Ad caput eius tunc ego posui illud, sicut recorder, quomodo autem illud retinuerat, nescio, nisi quia per tertiam, vel quartam septimanam illud remisit mihi, et sicut recorder, ipsa postea venit ad sepulcrum istius virginis Margarethe, et gratias sibi reddidit de eo, quod restituta fuerit sanitati, sicut ipsa domina dixit mihi».¹⁸⁵

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando predicta domina hoc sibi dixit, respondit: «Quidam meus socius».

Interrogatus de nomine illius socii sui, respondit: «Nescio».

¹⁸⁵ The miraculous healing effects produced by Margaret's clothes and other effects are recalled also in testimonies 14, 33, 50, and 76.

When asked how long he [Andrew] stayed healthy after his deliverance, as he [Brother Jordanus] said, he replied, "From about that time, he was healthy, as I saw."

When asked how long the aforesaid nobleman had the aforesaid pain, as he said, he responded, "For four or five days, I believe." He also said, "A certain noblewoman of Esztergom was pregnant and suffering from a severe illness, so much so that she was going by all means to die in childbirth, and then I told her I had a bit of the hair-shirt that this saint Margaret had worn on her back, and I gave it to her, believing that she would be delivered, if she kept it with her; and her illness was such that no doctor, I believe, would have been able to help her." [...]

When asked the name of the aforesaid lady, he replied, "I don't know her name, but her husband's called Vanchus. He's a citizen of Esztergom."

When asked how long the aforesaid lady had been ill like this, he replied, "Four or five weeks, as I remember."

When asked who were present, when he gave her that hair-shirt, as he said, he replied, "Some people whose names I don't know, and a certain brother with me as my associate—whose name I don't know."

When asked how he knew that the aforesaid lady had kept the hair-shirt with her, as he said, he replied, "At the time I put it by her head, as I remember, but how she kept it I don't know, except that three or four weeks later she returned it to me, and, as I remember, she later came in person to the tomb of this virgin Margaret and gave thanks for having been restored to health, as the lady herself told me."¹⁸⁵

When asked who were present when the aforesaid lady told him this, he replied, "A certain associate of mine."

When asked the name of that associate of his, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how many years it had been since the said lady said the aforementioned words to him, he replied, "I don't know, maybe five or six."

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dicta domina dixit sibi predicta verba, respondit: «Nescio, quinque, vel sex anni, sicut credo».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Post nonam et ante vespervas, sicut credo».

Interrogatus, quot anni (sunt), quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Sicut credo, sum in etate quinquaginta annorum, vel quinquaginta quinque, et per triginta duos annos fui in ordine, sicut recordor».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE¹⁸⁶

XLIII

Frater Michael, ordinis predicatorum, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Tempore primo, quo fui provincialis in ista provincia, vidi istam Margaretham puellam in tenera etate, forte quatuor annorum in monasterio sancte Catharine de Vesprimio, et postea ad preces domine regine, matris dicte puelle transtuli eam, cum decem et octo sororibus dicti monasterii ad istud monasterium gloriose virginis Marie de insula Danubii, quod dicta domina regina fundari fecerat pro dicta filia sua, et in isto monasterio, sicuti vidi, et a sororibus audiui et etiam per confessionem suam habui, religiose et humiliter conversata est semper in isto monasterio».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta domina regina fecerit fundari istud monasterium pro dicta puella, sua filia, respondit: «Quia predicta domina regina dixit mihi: ‚Quare non duxisti filiam meam ad istud monasterium?’ et ego respondi: ‚Domina, claustrum monasterii nondum perfectum est’; et ipsa mihi tunc respondit, quasi irata: ‚Cicius perficietur, si venerit huc’».

When asked the month, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of day, he replied, "After nones, and before vespers, I think."

When asked how many years the said virgin Margaret had been dead, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I believe I am fifty or fifty-five, and I have been thirty years in the order, as I remember."

When asked if he had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, he replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY¹⁸⁶

43

Brother Michael, of the Order of the Preachers, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "The first time I was provincial in this province, I saw this Margaret as a girl of tender years, maybe four years old, in the monastery of Saint Catherine at Veszprém, and afterwards at the request of the lady queen, the said girl's mother, I transferred her with eighteen sisters of the said monastery to this monastery of the Glorious Virgin Mary on the Island in the Danube, which the said lady queen had caused to be founded for her daughter, and in this monastery, as I saw for myself, and heard from the sisters, and also knew from her confessions, she always behaved humbly and religiously."

When asked how he knew that the said lady queen had caused this monastery to be founded for the said girl, her daughter, he replied, "Because the aforesaid lady queen said to me 'Why didn't you take my daughter to the monastery?' and I answered, 'My lady, the monastery cloister isn't finished yet'; and then she answered, as though irritated, 'It'll be finished sooner, if she [i.e., Margaret] comes here.'"

¹⁸⁶ October 20.

Interrogatus, a quibus audivit, quod dicta puella semper vixit honeste et religiose in isto monasterio, respondit: «A sorore Olimpiade, magistra sua et a sorore Catharina, nunc priorissa et a multis aliis».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod transtulit dictam puellam cum dictis sororibus de monasterio sancte Catharine ad istud, respondit: «Possunt esse viginti anni». Item dixit: «Ista sancta Margaretha infirmata fuit tempore precedente secunda vice, quando fui provincialis, et quadam die Sabathi circa primum somnum expiravit, et tertia feria sequenti venit dominus Philippus, olim Strigoniensis (archi)episcopus et dominus Philippus Vaciensis episcopus cum eo ad istud monasterium, occasione obitus istius sancte Margarethe, et introduxi eos ad locum, ubi erat corpus ipsius, in quo vos recepistis depositiones sororum istius monasterii, et tunc sorores, que erant circa corpus ipsius, ceperunt ejulare, et dominus archiepiscopus dixit eis: ‚Non debetis dolere super mortem ipsius, sed potius gaudere, quia habet signum resurrectionis’; sed ultimum verbum de resurrectione non intellexi, sed frater Marcellus et Felicianus, qui tunc erat prelatus istius monasterii, dixerunt mihi, quod hoc audiverunt a domino archiepiscopo: ‚Videtur mihi in facie sua, quod pulchrior videbatur, quam in vita’».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod predictus dominus archiepiscopus dixit predicta verba, respondit: «Credo, quod possunt esse quinque, vel sex anni, sed annos non computavi».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «De mense, in quo est festum sancte Prisce virginis, aliter nescio de mense». De die et hora diei et loco dixit supra.

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, respondit: «Predicti fratres Marcellus et Felicianus et plures alii, de quibus non recordor, et sorores istius monasterii».

Interrogatus, quando audivit a predictis fratribus Marcello et Feliciano, quod archiepiscopus dixit predicta: ‚Habet signum resurrectionis’, respondit: «Nuper audivi hoc ab eis». Item dixit: «Tunc feci poni corpus predictae virginis Margarethe in quadam

When asked from whom he heard that the said girl always lived uprightly and religiously in this monastery, he replied, "From Sister Olimpiades, her *magistra*, and from Sister Catherine, now the prioress, and from many others."

When asked how many years ago he transferred the said girl with the said sisters from the monastery of Saint Catherine to this one, he replied, "It could be twenty years." He also said, "This saint Margaret fell ill in the period before my second term as provincial, and one Saturday she breathed her last around the time of first sleep, and on the following Tuesday Lord Philip, former archbishop of Esztergom, and with him Lord Philip, bishop of Vác, came to this monastery, because of the death of this saint Margaret, and I took them into the place where her body was, the place where you have been taking the depositions of the sisters of this monastery, and then the sisters, who were around her corpse, began to wail, and the Lord Archbishop said to them, 'You shouldn't be sad over her death, but rather glad, because she has the mark of the resurrection'; but I didn't understand that last remark about the resurrection. However, Brother Marcellus and Felician, who was then superior of this monastery, told me they had heard the Lord Archbishop saying, 'It's apparent to me in her face, because it seemed lovelier than in life.'"

When asked how many years ago the aforesaid archbishop said the aforementioned words, he replied, "I think maybe five or six, but I haven't counted the years."

When asked the month, he replied, "In the month of the feast of Saint Prisca the Virgin; I can't tell the month any other way." He said the day and hour of day above.

When asked who were present, he replied, "The aforesaid Brothers Marcellus and Felician, and many others, whom I don't remember, and the sisters of this monastery."

When asked when he heard from the aforesaid Brothers Marcellus and Felician that the archbishop said the aforesaid words, "She has the mark of resurrection," he replied, "I heard it recently from them." He also said, "At the time I had the body

arca de ligno, quam feci fieri propter hoc, et ligavi cum virculis^a ferreis, et in illa nulla aromata, nec aliqua redolentia alicuius generis apposita fuerunt intus, vel extra; et postea portata fuit dicta arca cum corpore ipsius sancte Margarethe et posita in quadam fovea ante altare virginis gloriose, eo in loco in quo modo est, magna cum devotione et solemnitate misse et officii ibi celebrate per ipsum dominum archiepiscopum, et audiui postea a magistris lapicidis Alberto et Petro Lombardis, quod die decimo quarto posuerunt lapidem rudem super arca ipsa, et nihil mali odoris tunc senserunt, sed potius redolentia; et postea lapidibus marmoreis per magistros predictos (apparatis), dum removissent lapidem predictum post duos, vel tres menses, ut apponerent ibi lapides marmoreos, tunc noviter apparatus, senserunt, quod tantus vapor ascendit et odor, ac si essent omnino rose ibi».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod predicti magistri senserunt vaporem et odorem, respondit: «Quia dixerunt mihi».

Interrogatus, quando sibi dixerunt predicta, respondit: «In Sabatho nuper preterito».

DIE DOMINICA VIGESIMA SEXTA MENSIS JULII XLIV

Petrus Hungarus de Buda, qui fuit de Tapolczano,¹⁸⁷ iuravit ad sancta Dei evangelia dicere et respondere meram et puram veritatem de eo, quod scit super vita et conversatione recolende memorie Margarethe virginis sanctimonialis monasterii virginis gloriose de insula Danubii, ordinis predicatorum Vesprimiensis diocesis, et super miraculis, que ad invocationem ipsius Deus dicitur ostendisse, remoto odio, amore, timore, pretio, precibus, utilitate et damno suo et alieno. Qui sub iuramento dixit: «Nihil scio de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, nisi per auditum, quia totus mundus dicit, quod fuit bona domina et sancta».

^a *recte* vinculis

¹⁸⁷ A town north of Lake Balaton (but it could also be Tapolcsány from Nitra county).

of the aforesaid virgin Margaret put in a wooden box, which I caused to be made for this purpose, and I bound it with iron bands, and no spices or other sweet-smelling things of any kind were applied inside or outside; and then the said coffin together with the body of saint Margaret herself was carried and placed in a certain grave before the altar of the Glorious Virgin, the place in which she now is, with great devoutness and the celebration of a funeral mass by the Lord Archbishop himself, and I heard later from the stone masons, Albert and Peter the Lombards, that fourteen days later they laid a rough stone over the coffin itself and they smelt no bad odor, but rather a fragrance; and afterwards, when the marble stones had been prepared by the said masters, they removed the aforesaid stone after two or three months, to put there the marble stones, which had been newly prepared, and they smelt such a breath of sweetness, as if there were nothing but roses there.”

When asked how he knew that the aforesaid masters smelt a fragrant aura, he replied, “Because they told me.”

When asked when they said this to him, he replied, “Just last Saturday.”

ON SUNDAY, JULY 26

44

Peter Magyar of Buda, who was from Tapolca,¹⁸⁷ swore on God’s holy Scriptures to speak the pure and unadulterated truth about what he knew about the life and behavior of the virgin Margaret of blessed memory, a nun of the monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the Island in the Danube, of the Order of the Preachers of the diocese of Veszprém, and about the miracles which God is said to have shown at her invocation, without hatred, love, fear, bribery, entreaties or any advantage or loss to himself or others. He said under oath, “I know nothing about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret except by hearsay, for the whole world says that she was a good and holy lady.”

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Dum starem in dicta terra Tapolczano, eram multum infirmus et paralyticus, et tunc veni in quodam curru in Buda ad standum, et stabam apud fratres minores,¹⁸⁸ et eram ita infirmus, quod vix poteram ire ad ecclesiam dictorum fratrum, sustinendo me cum baculo, ad audiendum officium; et quadam die dixi cuidam servitiali meo: „Aduva me ad eundum ad sepulcrum beate Margarethe“; et tunc ipse puer incepit venire mecum, iuvando me, et quando fuimus ad portam predictae civitatis, ego rogavi Deum et beatam Margaretham, quod possem venire ad sepulcrum suum, et tunc incontinenti fui liberatus, quod potuissem ire usque ad Strigonium, et sic veni ad sepulcrum predictum dicendo illis, qui veniebant mecum in navi, quod sanatus eram».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore duravit sibi dicta infirmitas in dicta terra de Tapolczano, respondit: «Per duos annos, et in terra de Buda duravit mihi per quinque annos».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «In festo sancti Martini, quod debet venire, erunt tres anni».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Quadam die Dominica».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Ante tertiam».

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt tunc presentes, quando liberatus fuit, respondit: «Predictus Petrus, servitialis meus, qui iuvabat me, ut supra dixi, et alii, quos non cognoscebam».

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt secum in navi, quibus dixit predicta, respondit: «Non cognoscebam eos».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod venit ad standum ad Budam, respondit: «Decem et octo anni, vel decem et novem».

Interrogatus, si postea habuit infirmitatem illam, respondit: «Non». Item dixit: «Quando liberatus fui a predicta infirmitate, tunc etiam habui aliam infirmitatem, quia ruptus eram et portabam unum circulum de ferro, qui sustineret budellas meas, et quidam frater minor curabat me de dicta infirmitate, et faciebat me portare dictum circulum propter hoc, quod postea circa unum annum budelle mee ita descendebant, quod nihil videbatur mihi

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "While I was staying in the said territory of Tapolca, I was very sick and was paralyzed, and then I went in a carriage to stay in Buda, where I stayed with the Friars Minor,¹⁸⁸ and I was so ill that I could hardly walk to the said brothers' church, supporting myself on a stick, to hear mass; and one day I said to a certain servant of mine, 'Help me to go to the tomb of the blessed Margaret'; and then the boy started off with me, helping me, and when we were at the gate of the aforesaid city, I asked God and the blessed Margaret that I might go to her tomb, and then on the spot I was delivered from infirmity and could have walked as far as Esztergom! And so I came to the aforesaid tomb, telling those who were travelling in the boat with me that I had been healed."

When asked how long his illness lasted in the said territory of Tapolca, he replied, "For two years, and in the territory of Buda it lasted five years."

When asked how many years ago he had been delivered, as he said, he replied, "It will be three years on the coming feast of St. Martin."

When asked the month, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the day, he replied, "One Sunday."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "Before terce."

When asked who were present at the time he was delivered, he replied, "The aforesaid Peter, my servant, who was helping me, as I said above, and others, whom I didn't know."

When asked who were with him in the boat, to whom he spoke the aforesaid words, he replied, "I didn't know them."

When asked how many years ago he came to stay in Buda, he replied, "Eighteen or nineteen years ago."

When asked if he had since had that illness, he replied, "No." He also said, "When I was delivered from the aforesaid illness, I then began to suffer from another one, because I was ruptured and used to wear an iron belt to hold up my innards, and

¹⁸⁸ The Franciscan house at Buda was founded in 1248. Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története*, vol. I, 151–55; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 16.

manere in corpore, et tunc ego misi pro quodam medico Bele regis,¹⁸⁹ et medicus vidit me, et dixit mihi, quod non poterat me liberare, et tunc ego misi pro dicto fratre et rogavi eum, ut adiuveret me, et frater dixit mihi: ‚Ego non dico, tentando te, sed consulo, quod mittas pro quodam sacerdote et accipias penitentiam et corpus Christi;‘ et tunc ego misi pro Ladislao sacerdote ecclesie sancte Marie Magdalene de Buda,¹⁹⁰ et confessus fui cum eo et recepi corpus Christi ab eo, et sepe oravi beatam Margaretham, quod iuaret, et feci votum, quod si liberaret me, qualibet die Dominica venirem ad sepulcrum suum, et nocte sequenti, hora matutini cepi evenire, et budelle mee tunc redierunt in locum suum, et sanatus fui per merita predictae virginis Margarethe, quam non cessabam rogare, et postea non habui illam infirmitatem».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod liberatus fuit, respondit: «Tres anni erunt in festo sancti Martini».

Interrogatus, quis fuit nuncius, quem misit pro dicto medico, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Fui liberatus in vigilia beati Martini».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, in quo loco erat tunc ipse testis, quando liberatus fuit, respondit: «In Buda, in domo mea».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando recepit penitentiam, respondit: «Clementia, uxor mea, que mortua est iam sunt duo anni, et Martinus et Bocha, filii mei, qui vivunt».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando liberatus fuit, respondit: «Predicta uxor mea et filii mei predicti».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore duraverat sibi dicta infirmitas, respondit: «Sex annis, et septimo anno liberatus fui, ut dixi supra».

¹⁸⁹ Probably Gerardus, Witness 50.

¹⁹⁰ The first mention of the church of Mary Magdalene comes from a charter of 1257. The originally one-naved church, near the Vienna Gate, had been rebuilt several times already during the Middle Ages.

a certain Franciscan friar was treating me for the said ailment, and he made me wear the said belt because about a year later my innards had fallen down so far that nothing seemed to stay in my body, and then I sent for one of King Béla's doctors,¹⁸⁹ and the doctor saw me and said that he couldn't cure me, and then I sent for the said friar and asked him to help me, and the friar told me, 'I'm not saying it to put you to trial, but my advice is to send for a priest and take penance and the body of Christ'; and I sent for Ladislav, priest of the church of Saint Mary Magdalene¹⁹⁰ of Buda, made my confession to him and received Christ's body from him, and I made frequent prayers to the blessed Margaret to help me, and I made a vow that if she delivered me I would go every Sunday to her tomb; and the next night, at the hour of matins, I started to come out of it, and my innards went back into place, and I was healed by the merits of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, whom I had not stopped addressing my petitions to, and afterwards I didn't suffer from that ailment."

When asked how many years it had been since he was healed, he replied, "It will be three years, come the feast of Saint Martin."

When asked who the messenger was that he sent to fetch the said doctor, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the month, he replied, "I was delivered on the vigil of the blessed Martin."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked where he, the witness, was when he was delivered, he replied, "At my home in Buda."

When asked who were present when he received his penance, he replied, "My wife Clementia, who has been dead for two years now, and Martin and Bocha, my sons, who are alive."

When asked who were present when he was delivered, he replied, "My aforesaid wife and sons."

When asked how long his said ailment had lasted, he replied, "Six years, and I was delivered in the seventh, as I said earlier."

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod rex Bela mortuus est, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de nomine fratris, qui eum curabat de dicta infirmitate, respondit: «Vocabatur Aginetus, qui mortuus est, iam est unus annus».

Interrogatus, si dictus frater, qui curabat eum, veniebat solus vel associatus, respondit: «Cum quodam alio fratre, qui vocabatur frater Antonius, qui mortuus est, et quandoque quidam alius frater, qui vocabatur Henricus de Strigonio, qui modo est de conventu fratrum minorum de Buda, sociabat dictum fratrem, qui curabat me».

Interrogatus, si aliqui alii ex fratribus minoribus dicti conventus sciverunt, quod dictus frater minor curaret eum, respondit: «Sciverunt multi, qui modo non sunt de isto conventu et frater Saulus, qui erat tunc guardianus, qui modo est in Posega,¹⁹¹ sicut credo, scivit hoc».

Interrogatus, quot annos habet dictus testis, respondit: «Sexaginta septem annos habeo».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, [respondit: «Liber»].

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Dictus dives, secundum consuetudinem huius terre».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE¹⁹²

XLV

Petrus, filius Mala de Buda, iuravit ad sancta Dei evangelia dicere et respondere meram et puram veritatem de eo, quod scit et requisitus fuerit a supradictis inquisitoribus, remoto pretio et precibus, odio et amore, speciali utilitate et damno suo, vel alieno.

¹⁹¹ For the Franciscan house in Pozsega (Požega, Croatia), see Karácsonyi, *Szent Ferenc rendjének története*, vol. I, 228; Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, 52–53.

When asked how many years it was since King Béla died, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the friar's name, who was looking after him for the said ailment, he replied, "His name was Aginetus, who has been dead a year by now."

When asked if the said friar, who was looking after him, came alone or with an associate, he replied, "With a certain other friar called Anthony who is dead, and sometimes another friar called Henry of Esztergom, who is now in the Franciscan convent at Buda, accompanied the said brother who was treating me."

When asked if any other Franciscan friars of the said convent knew that the said friar was looking after him, he replied, "Many knew, who no longer belong to that convent, and Brother Saul, who was guardian at that time and is now, I believe, in Pozsega,¹⁹¹ knew it too."

When asked how old he, the said witness, was, he replied, "I'm sixty-seven."

When asked if he were a servant or free, [he replied, "Free."]

When asked if he were wealthy or poor, he replied, "I'm said to be wealthy, by the standards of this country."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he answered, "I don't remember."

When asked if he had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, he answered, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY¹⁹²

45

Peter, the son of Mala of Buda, swore on God's holy scriptures to speak and answer the pure and undivided truth about what he knew and was asked questions by the abovementioned inquisitors, without bribery or entreaties, hatred or love, or any advantage or loss to himself or to anyone else.

¹⁹² July 26.

Interrogatus, si cognoscat Petrum Hungarum, qui fuit de Tapolczano, respondit: «Sic, quia cognatus suus sum».

Interrogatus, si stat cum dicto Petro, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, si stetit unquam cum dicto Petro, respondit: «Sic, per unum annum».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod stetit cum eo, respondit: «Tres anni».

Interrogatus, si quando stabat cum dicto Petro, erat serviens eius, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, si quando stabat cum eo, ipse Petrus erat sanus, vel infirmus, respondit: «Infirmus».

Interrogatus, quam infirmitatem habebat, respondit: «Paralyticus erat».

Interrogatus, si scit, quando dictus Petrus fuit curatus ab illa infirmitate, respondit: «Sic, circa festum beati Martini».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod fuit curatus, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, in qua hora sanatus fuit, respondit: «In hora misse».

Interrogatus, si quando curatus fuit, erat presens, respondit: «Non»; et correxit dictum suum et dixit, quod sic.

Interrogatus, si alii erant presentes, quando curatus fuit, respondit: «Multi erant presentes, sed non cognoscebam eos».

Interrogatus, si scit, in quo loco curatus fuit, respondit: «In porta civitatis Bude».¹⁹³

Interrogatus, si iuvabat eum, quando curatus fuit, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, si iuvabat dictum Petrum in eundo de domo sua usque ad dictam portam civitatis, respondit: «(Non), sed graviter veniebat sustinendo se cum baculo».

Interrogatus, si poterat ire sine baculo, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, si sciret, quo iret tunc dictus Petrus, respondit: «Sic, ad sepulcrum sancte Margarethe».

¹⁹³ He refers to the Franciscan house at the eastern gate of the city, cf. p. 482 n. 188 above.

When asked if he knew Peter Magyar of Tapolca, he replied, "Yes, because I'm his kinsman."

When asked if he lives with the said Peter, he replied, "No."

When asked if he had ever lived with the said Peter, he replied, "Yes, for a year."

When asked how long ago it was since he had stayed with him, he replied, "Three years."

When asked if, when he stayed with the said Peter, he was in service to him, he replied, "No."

When asked if Peter was healthy or sick when he stayed with him, he replied, "Sick."

When asked what his ailment was, he replied, "He was paralyzed."

When asked if he knew when the said Peter was cured of that ailment, he replied, "Yes, about the feast of the blessed Martin."

When asked how many years it was since he had been cured, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked in what hour he was cured, he replied, "At the hour of mass."

When asked if he was present when he [Peter Magyar] was cured, he replied, "No"; and he then corrected himself and said, "Yes."

When asked if any others were present when he was cured, he replied, "There were many present, but I didn't know them."

When asked if he knew where he was cured, he replied, "At the gate of Buda."¹⁹³

When asked if he was helping him when he was cured, he replied, "No."

When asked if he used to help the said Peter to go from his home to the gates of the city, he replied, "[No], but he went painfully, holding himself up with a stick."

When asked if he could walk without a stick, he replied, "No."

When asked if he knew where the said Peter was going, he replied, "Yes, to the grave of saint Margaret."

Interrogatus, quomodo sciebat hoc, respondit: «Quia veniebam cum eo».

Interrogatus, si dictus Petrus dixit alicui, vel aliquibus, quod curatus esset, respondit: «Multis, de quibus non recordor».

Interrogatus, si scit, quomodo fuit curatus dictus Petrus, respondit: «Sic, invocando sanctam Margaretham et dicendo: ‚Sancta Margaretha, adiuva me’».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore habebat illam infirmitatem, respondit: «Per longum tempus».

Interrogatus, per quot annos, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod cognoscit dictum Petrum, respondit: «Sexdecim anni».

Interrogatus, si ab eo tempore circiter, quo cognoscit dictum Petrum, ipse Petrus habebat infirmitatem predictam, respondit: «Sic, et habuit ad tempus, quo fuit curatus».

Interrogatus, si postmodum fuit curatus, habuit dictam infirmitatem, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, si scit, quod dictus Petrus fecerit aliquod votum propter curationem predictam, respondit: «Sic, sancte Margarethe, quod visitaret sepulcrum eius, quandocunque posset, et statim visitavit, quando fuit curatus, sicut audiui de ore ipsius Petri, et postea pluries veni cum eo ad dictum sepulcrum».

Interrogatus, si scit, quod dictus Petrus haberet tunc dictam infirmitatem, respondit: «Sic, quando ruptus erat».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus Petrus erat ruptus, respondit: «Scio, quia hoc audiui ab ore ipsius Petri, et liberatus fuit ab illa infirmitate ad invocationem sancte Margarethe, sicut ipse dixit mihi, aliter nescio hoc».

Interrogatus, quot annos habet, respondit: «Triginta minus duobus».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Satis dives».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

When asked how he knew this, he replied, "Because I was going with him."

When asked if the said Peter told anyone or any group of people, that he had been cured, he replied, "Many, whom I don't remember."

When asked if he knew how the said Peter was cured, he replied, "Yes, by invoking saint Margaret and saying, 'Saint Margaret, help me.'"

When asked how long he had had that ailment, he replied, "For a long time."

When asked how many years, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how long he had known the said Peter, he replied, "Sixteen years."

When asked if Peter had had the aforesaid ailment from about the time he had known him, he replied, "Yes, and he had it up to the time he was cured."

When asked if he had the said ailment after he was cured, he replied, "No."

When asked if he knew that the said Peter made some vow about the aforesaid ailment, he replied, "Yes, to saint Margaret, that he'd visit her grave whenever he could; and he did visit it, immediately after he was cured, as I heard from Peter's own mouth, and afterwards I went many times with him to the said grave."

When asked if he knew that the said Peter had the said ailment at the time, he replied, "Yes, when he had the rupture."

When asked how he knew that the said Peter was ruptured, he replied, "I know, because I heard from the lips of Peter himself; he told me himself that he was cured of this ailment by calling on saint Margaret, and I know it no other way."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "Twenty-eight."

When asked if he were a servant or free, he replied, "Free."

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, "Rich enough."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

DIE MARTIS VIGESIMA OCTAVA MENSIS JULII
XLVI

Petrus, filius Paus de calida aqua de Buda¹⁹⁴ iuravit ad sancta Dei evangelia dicere et respondere meram et puram veritatem de eo, quod scit et requisitus fuerit super vita et conversatione recolende memorie virginis Margarethe, sanctimonialis monasterii sancte Marie de insula Danubii de ordine predicatorum Vesprimiensis diocesis, et super miraculis, que ad invocationem ipsius dicuntur esse facta, remotis pretio et precibus, odio et amore, speciali utilitate et damno suo vel alieno. Sub iuramento interrogatus, respondit: «Audivi dicere, quod dicta virgo Margaretha erat bona femina et sancta».

Interrogatus, a quibus audivit dici, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Iuxta pascha resurrectionis incepti habere magnum malum in nervis circa genua, et habebam tantum malum, quod ab illo tempore usque ad pascha de madio (?) non poteram ire sine baculo, et in tantum crevit illud malum, quod oportuit me iacere in lecto bene per octo dies, vel per septem,^a et quando ego audivi et pater meus, quod ista sancta domina faciebat tantam gratiam infirmis, feci me portari in quadam conta ad sepulcrum dicte beate Margarethe, et hoc voluit pater meus, et steti et iacui circa sepulcrum dicte beate Margarethe per tres dies et duas noctes in dicta conta, et in tertia die in hora vesperi sensi me melius, sed non eram liberatus in totum, et illa die feci me portari ad domum, quia non poteram adhuc ire pedibus meis,^b et postea de die in diem liberatus fui».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod habuit infirmitatem illam, respondit: «Quinque anni sunt». Quanto tempore fuit infirmus, dixit superius.

^a nec ire poteram, nisi aliquis portaret me in quadam conta ad sepulcrum dicte beate Margarethe *add ms.*

^b suis *ms.*

ON TUESDAY, JULY 28

46

Peter, the son of Paus of Budafelrhévíz,¹⁹⁴ swore on God's holy Gospel to speak and answer the pure and undivided truth of what he knew and had been asked about the life and behavior of the virgin Margaret of blessed memory, a nun of the monastery of the Virgin Mary of the Order of the Preachers, on the Island in the Danube, in the diocese of Veszprém, and about the miracles that are said to have been done at the invocation of her name, without bribery and entreaties, love or hate, or any special benefits or loss to himself or anyone else. When questioned under oath, he replied, "I have heard it said that the said virgin Margaret was a good and holy woman."

When asked from whom he heard this said, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about the miracles, he replied, "When Easter was approaching, I began to have a severe pain in the tendons around my knees, and I had it so bad that from that time until Easter I couldn't walk without a stick, and the illness got so bad that I had to lie in bed for a good seven or eight days, and when my father and I heard that this holy lady performed such service for the infirm, I had myself taken in a boat to the tomb of the said blessed Margaret, as my father wished, and I stayed lying around the said blessed Margaret's tomb for three days and two nights in the said boat, and on the third day, at the hour of vespers, I felt better, but not yet completely delivered, and that day I had myself carried to the house, because I couldn't go on my own feet, and after that I got better by the day."

When asked how many years ago he had that ailment, he replied, "Five years." He said above how long he had been ill.

¹⁹⁴ On this locality near Buda see *Legenda vetus*, 103 n. 83.

Interrogatus, de quo mense fecit se portari ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Circa medium istius mensis».

Interrogatus, qua die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, de hora diei, respondit: «De mane».

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt illi, qui portarunt eum tunc, respondit: «Dictus pater meus et Nicolaus et Tiba cognati mei».

Interrogatus, ad cuius invocationem sensit se melioratum, respondit: «Ad invocationem dicte beate Margarethe».

Interrogatus, que verba dicebat tunc, respondit: «Dicebam [...]»^a ¹⁹⁵ respondit: «Habeo viginti annos minus uno».

XLVII^b ¹⁹⁶

[...] Interrogata, a quo ducebatur cum baculo, sicut dixit supra, respondit: «Aliquando a matre sua, aliquando a sorore».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata sic dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE¹⁹⁷

XLVIII

Soror Elisabeth, uxor quondam Everardi, qui fuit de Ratisbona,^c et morabatur Bude, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit, quod fuit bona domina et sancta et bone vite, et semper voluit habere paupertatem, et quod malas vestes portabat et petiatas.

^a vacat

^b vacat

^c Ennardi de Batisboam *ms.*; Heverardi de Ratispona *Legenda Maior*

¹⁹⁵ The end of the deposition is missing.

When asked in what month he had had himself taken to the said tomb, he replied, "About the middle of this month."

When asked on what day, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "In the morning."

When asked who the people were who took him at that time, he replied, "My father, and my kinsmen Nicholas and Tiba."

When asked at whose invocation he felt himself getting better, he replied, "At the invocation of the said blessed Margaret."

When asked what words he spoke at the time, he replied, "I said [...]"¹⁹⁵

[When asked how old he was,] he replied, "I'm nineteen."
[...]

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[...] When asked by whom she was led around on a stick, as she said above, she replied, "Sometimes by her mother, sometimes by her sister."

When she asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY¹⁹⁷

48

Sister Elizabeth, wife of the late Everard, who was from Regensburg and lived at Buda, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she said under oath that she was a good and holy lady of good life, and she always wanted to have poverty, and wore patched, shabby clothes.

¹⁹⁶ A few depositions are missing in this lacuna, and the 47th deposition has only its ending; it comes probably from the blind girl, Elizabeth, whose miraculous cure is told in the following deposition.

¹⁹⁷ Since some depositions are missing, we cannot be sure of the date; we kept the tentative date of the previous edition, July 28.

Interrogata, quomodo hoc scit, respondit: «Quia hoc audi vi dici a fratribus et ab aliis, qui conversabantur in isto monasterio». ¹⁹⁸

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Scio, quod filia mea Elisabeth ita ceca erat, quod quando stabat ad mensam, non videbat scutellam ante se positam, et palpando querebat eam, et postquam multe medicine facte fuissent sibi et nihil valerent sibi, tunc audiens miracula, que fiebant per dictam virginem Margaretham, dixit: ‚Nolo amplius istas medicinas habere;’ et ego dixi sibi: ‚Filia mea, vove castitatem, et promittas beate Margarethe, quod in perpetuum servies ei;’ et tunc venit mecum, et induit habitum sororum eiusdem monasterii, et ita vovit et promisit, et tunc venit mecum et cum alia filia mea Heroch ad sepulcrum predictae virginis Margarethe, et stetit ibi per septimanam, et ego tunc dixi: ‚O sancta beata Margaretha, si placet tibi ut filia mea sit spiritualis, sicut tibi promisit, reddas sibi visum, et si debet stare in seculo, non reddas sibi’». Et dixit, quod beata Margaretha restituit sibi visum.

Interrogata, quanto tempore fuit ceca, ut dixit, respondit: «Per duos annos»

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta filia sua erat tam ceca, quod non videbat scutellam, sed palpabat, ut dixit, respondit: «Quomodo non possum scire quia filia mea est et ipsam videbam?»

Interrogata, si aliquas medicinas faciebat dicte filie sue, preter dictas medicinas, respondit: «Non, sed mater plebani de Buda que mortua est, misit multoties pulverem in oculis suis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta filia sua promisit et vovit, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia ego hoc feci cum dicta filia mea».

Interrogata, si dicta filia sua Elisabeth ducebatur per aliquem, quando venit ea ad sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego et filia mea Heroch ducebamus eam».

¹⁹⁸ We know from the more detailed account in the *Hungarian legend* that this was the convent of St. Anthony in Pest. Dömötör and Pólya, eds., *Szent Margit élete 1510*, 112; on the convent, see *Legenda vetus*, 80–81 n. 57.

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "Because I heard it said by the brothers and others who were in and about this monastery."¹⁹⁸

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "I know that my daughter Elizabeth was so blind that when she was at table, she didn't see the plate set before her and would grope about for it, and after many medicines had been made for her and were doing her no good, she heard about the miracles that were happening through the said virgin Margaret, and said, 'I won't take these medicines any more,' and I said to her, 'My daughter, take a vow of chastity and promise the blessed Margaret that you will serve her forever'; and then she went with me and put on the habit of the sisters of this same monastery, and made her vow and promise, and then went with me and Heroch, another daughter of mine, to the tomb of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, and stayed there for a week, and then I said, 'O blessed, holy Margaret, if it is thy will that my daughter be a religious as she promised you, give her back her sight, and if she is to stay in the world, do not so.'" And she said that the blessed Margaret gave her back her sight.

When asked how long she [her daughter] was blind, she [the mother] replied, "For two years."

When asked how she knew that her said daughter was so blind that she did not see her plate, but felt for it, as she said, she replied, "How could I not know, since she is my daughter and I saw her?"

When asked if she prepared any medicines for her daughter beside the said medicines, she replied, "No, but the mother of the parish priest of Buda, who is dead, put a powder in her eyes many times."

When asked how she knew that her daughter made the promise and vow, as she said, she replied, "Because I did this with my daughter."

When asked if her said daughter Elizabeth was led by anyone when she came to the tomb, as she said, she replied, "My daughter Heroch and I were leading her."

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta filia sua steterat ad predictum sepulcrum per septimanam, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia presens eram».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando ipsa testis dixit: ‚Beata Margaretha, si placet tibi, ut filia mea sit spiritualis, sicut tibi promisit, reddas sibi visum, et si debet stare in seculo, non reddas sibi,‘ respondit: «Ego et filia mea Heroch et ipsa beata Margaretha».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod illa virgo Margaretha restituit sibi visum, ut dixit, respondit, quod: «Homo hoc facere non poterat, sed beata Margaretha hoc fecit dicte filie mee, et nullus alius».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando restituit sibi visum, ut dixit, respondit: «Frater Petrus et frater Bernardus de ordine predicatorum, qui viderunt eam cecam, ut supra dixi».

Interrogata, si postea habuit illam infirmitatem, vel similem, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dicta virgo Margaretha restituit visum dicte filie sue, ut dixit, respondit: «Duo anni sunt».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Non recordor, sed bene scio, quod filia mea bene videt».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE¹⁹⁹

XLIX

Soror Heroch, filia quondam Everhardii, qui fuit de Ratisbona, qui morabatur Bude, iuravit, ut supra.

¹⁹⁹ July 28.

When asked how she knew that her said daughter had stayed at the aforesaid tomb for a week, as she said, she replied, "Because I was present."

When asked who were present when she, the witness herself, said, 'Blessed Margaret, if it is thy will that my daughter be a religious, as she promised thee, give her back her sight, and if she is to stay in the world, do not so,' she replied, "My daughter Heroch and I and the blessed Margaret herself."

When asked how she knew that the virgin Margaret gave her back her sight, as she said, she replied, "Man could not do this, but the blessed Margaret and no one else did this for my daughter."

When asked who were present when she gave her back her sight, as she said, she replied, "Brother Peter and Brother Bernard from the Order of the Preachers, who saw her blind, as I said earlier."

When asked if she had that ailment or anything like it afterwards, she replied, "No."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret restored her sight to her said daughter, as she said, she replied, "Two years ago."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "I don't remember, but I do know that my daughter sees well."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY¹⁹⁹

Sister Heroch, daughter of the late Everhard of Regensburg, who used to live at Buda, took the oath, as above.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit: «Ego audiui, quod dicta virgo Margaretha devotam et humilem vitam duxit».

Interrogata, a quibus audivit hoc, respondit: «Hoc audiui a fratribus predicatorum et sororibus, que circa eam fuerunt».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Sic, soror mea Elisabeth ita ceca erat, quod ire non poterat ad ostium, et venit ad sepulcrum beate Margarethe, et ego secum, et fuit ibi octo diebus, et rogavit Deum et beatam Margaretham, et tunc cepit videre, et melius fuit sibi qualibet die, donec fuit bene guarita».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta sua soror ita erat ceca, ut dixit, respondit: «Nonne debeo (scire), quia soror mea est, et mecum stat et vadit?»

Interrogata, si aliquis [...] ^a 200

L

[Magister Gerardus medicus²⁰¹] « est quarta etas,^b bis habuit febres, et postea incidit in acutam, et in tantum fuit tunc illa infirmitas et gravitas, quod quatuor medici, qui ipsum curabant, desperaverunt de vita sua, et tunc ego superveni, et vidi ipsum regem in gravissimo statu, et timui, et inveni, quod velum dicte sancte Margarethe portatum fuerat ipsi domino regi, qui multum confidebat de meritis et sanctitate ipsius sancte Margarethe; et domina Anna, et nutrix domini regis ipsius dixerunt mihi, quod posuerunt dictum velum super caput predicti regis, et dominus Joachimus,²⁰²

^a vacat

^b etas *ms.*

²⁰⁰ The end of this deposition and one or two following ones are missing, together with the beginning of the 50th deposition.

²⁰¹ The *Hungarian legend* records the cure of King Ladislas IV in great detail: Dömötör and Pólya, eds., *Szent Margit élete 1510*, 393–99. Following the cure on August 15, 1274, the physician Gerard was granted a village in the region of Zagreb

When asked about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she said under oath, "I have heard that the said virgin Margaret led a devout and humble life."

When asked from whom she heard this, she replied, "I heard it from the brothers preachers and from the sisters who were around her."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "Yes, my sister Elizabeth was so blind that she couldn't go to the door, and she came to the tomb of the blessed Margaret, and I with her, and she was there for eight days, and she asked God and the blessed Margaret, and then she began to see and got better every day until she was well and truly cured."

When asked how she knew that her sister was blind, as she said, she replied, "Surely I ought to know, because she's my sister and she stays with me, and goes about with me."

When asked if any [...] ²⁰⁰

50

[Master Gerard the physician] ²⁰¹

"...it's the fourth summer, he had two fevers, and then fell into a critical one, and so serious had the illness become that the four doctors who were looking after him despaired of his life, and then I took over and saw the king in a very grave condition, to my fear, and I found that the veil of the said saint Margaret had been brought to the lord King, who had much trust in the merits and sanctity of saint Margaret; and Lady Anne and the King's own nurse told me that they placed the said veil over the head of the aforesaid King; and Lord Joachim, ²⁰² master of the lord King's trea-

in return for his services; cf. Wenzel, *Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus*, vol. XXII, 113–15. Regarding the king's illness, see also *Legenda vetus*, 123 n. 94.

²⁰² Joachim, of the Gut-Keled kindred, held a number of high offices at court, cf. Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 317; on the family, see *Legenda vetus*, 123 n. 96.

magister tavernicorum ipsius domini regis tunc ostendit mihi urinam, quam cum vidissem et inspexissem, dixi: „Si verum iudicium est in urina, dominus rex debet habere crisim“, et statim incepit sudare, et liberatus est, et creditum fuit per ipsum dominum regem et per omnes barones et alios, qui fuerunt ibi tunc, et hodie creditur, quod liberatus fuit dictus dominus rex propter appositionem predicti veli et per merita ipsius sancte Margarethe».

Interrogatus, si aliquam medicinam ipse magister *Garcianus*^a dedit vel fecit ipsi domino regi tunc, antequam ipse rex sudare inciperet, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus dominus rex bis habuit febres in predicta estate, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi, et curavi ipsum de illis».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod predicti quatuor medici desperaverant de vita predicti domini regis, respondit: «Quia dicebant tunc me presente».

Interrogatus de nominibus dictorum medicorum, respondit: «Frater Theodoricus de ordine minorum et magister *Garcianus* medicus magistri Moys²⁰³ et magister Joannes, tunc medicus magistri dicti Joachim et quidam magister Bartolomeus».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus rex multum confideret de meritis istius sancte Margarethe, respondit: «Hoc audivi ab ipso rege ante infirmitatem, in infirmitate et post infirmitatem».

Interrogatus, si aliqui erant tunc presentes, quando hoc audivit a dicto rege, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando predictae domine, domina Anna et nutrix, dixerunt sibi predicta, respondit: «Non recordo».

Interrogatus de nomine nutricis, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando dictus Joachimus ostendit sibi predictam urinam, et iudicavit de ipsa urina, ut dixit, respondit: «Predictus frater Theodoricus et alii quam plures, de quorum nominibus non recordor».

^a Guardus *ms.*

²⁰³ On Palatine Mojs, see p. 328 n. 119 above.

sury, showed me the urine, and when I had seen and inspected it, I said, 'If the signs in the urine are accurate, the lord King is about to have a crisis,' and immediately he began to sweat and was delivered, and it was believed by the lord King himself and by all the barons and others who were there at the time, and it's still believed, that the said lord King was delivered because of the application of the aforesaid veil and through the merits of saint Margaret herself."

When asked if Master Garcianus had made any medicine for the lord King, or given him any at that time, before the King began to sweat, he replied, "No."

When asked how he knew that the said lord King had two fevers in the aforesaid summer, as he said, he replied, "Because I saw it and I cured him of them."

When asked how he knew that the aforesaid four doctors had despaired of the life of the aforesaid lord King, he replied, "Because they were present and told me so at the time."

When asked the names of the said doctors, he replied, "Brother Theodoric, a Franciscan, and Master Garcianus, the doctor of Master Mojs,²⁰³ and Master John, then doctor of the said Master Joachim, and a certain Master Bartholomew."

When asked how he knew that the said King had much trust in the merits of this saint Margaret, he replied, "I heard it from the King himself before his illness, during the illness, and after the illness."

When asked if there were anyone present when he heard this from the aforesaid king, he replied, "I don't recall." When asked who were present when the aforesaid ladies, Lady Anne and the nurse, told him the aforesaid things, he replied, "I don't recall."

When asked the name of the nurse, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked who were present when the said Joachim showed him the aforesaid urine and he gave an opinion on the urine, as he said, he replied, "The aforesaid Brother Theodoric and a great many others, whose names I don't remember."

When asked how he knew that the said lord King immediately began to sweat and was delivered, as he said, he replied, "I was present and I saw it."

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus dominus rex statim incepit sudare et liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Presens eram et vidi».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando incepit sudare et liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Predicta domina Anna et nutritrix et alii quam plures, de quibus non recordor».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod creditum fuerat per ipsum dominum regem, barones et alios, et hodie credatur, quod ipse dominus rex liberatus fuerat propter appositionem veli predicti et merita ipsius sancte Margarethe, respondit: «Quia audiui ab ipsis tunc, et postea multoties».

Interrogatus, in quo mense dictus rex guaritus fuerat de dicta infirmitate et liberatus, ut dixit, respondit: «Circa festum sancti Michaelis».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Circa horam vespertinam».

Interrogatus, quot diebus vidit eum liberatum ab illa infirmitate, ut dixit, respondit: «Per unam septimanam, sed postea recidivavit propter inordinatum regimen ipsius, sed non fuit acuta et tanti timoris ut prius».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE DOMINICA NONA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM.

LI

Domina Arentha, uxor Petri de Buda, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe: «Nihil volo dicere de hoc».

Interrogata, si vult aliquid dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Petrus, qui fuit de Tapolczano, qui modo stat in Buda, pater meus, erat infirmus et ruptus taliter, quod budelle sue descendebant ad testiculos suos, et quidam frater minor, qui vocabatur Charent, qui mortuus est, dederat sibi quemdam circulum ferreum, qui

When asked who were present when he began to sweat and was delivered, as he said, he replied, "The aforesaid Lady Anne and the nurse and a great many others, whom I don't remember."

When asked how he knew it that it was believed by the lord King himself, the barons, and others, and it is still believed, that the lord King had been delivered because of the application of the aforesaid veil and the merits of saint Margaret herself, he replied, "Because I heard it from them at the time, and often afterwards."

When asked in what month the said King was cured of the said illness and delivered, as he said, he replied, "Around the feast of Saint Michael."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "Around the hour of vespers."

When asked how many days he saw him free of that sickness, as he said, he replied, "For a week, but later he relapsed because of his irregular diet, but it was not so critical and as much a cause for anxiety as before."

When asked if he had been coached or asked to speak this testimony he replied, "No."

ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 9

51

Lady Arentha, wife of Peter of Buda, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, [she said,] "I don't want to say anything about it."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "Peter, who was from Tapolca and now resides in Buda, my father, was sick and so ruptured that his intestines were descending to his testicles, and a certain Franciscan friar called Charent, who is now dead, had given him an iron hoop which kept his intestines up, so that they didn't hang down so much, and while he was going through his courtyard, he fell and then all his intes-

sustinebat budellas sic, quod non descendebant ita, et dum iret per cortem^a suam cecidit, et budelle tunc descenderunt omnes, et cepit fortiter clamare, et nos incontinenti ivimus ad eum, et statim ipse dixit, quod volebat habere presbyterum et corpus Christi, et tunc portavimus eum ad stubam ad iacendum, et postea missum fuit pro presbytero, et recepit corpus Christi, et ab illa hora que fuit post vespervas, circa completorium, usque ad matutinum non fuit locutus, et credebamus, quod moreretur, et post matutinum surrexit in lecto et dixit: ‚O beata Margaretha, multum confidebamus de te, et modo mihi monstrasti misericordiam tuam;‘ et statim incepit vomere taliter, quod credebamus, quod per os suum exiret pulmo, et tunc ipse dixit: ‚Non timeatis, quia sanatus sum;‘ et tornaverunt tunc budelle ad locum, in quo debebant stare, et secunda die ivit de lecto, et venit ad sepulcrum beate Margarethe».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod ita fuit sanatus, ut dixit, respondit: [...] ^b «secunda die post festum sancti Martini».

Interrogata, que dies erat tunc, respondit: «Non recordor.» De hora dixit.

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando rogavit sanctam Margaretham, et vovit et sanatus est, ut dixit, respondit: ‚Ego et madregna^c mea, uxor dicti patris mei, que mortua est et alia familia’».

Interrogata, si viderat eum infirmum, antequam esset sanatus, respondit: «Quomodo non videram, quia pater meus est?»

Interrogata, per quot annos vidit eum sic infirmum, respondit: «Per sex».

Interrogata, si de dicta infirmitate aliquis medicus medicaverat eum, respondit: «Sic, quidam medicus regis Bele, qui mortuus est, et ille medicine semper sibi nocebant».

Interrogata, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit ipsi quando sanatus fuit, respondit: «Nulla».

Interrogata, si postea habuit infirmitatem predictam, vel similem, respondit: «Non».

^a crucem *ms.*

^b vacat

tines came down and he started to shout loudly, and we went with all speed to him, and he himself immediately said that he wanted a priest and the body of Christ, and then we carried him to a room to lie down, and after that we sent for the priest and he received the body of Christ, and from that hour, which was after vespers, around compline, up to matins, he didn't speak, and we thought he was dying, and after matins he rose up in his bed and said, 'O blessed Margaret, I had much faith in you, and now you have shown me your mercy,' and at once he began vomiting so hard that we thought his lungs would come out of his mouth, and then he himself said, 'Don't be afraid, for I'm cured,' and then his intestines went back into their proper place, and the next day he left his bed and went to the tomb of the blessed Margaret."

When asked how many years ago he was healed in this way, as she said, she replied, [...] "...on the second day after the feast of Saint Martin."

When asked what day it was at the time, she replied, "I don't remember." She spoke about the hour.

When asked who were present when he asked saint Margaret, made his vow, and was healed, as she said, she replied, "I was, and my step-mother, the wife of my father (she's dead), and other members of the family too."

When asked if she had seen him sick, before he was healed, she replied, "How wouldn't I have seen him, since he was my father?"

When asked how many years she had seen him sick like this, she replied, "Six."

When asked if any doctor had treated him for the said ailment, she replied, "Yes, a certain physician, now dead, of King Béla, and those medicines never did him anything but harm."

When asked if any medicine had been made for, or given to him when he was healed, she replied, "None."

When asked if he later had the aforesaid ailment or anything similar, she replied, "No."

^c *matrigna ital.*

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dictus pater suus venit ad standum in Buda, respondit: «Non recordeo».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dicta virgo Margaretha obiit, respondit: «Non recordeo».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Non recordeo».

Interrogata, (si fuit docta) vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Frater Petrus, presbyter ecclesie sancte crucis interpretis fuit modo predicto.

EADEM DIE²⁰⁴

LII

Dominus Carolus^a de veteri Buda miles, iudex pro domino rege in Buda,²⁰⁵ iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe sub iuramento dixit: «Ab eo tempore, circa quod rex Bela fecit fieri hoc monasterium, et posuit me ad servitium istius monasterii et dominarum, in prima edificatione monasterii, vidi et audiui, quod ista virgo Margaretha, de qua facitis inquisitionem, fuit bona domina et sancta, (et) tantam spem habebam de ea, quod ibam per silvas, per latrones et per loca multum periculosa et per inimicos meos, et de omnibus istis periculis ista sancta Margaretha liberaverat me, et non videbatur mihi, quod aliqui possent nocere mihi», Item dixit: «Hodie et omni tempore pono spem meam in sanctitate sua et in orationibus suis».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Quedam neptis mea,²⁰⁶ filia cuiusdam mee sororis, quodam tempore fuit infirma per decem septimanas ita graviter, quod

^a Karolus de Veuri *Legenda Maior*

²⁰⁴ August 9.

²⁰⁵ On medieval Buda and Óbuda ("Old Buda") see Balázs Nagy, Martyn Rady, Katalin Szende, and András Vadas, eds., *Medieval Buda in context* (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2016).

When asked how many years ago her said father came to stay in Buda, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked how many years ago the virgin Margaret passed away, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked how old she was, she answered, "I don't remember."

When asked [if she had been coached] or asked to speak this testimony, she answered, "No."

Brother Peter, priest of the Church of the Holy Cross, was the interpreter in the aforesaid matter.

ON THE SAME DAY²⁰⁴

52

Lord Charles of Óbuda, knight, the lord King's judge in Buda,²⁰⁵ took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he said under oath, "From about the time that King Béla had this monastery built, and put me at the service of this monastery and the ladies, when it first began to be built, I saw and heard that this virgin Margaret, the subject of your inquisition, was a good and holy lady, and I had such confidence in her that I used to go through forests and among robbers and through very dangerous places and among my foes, and this saint Margaret had freed me from all these dangers, and I thought no one could harm me." He also said, "Today and always I put my hope in her sanctity and her prayers."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about the miracles, he replied, "A niece of mine,²⁰⁶ the daughter of one of my sisters, was once so gravely ill for ten weeks that four doctors who had taken on her care had written her off as dead, and we were expecting her to die on any day; then Christian, the parish priest of the church of

²⁰⁶ Agnes, Witness 62.

quatuor medici, qui habuerant eam in cura, dimiserant eam pro mortua, et expectabamus omni die, quod moreretur, et vocatus fuit tunc dominus Christianus, plebanus ecclesie sancte Marie de Buda,²⁰⁷ et dedit sibi corpus Christi, et inunxit eam, et aliquantulum post perdidit loquelam ex toto, nec loqui poterat, et ita stetit tribus diebus, et quarta die mater sua votum fecit pro ea ad istam sanctam Margaretham, quod si liberaret eam, duceret eam ad sepulcrum suum, et tunc dicta puella incepit statim loqui, et postea alia die parentes et cognati sui fecerunt eam portari ad dictum sepulcrum, et ibi stetit per diem illam, et non fuit sanata; et postea fecerunt eam portari in quamdam domum de insula Danubii, prope monasterium, et in dicta domo stetit per sex dies, et iterum fecerunt eam portari ad dictum sepulcrum, et dicta puella fecit se exponi super sepulcrum cum pectore, et ita stando oravit, et postea respexit et dixit: ‚Laudate Deum, quod ego sum bene liberata;’ et tunc surrexit in pedibus suis, et rediit in domum suam super montem in castro Bude».

Interrogatus, quo nomine vocatur illa neptis sua, respondit: «Agnes».

Interrogatus, quot annos tunc habebat dicta Agnes, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus de nomine dicte sororis sue, respondit: «Domina Perta».

Interrogatus, cuiusmodi infirmitatem habebat tunc dicta neptis sua, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta neptis sua ita fuerat infirma per decem septimanas, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi eam».

Interrogatus de nominibus medicorum, qui habuerant dictam neptem suam in cura, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus plebanus dederit dicte nepti sue corpus Christi, et eam inunxit, ut dixit, respondit: «Audiui a sorore^a mea domina Perta».

^a ab uxore *ms.*

²⁰⁷ This was the principal church of the new city, dedicated, like the convent on the Island of Hares, to the Virgin Mary, who was much venerated in Hungary (cf. *Intro-*

the Virgin Mary at Buda,²⁰⁷ was called, and he gave her the body of Christ and anointed her, and very shortly afterwards she completely lost her power of speech and so remained for three days, and on the fourth day her mother made a vow on her behalf to the saint Margaret, that if she would deliver her, she would take her to her tomb; and then the said girl began immediately to speak, and afterwards, on another day, her parents and kinsmen had her carried to the said tomb, and she stayed there that day and was not healed; and thereafter they had her carried into a certain house on the Island in the Danube, near the monastery, and she stayed in the said house for six days, and again they had her taken to the said tomb, and the said girl had herself laid out over the tomb, breast down, and she stayed praying in this position, and later looked up and said, 'Praise God, for I am well and truly healed,' and then she rose up on her two feet and returned to her house on the hill in the town of Buda."

When asked the name of that niece of his, he replied, "Agnes."

When asked how old the said Agnes was at the time, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked the name of his said sister, he replied, "Lady Perta."

When asked what manner of illness his said niece had at that time, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how he knew that his said niece was so ill for ten weeks, as he said, he replied, "I saw her."

When asked the names of the doctors who had been looking after his said niece, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how he knew that the said parish priest had given his said niece the body of Christ, and anointed her, as he said, he replied, "I heard it from my sister, Lady Perta."

When asked how he knew that his said niece lost her power of speech and remained for three days unable to speak, he replied, "Sister Tharant told me."

duction, 23 n. 61). On the site of the original church after subsequent reconstruction a gothic church was built, and then rebuilt in neo-Gothic style in the nineteenth century. It is nowadays called the Mathias Church.

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta neptis sua ita amiserit loquelam, et stetit per tres dies, quod non potuit loqui, ut dixit, respondit: «Soror Tharant mihi dixit».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod mater predictae neptis suae votum fecerit pro ipsa nepte [...]^a

LIII

[...] ductus fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Uxor sua Margarita et Michael filius suus».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod ita liberatus fuit, et venit sanus, ut dixit, respondit. «Scio, quia portatus fuit in curru ad dictum sepulcrum et quando rediit, sanus venit».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod rediit sanus, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi cum oculis meis».

Interrogatus, si aliqui alii erant presentes, quando rediit ita sanus, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic, predicti Saleth et comes Petrus».

Interrogatus, quantum stetit, postquam portatus fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, antequam reverteretur domum liberatus, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Quatuor».

Interrogatus de mense, quo fuit liberatus, respondit: «Nescio, sed hoc fuit ante festum sancte crucis».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est predicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot annos habet, respondit. «Nescio, sed senex sum».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber et nobilis et de nobili progenie».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

^a vacat

When asked how he knew that the mother of the aforesaid niece of his made a vow on the niece's behalf [...]

53

[...] he was led to the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "His wife Margaret and his son Michael."

When asked how he knew that he was delivered in this way and came away healthy, as he said, he replied, "I know, because he was carried in a cart to the said tomb, and when he came back, he came away healthy."

When asked how he knew that he had come back healthy, as he said, he replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked if there were any others present when he came back healthy like this, as he said, he replied, "Yes, the aforesaid Saleth and *comes* Peter."

When asked how long he stayed after he was carried to the said tomb before he returned home, delivered, as he said, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how many years ago he was delivered, as he said, he replied, "Four."

When asked the month in which he was delivered, he replied, "I don't know, but it was before the feast of Holy Cross."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked how many years ago the aforesaid virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I don't know, but I'm old."

When asked if he were a servant or free, he replied, "Free and noble and from noble forebears."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned he replied, "No."

DIE MERCURII
DUODECIMA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM.
LIV

Soror Margaretha de ordine sancti Augustini,²⁰⁸ que stat in insula Danubii gloriose virginis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictæ virginis Margarethe, sub iuramento dixit, quod ista domina Margaretha habuit magnam misericordiam et (fuit) bona domina, et libenter dabat eleemosinas pauperibus «et nobis subveniebat.»

Interrogata, quomodo scit predicta, respondit: «Scio, quod fuit bona et sancta, quia nobis mittebat eleemosinas in vestibus et in victualibus, et hoc faciebat in secreto, quia non volebat, ut sciretur».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Petrucius, consanguineus meus, in domo mea sanatus fuit de manu, quam contractam habebat, et venit ad fratres, et dixit eis: ‚Regracior vobis, quia sanatus sum propter merita sancte Margarethe’; et ivit postea sanus ad domum suam».

Interrogata, unde erat dictus Petrucius, respondit: «De genere Catha et stat in Pest».

Interrogata, si habet domum in Pest, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod habet domum in Pest, respondit: «Quia cognatus meus est».

Interrogata, quomodo habuerit ita manum contractam, ut dixit, respondit: «Demandabat nobis per famulum, quod sic infirmus erat».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod sanatus fuerat, ut dixit, respondit: «Quando venit de ecclesia, vidi, quod adhuc habebat manum contractam, et in domo mea sanatus fuit».

Interrogata, si aliqua verba, quando sanatus fuit, dixit, respondit: «Ipse dixit: ‚Sancta Margaretha adiuvit me et sanavit’».

²⁰⁸ Sister Margaret is described in the *Hungarian legend* as a tertiary nun in the monastery of Saint Michael on the Island, which belonged to the Premonstratensian Order (cf. *Legenda vetus*, 78 n. 54). She was a member of the Káta kindred.

ON WEDNESDAY, AUGUST 12

54

Sister Margaret, of the Order of Saint Augustine,²⁰⁸ who lives on the Island of the Glorious Virgin in the Danube, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she said under oath that this lady Margaret had great pity and was a good lady, and she gave alms freely to the poor, “and she used to help us.”

When asked how she knew the aforesaid things, she replied, “I know that she was good and holy, because she sent us alms in the form of clothing and food, and she did this in secret, because she didn’t want it known.”

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, “My blood-relative Petrucius was healed in my house of a hand he had that was withered, and he came to the friars and said to them, ‘I thank you, because I’ve been healed because of the merits of saint Margaret,’ and after that he returned to his own home healthy.”

When asked where the said Petrucius was from, she replied, “Of the Káta kindred, and he lives in Pest.”

When asked if he had a house in Pest, she replied, “Yes.”

When asked how she knew that he had a house in Pest, she replied, “Because he’s a kinsman of mine.”

When asked how [she knew] he had got his hand so withered, as she said, she replied, “He sent a message with a servant that he had this ailment.”

When asked how she knew that he had been healed, as she said, she replied, “When he came from the church, I saw that he still had the withered hand, and he was healed in my house.”

When asked if he spoke any words when he was healed, as she said, she replied, “He himself said, ‘Saint Margaret helped and cured me.’”

Interrogata, qui erant tunc presentes, quando sanatus fuit in domo sua, ut dixit, respondit: Ursula, mater sua.

Interrogata, si alii erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Sic, familia dicti Petrucii».

Interrogata de nominibus dicte familie, respondit: «Nicolaus de Cata et Joannes de Pest».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod ita liberatus fuit in domo sua, ut dixit, respondit: «Anno preterito, sed bene annos non scio computare, quia sum laica».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Oblita sum».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Circa horam misse».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dictus Petrucius venerit ad dictos fratres dicendo: ‚Propter merita sancte Margarethe sanatus sum’, et regraciaretur sibi, respondit: «Ante me factum fuit».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi fratres, quibus hoc dixit, respondit: «Fratres Felicianus, qui tunc erat prior».

Interrogata, in quo loco erat tunc dictus Petrucius, quando dixit illa verba dicto priori, respondit: «In ista ecclesia sancte Marie».

Interrogata, quanto tempore vidit postea dictum Petrucium sanum, respondit: «Venit postea ad me sanus bis, vel ter».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE²⁰⁹

LV

Femia, uxor Ladomerii de insula Danubii iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Non volo dicere de hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Filius meus quodam tempore habuit magnum dolorem bene per

²⁰⁹ August 12.

When asked who were present at the time when he was healed in her house, as she said, she replied, Ursula, her mother.

When asked if there were others present at the time, she replied, "Yes, the family of the said Petrucius."

When asked about the names of the said family, she replied, "Nicholas of Káta and John of Pest."

When asked how many years ago he was thus delivered in her house, as she said, she replied, "It was last year, but I'm not good at counting years, because I'm a lay sister."

When asked the month, she replied, "I've forgotten."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the hour of day, she replied, "About the hour of mass."

When asked how she knew that the said Petrucius went to the said brothers, saying, "I've been healed because of the merits of saint Margaret," and thanked them, she replied, "It took place in front of me."

When asked who those brothers were, to whom he said this, she replied, "Brother Felician, who was prior at the time."

When asked where the said Petrucius was, when he said those words to the said prior, she replied, "In this church of the Virgin Mary."

When asked how long she had seen the said Petrucius healthy after that, she replied, "He came to me healthy two or three times."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁰⁹

55

Femia, wife of Ladomerius of the Danube Island, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the said holy virgin Margaret, she replied, "I don't want to speak about that."

annum ita, quod pes suus totus fuit siccatus, et post nativitatem domini in die sancti Matthei^{a210} ita contractus fuit in toto corpore, quod dorsum eius exiverat ad modum gibbi, ut non poterat ire cum scabellis, nec cum baculo, et ita stetit usque ad carnisprivium²¹¹ predictum, [...] ^b quod ego portarem dictum meum puerum, quem videtis hic, ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et tunc vovi, quod ego portarem dictum filium meum ad predictum sepulcrum, et statim die Sabathi sequenti totus sanatus est, sicut videtis eum».

Interrogata, ubi morabatur tunc ipsa femina, quando fecit votum predictum, respondit: In villa Voch, in domo Vataroi in diecesi Agriensi.²¹²

Interrogata de nomine dicti sui pueri, respondit: «Nicolaus».

Interrogata, quot annorum erat tunc dictus puer, quando sanatus fuit (respondit): «Credo, quod septem». [...] ^c

LVI

[Domina Laurentia] « sed nescio nomina illarum».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Noviter factum est in die sancti Antonii».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «In die Sabathi». De hora dixit.

Interrogata, quantum stetit dicta puella apud ignem super dicto plumario, ut dixit, respondit: «Usque in sero».

Interrogata, quot annos habebat dicta puella, quando cecidit in dictum puteum, ut dixit, respondit: «Duos».

^a recte Mathi

^b vacat

^c vacat

²¹⁰ February 24.

When asked if she wanted to say anything about the miracles, she replied, "My son once had a severe pain a good year long, so much so that his whole foot was dried up, and after the Lord's Nativity on Saint Matthias's Day²¹⁰ he was so crippled in his whole body that his back had gone out like a hunch, so that he could not walk even with crutches or a stick, and he stayed that way until the aforesaid Shrove Tuesday²¹¹ [...] that I carried my boy, whom you see here, to the tomb of this saint Margaret, and then I made a vow that I would carry my son to the aforesaid tomb, and on the following Saturday he was immediately healed all over, just as you see him."

When asked where the woman was living at the time, when she made the aforesaid vow, she replied, "In the village of Voch, in the house of Vatarous, in the diocese of Eger.²¹²"

When asked the name of the said boy, she replied, "Nicholas."

When asked how old the said boy was at the time, when he was cured, [she replied,] "Seven, I think." [...]

56

[Lady Laurentia] "...but I don't know their names."

When asked how many years ago this happened, she replied, "It happened recently on Saint Anthony's Day."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the day, she replied, "On a Saturday." She has stated the hour.

When asked how long the said girl stayed near the fire on the said eiderdown, as she said, she replied, "Until late in the day."

When asked how old the said girl was when she fell into the said well, as she said, she replied, "Two."

²¹¹ The last Tuesday before Ash Wednesday, also called Fat Tuesday or Mardi Gras.

²¹² Eger is an episcopal see about 250 miles east of Buda.

Interrogata, quot annos habeat modo dicta puella, respondit: «Duos, quia noviter fuit factum hoc».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot annos habet ipsa testis, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si est libera, vel ancilla, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Pauper».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

DIE VENERIS DECIMA QUARTA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM LVII

Math, filia de (?) Iberti, que stat in villa Egidii de sancto Georgio,^a iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nolo mentiri, quia non mansi hic, et nihil volo dicere (de) hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, (respondit): «Scio quamdam puellam, que cecidit in puteum in oratione (?) in die sancti Antonii, et tracta fuit de dicto puteo cum quadam hydria, in qua fuit tota constricta, et rogabamus sanctam Margaretham pro ea, et mortua stetit usque ad illud sero, et in illo sero intravit anima in corpus eius, et quando galli cantabant illa puella incepit loqui».

Interrogata, que fuit illa puella, respondit: «Vocatur Maria».

Interrogata, cuius filia est, respondit: «Coloni».²¹³

^a villa que dicitur Heug sancti Georgii Quinqueecclesiensis diocesis *Legenda Maior*

When asked how old the said girl was now, she replied, "Two, because it happened not long ago."

When asked how many years the virgin Margaret had been dead, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old she, the witness, was, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked whether she were a servant or free, she replied, "Free."

When asked if she were rich or poor, she replied, "Poor."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON FRIDAY, AUGUST 14

57

Math, daughter of Ibertus, a resident in the village of Szentgyörgyhegy, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and the behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she replied, "I don't want to lie. I did not stay here, and I don't want to say anything about it."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, [she replied,] "I know a certain girl, who fell into a well on Saint Anthony's Day at the hour of prayer (?), and she was hauled from the well with a bucket, in which she had squeezed herself (?), and we beseeched saint Margaret on her behalf, and she stayed dead until that evening, and that evening her soul entered her body, and when the cocks crowed that girl began to speak."

When asked who that girl was, she replied, "She's called Mary."

When asked whose daughter she was, she replied, "Colonus's."²¹³

²¹³ The *Legenda maior* calls her *Mariota filia Colini qui fuit de Leodio*, which seems to confirm that Colonus/Colinus is a man's name.

Interrogata, unde est ille Colonus, respondit: «De predicta villa».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod predicta puella cecidit in puteum, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi eam in puteo».

Interrogata, ubi est ille puteus, respondit: «In corte illius domine Laurentie, que fuit heri hic, et ibi habeo domum meam».

Interrogata, si predictus Colonus stat in illa corte, respondit: «Sic, stat circa illum puteum».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod illa puella ita constricta tracta fuit de dicto puteo, respondit: «Quia respiciebam semper in puteo et Colonus, pater suus dixit: „Non invenio eam”; tentando eam cum uno baculo, et traxit eam per vestes superius».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta puella mortua erat, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi eam, quando extrahebatur de dicto puteo».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi, qui traxerunt dictam puellam de puteo, ut dixit, respondit: «Martinus et quidam Teutonicus».

Interrogata de nomine illius Teutonici, respondit: «Hero».

Interrogata, ubi stant predicti Martinus et Hero, respondit: «Martinus in dicta curia et Hero in eadem villa».

Interrogata, qui erant tunc presentes, quando tracta fuerat dicta puella de dicto puteo, respondit: «Multi erant, quomodo possum eos nominare?»

Interrogata, qui erant illi, qui rogabant beatam Margaretham pro dicta puella, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego et illa, que fuit heri hic».

Interrogata, que fuit illa domina, que fuit hic, respondit: «Domina Laurentia».

Interrogata, cuiusmodi verba dicebant, quando rogabant sanctam Margaretham pro dicta puella, ut dixit, respondit: «O sancta Margaretha, que es nobilis et sancta Dei et sancte Marie, reddas nobis istam puellam».

Interrogata, que est ista sancta Margaretha, quam rogabant, respondit: «Filia regis».

Interrogata, cuius regis, respondit: «Bele».

When asked where that Colonus came from, she replied, "From the aforesaid village."

When asked how she knew that the aforesaid girl fell into a well, as she said, she replied, "I saw her in the well."

When asked where that well was, she replied, "In the court of that Lady Laurentia who was here yesterday, and that's where I have my house."

When asked if the aforesaid Colonus lived in that court, she replied, "Yes, he lives by that well."

When asked how she knew that that girl was hauled from the said well in that way, she replied, "Because I kept looking into the well and her father, Colonus, said, 'I can't find her,' as he groped for her with a stick, and he hauled her up by her clothes."

When asked how she knew that the said girl was dead, as she said, she replied, "I saw her, when she was being hauled out of the said well."

When asked who they were, who hauled the said girl from the well, as she said, she replied, "Martin and a certain German."

When asked the name of that German, she replied, "Hero."

When asked where the aforesaid Martin and Hero live, she replied, "Martin lives in the said court and Hero in the same village."

When asked who were present at the time, when the said girl was hauled from the said well, she replied, "There were many. How could I name them?"

When asked who they were, who prayed to the blessed Margaret on her behalf, as she said, she replied, "The lady who was here yesterday, and myself."

When asked who that lady was who was here, she replied, "Lady Laurentia."

When asked what kind of words they spoke when they beseeched saint Margaret on behalf of the said girl, as she said, she replied, "'O saint Margaret, who are noble and a saint of God and the Virgin Mary, give this girl back to us.'"

When asked who this saint Margaret was, whom they asked, she replied, "The King's daughter."

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta puella stetit mortua usque ad sero, ut dixit, respondit: «Steti ante eam, et ipsam videbam, et intrabat anima in corpus eius, sicut in guanto».^a

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod anima intrabat in corpus dicte puelle, respondit: «Vidi».

Interrogata, si aliquid factum fuit dicte puelle, antequam anima intraret in corpus eius, ut dixit, respondit: «Tenebamus eam cum bucca versus terram supra puteum, ut aqua exiret de corpore eius, et postea portavimus ad ignem eam et calefecimus, et expectabamus, quando anima intraret corpus eius».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod loquuta fuit dicta puella in hora, qua galli cantabant, respondit: «Pater eius dixit mihi, et non eram presens».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando anima ipsius puelle intravit in corpus eius, respondit: «Multi erant presentes, quos non possum nominare, quia multi erant».

Interrogata, quare non potest eos nominare, respondit: «Quia (erant) multi»

Interrogata, si aliquos cognoscebat, respondit: «Sic, Onath, servitalem dicte domine Laurentie».

Interrogata, ubi erat tunc dicta puella, quando anima eius intrabat corpus eius, ut dixit, respondit: «Super quadam mensa».

Interrogata, in cuius domo erat tunc dicta puella, respondit: «In domo patris sui».

Interrogata, in qua parte domus erat tunc ignis, respondit: «Aliquantulum remotius in eadem domo».

Interrogata, quot annorum erat tunc dicta puella, respondit: «Habuit duos annos in quadragesima ista preterita».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod tunc habuit duos annos, ut dixit, respondit: «Hoc scio per mortem matris dicte puelle, que est cito mortua, quando peperit eam».

Interrogata, quantum temporis est, quod fuit festum sancti Antonii, de quo dixit, respondit: «In isto anno, sed nescio, utrum fuit ante festum sancti Joannis, vel post».

^a guanto *ital.*

When asked what king's daughter, she replied, "Béla's."

When asked how she knew that the said girl stayed dead until late in the evening, as she said, she replied, "I stood before her and saw her, and her soul entered her body, as into a glove."

When asked how she knew that the soul entered the body of the said girl, she replied, "I saw it."

When asked if anything was done to the said girl, before the soul entered her body, as she said, she replied, "We were holding her over the top of the well with her mouth toward the ground, so that the water could leave her body, and then we carried her to the fire and warmed her up, and we waited for the soul to enter her body."

When asked how she knew that the said girl spoke at cock-crow, she replied, "Her father told me; I wasn't present."

When asked who were present when the girl's soul entered her body, she replied, "There were many present, whom I can't name, because they were many."

When asked why she couldn't name them, she replied, "Because [they were] many."

When asked if she knew any, she replied, "Yes, Onnath, a servant of the Lady Laurentia."

When asked where the said girl was when the soul entered her body, as she said, she replied, "On a table."

When asked in whose house the said girl was at the time, she replied, "In her father's."

When asked in what part of the house the fire was, she replied, "A little bit apart, in the same house."

When asked how old the said girl was at the time, she replied, "She was two years old this past Lent."

When asked how she knew that she was two at that time, as she said, she replied, "I know it from the death of the said girl's mother, who died soon after she had given birth to her."

When asked how long it had been since the feast of Saint Anthony, of whom she spoke, she replied, "It was this year, but I don't know whether it came before or after the feast of Saint John."

Interrogata, de quo mense fuit festum sancti Antonii, respondit: «In mense sancti Joannis».²¹⁴

Interrogata de die, in qua dicta puella cecidit, ut dixit, respondit: «In die Sabathi». De hora diei dixit supra.

Interrogata, in quantum distat villa illa, in qua habitat, respondit: «Venimus huc per octo dies».

Interrogata, si potuissent venire in quatuor diebus, si voluissent, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si est serva, vel libera, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Nimis sum pauper, quia sum sine filio».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE²¹⁵

LVIII

Domina Algent, uxor domini Andree de genere Catha, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Per tres annos infirma fui, et portata fui ad sepulcrum istius beate Margarethe, et steti in ista insula per tres septimanas, et fui surda, et restituit mihi auditum, et portata fui ad domum matris mee, et in toto liberata fui, et manus et pedes non habui et ipsa restituit mihi».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi, qui portaverunt eam ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Dominus Andreas, maritus meus».

²¹⁴ June.

When asked in what month the feast of Saint Anthony occurred, she replied, "In the month of the feast of St. John."²¹⁴

When asked on what day the said girl fell, as she said, she replied, "On a Saturday." She said the hour of the day earlier.

When asked how far away the village was in which she lived, she replied, "We got here in eight days."

When asked if they could have come in four days, if they had wanted, she replied, "No."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if she were a servant or free, she replied, "Free."

When asked if she were rich or poor, she replied, "I'm very poor, because I have no son."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²¹⁵

58

Lady Algent, wife of Lord Andrew of the Káta kindred, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I know nothing."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about the miracles, she replied, "I was ill for three years, and I was carried to the tomb of this blessed Margaret, and stayed on this island for three weeks, and I was deaf, and she restored my hearing, and I was carried to my mother's house and was completely delivered, and I didn't have hands or feet and she restored them to me."

When asked who they were, who carried her to the said tomb, as she said, she replied, "Lord Andrew, my husband."

²¹⁵ August 14.

Interrogata, in quo portavit eam, respondit: «In curru».

Interrogata, si alii erant tunc ibi, quam maritus suus, respondit: «Sic, familia mariti mei».

Interrogata de nominibus familie istius, respondit: «Cosma et Clementinus».

Interrogata, ubi stetit per tres septimanas, respondit: «In domo monialium, que stant in ista insula».

Interrogata de nominibus illarum monialium, respondit: «Domina Ursula et filia eius et Margaretha, que cognate mee sunt».

Interrogata, si domus illa, in qua stabant tunc dicte moniales, erat ecclesia, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta Margaretha restituit sibi auditum, ut dixit, respondit: «Scio, quia quando portata fui ad sepulcrum eius, non audiebam, et stando circa sepulcrum incepti audire unam campanam».

Interrogata, si aliquid tunc dicebat stando circa dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego dicebam: ,Sancta Margaretha, adiuva me' ».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando incepti audire et rogavit beatam Margaretham, ut dixit, respondit: «Quomodo possum dicere, quia totus mundus erat ibi».

Interrogata, si dixit alicui, sicut inceperat audire stando ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic, multis et specialiter dictis dominabus monialibus».

Interrogata, quanto tempore steterat, quod nihil audiverat, ut dixit, respondit: «Per duas septimanas».

Interrogata, per quot dies stetit, postquam fuit portata ad dictum sepulcrum, antequam inciperet audire, ut dixit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, si aliqua medicina facta fuit sibi, postquam primo portata fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, ut audiret, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quomodo non habebat pedes, nec manus, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia in tantum desiccata eram in pedibus et manibus, quod cum manibus nihil capere poteram, nec pedibus ire poteram, nec movere».

When asked what they carried her in, she replied, "In a wagon."

When asked if there were others there besides her husband, she replied, "Yes, my husband's family."

When asked the names of this family, she replied, "Cosmas and Clementine."

When asked where she stayed for the three weeks, she replied, "In the house of the nuns who live on this island."

When asked the names of those nuns, she replied, "Lady Ursula and her daughter, and Margaret, who were kinswomen of mine."

When asked if the house in which the said nuns were staying at the time was the church, she replied, "No."

When asked how she knew that the said Margaret restored her hearing, as she said, she replied, "I know, because when I was carried to her tomb, I wasn't hearing, and as soon as I stood around her tomb, I began to hear a bell."

When asked if she said anything while standing at that time around the said tomb, as she said, she replied, "I said, 'Saint Margaret, help me.'"

When asked who were present when she started to hear and asked the blessed Margaret, as she said, she replied, "How can I say? Everyone was there."

When asked if she told anyone how she had started to hear while staying at the said tomb, as she said, she replied, "Yes, many people, and the said lady nuns in particular."

When asked how long it had been that she couldn't hear anything, as she said, she replied, "For two weeks."

When asked for how many days she stayed after she was carried to the said tomb, before starting to hear, as she said, she replied, "I don't recall."

When asked if any medicine had been given to her after she was first carried to the said tomb, so that she should hear, she replied, "No."

When asked in what way she had neither feet nor hands, as she said, she replied, "Because I was so dried up in my feet and

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ista sancta Margaretha restituit sibi manus, et pedes, ut dixit, respondit: «Scio, quod venit in somnis ista sancta Margaretha, et porrexit mihi pedes in cera, et manus de cera, et statim fui sanata».

Interrogata, quantum stetit in domo dicte matris sue, postquam fuit portata de ista insula ad domum matris sue eiusdem, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Per unam septimanam».

Interrogata, si aliqua verba dicebat tunc per illam septimanam, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Rogabam semper^a gratiam sancte Margarethe».

Interrogata, si aliqua medicina facta fuit sibi in septimana illa ad hoc, ut sanaretur in pedibus et manibus, respondit: «Nulla».

Interrogata, si aliqui fuerunt tunc in illa [...] ^b

DIE SABATHI DECIMA QUINTA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM. LIX

Sura, uxor domini Andree de sancto Georgio²¹⁶ in diocesi Strigoniensi, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predicte virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil volo dicere super hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Per tres annos in tantum infirma fui, quod omnes abhorrebant me, et non poteram me movere, neque exire domum, nisi pater et mater mea portarent me; iam sunt tres anni, quod in octava pentecostes, feria sexta, portata fui ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et eadem die ibi sanata fui».

Interrogata, si scit, cuiusmodi infirmitas erat illa, quam habebat, respondit: «Malum erat, de quo cadebam in terram, et erat

^a super *ms.*

^b *vacat*

hands, that I could grasp nothing with my hands, nor could I walk on my feet nor move.”

When asked how she knew that this saint Margaret gave her back her hands and feet, as she said, she replied, “I know, because this saint Margaret came to me in a dream, and held out to me feet in wax, and hands made of wax, and I was immediately healed.”

When asked how long she stayed in the home of her said mother after she was carried from this island to the home of her same mother, before she was healed, as she said, she replied, “For a week.”

When asked if she spoke any words in the course of that week, before she was healed, as she said, she replied, “All the time I kept asking for the grace of saint Margaret.”

When asked if any medicine had been made for her in that week, so that she should be healed in her hands and feet, she replied, “None.”

When asked if any were in that [...]

ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 25

59

Sura, wife of Lord Andrew of Szentgyörgy²¹⁶ in the diocese of Esztergom, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, “I don’t wish to say anything about this.”

When asked if she wanted to say anything about the miracles, she replied, “For three years, I was so ill that everyone shunned me, and I couldn’t move or leave the house unless my father and mother carried me; it’s now three years since I was carried to the tomb of this saint Margaret on the octave of Pentecost, a Friday, and on that same day I was healed there.”

When asked if she knew what sort of malady it was, she replied, “It was a malady because of which I kept falling to the

²¹⁶ A locality probably in Bars county or, nearer, Esztergom-Szentgyörgy.

tanta infirmitas mea, quod totum corpus meum conterebat et pedes meos contraxerat».

Interrogata, si aliqui medicabant eam de dicta infirmitate, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata de nominibus patris et matris ipsius, respondit: «Pater vocatur Hegart,²¹⁷ et hic est et mater Stella et vivit».

Interrogata, de quo loco fuerunt predicti pater et mater ipsius, respondit: «De loco Sorlou,²¹⁸ diocesis Strigoniensis».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi, qui portarunt eam ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Dictus pater meus et cusini^a mei».

Interrogata de nominibus consanguineorum, respondit: «Butra et Tese de Sorlou, qui stant in eadem villa Sorlou».

Interrogata, in quo portaverunt eam, respondit: «In curru».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando sanata fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Predicti pater meus et cusini mei».

Interrogata, que verba dicebant apud dictum sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Rogabam dominam meam sanctam Margaretham».

Interrogata, si aliqui sciverunt, quod sic rogabat istam sanctam Margaretham, respondit: «Quis poterat scire, quod ego dicebam in corde meo?».

Interrogata, in qua hora sanata fuit, respondit: «In hora misse».

Interrogata, in quanto tempore stetit sine tali infirmitate, postquam sanata fuit de dicta infirmitate, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si postquam sanata fuit, habuit infirmitatem predictam, vel consimilem, respondit: «Deus novit».

Interrogata, si postea habuit illud malum, ita quod caderet ad terram, respondit: «Sic, sed non tantum conteruit me, nec postea habui pedes contractos».

^a cugino *ital.*

²¹⁷ In the 60th deposition called Hograd.

ground, and it was so severe that it bruised (?) my whole body and had crippled my feet."

When asked if any doctors were treating her for the said malady, she replied, "No."

When asked the names of her father and mother, she replied, "My father's called Hegart,²¹⁷ and he's here, and my mother, Stella, she's alive (?)."

When asked where her aforesaid father and mother came from, she replied, "From the village of Salló,²¹⁸ in the diocese of Esztergom."

When asked who they were who carried her to the said tomb, she replied, "My said father and my cousins."

When asked the names of her relatives, she replied, "Butra and Tese of Salló, who live in the same village of Salló."

When asked what they carried her in, she replied, "In a cart."

When asked who were present when she was healed at the said tomb, she replied, "My father and my cousins."

When asked what words they spoke at the said tomb before she was healed, as she said, she replied, "I called upon my lady, saint Margaret."

When asked if anyone knew that she called upon this saint Margaret so, she replied, "Who could know what I said in my heart?"

When asked at what hour she was healed, she replied, "At the hour of mass."

When asked how long she remained free of the aforesaid ailment or anything like it after being healed of it, as she said, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if, after she was cured, she had the aforesaid ailment or anything like it, at a later date, she replied, "God knows."

When asked if she afterwards suffered from that ailment, such that she fell on the ground, she replied, "Yes, but it didn't bruise me so much, and afterwards I didn't have crippled feet."

²¹⁸ In Bars county.

Interrogata, quot vicibus habuit postea dictam infirmitatem, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, ubi incepit habere dictam infirmitatem, respondit: «In domo patris mei».

Interrogata, si postquam fuit in domo mariti sui, habuit infirmitatem predictam, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogata, si est libera, vel ancilla, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si maritus eius est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Nec nimis dives, nec nimis pauper».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE.²¹⁹

LX

Hograd, de villa Sorlou, diocesis Strigoniensis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit, se nihil scire.

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Filia mea per tres annos fuit infirma, ita quod ire non poterat, nisi ego et uxor mea iuvaremus eam, et feria quinta ante octavas pentecostes portata fuit in curru, ut portaretur ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et feria sexta sequenti portata fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, et eadem die sanata fuit et posita fuit ad sepulcrum regis Stephani,²²⁰ et tunc surrexit in propriis pedibus et exivit de ecclesia».

Interrogatus de nomine dicte filie sue, respondit: «Sura».

²¹⁹ August 15.

When asked how many times afterwards she had the said ailment, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked where she began to have the said ailment, she replied, "In my father's house."

When asked if she had the aforesaid ailment after she was in her husband's house, she replied, "Yes."

When asked if she were free or servant, she replied, "Free."

When asked if her husband was rich or poor, she replied, "Not too rich, not too poor."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she answered, "I don't know."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she answered, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²¹⁹

60

Hograd, from the village of Salló in the diocese of Esztergom, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied that he knew nothing.

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "My daughter was ill for three years, so she couldn't move without help from me and my wife, and on the Thursday before the octave of Pentecost she was carried in a cart to be taken to the tomb of this saint Margaret, and on that Friday she was carried to the said tomb, and that same day she was healed and placed at the tomb of King Stephen,²²⁰ and then she rose up on her own two feet and left the church."

²²⁰ Margaret's brother, King Stephen V, had also been buried in the monastery on the Island, a unique (even outrageous) thing, as all the Hungarian kings were buried in the royal burial place at Székesfehérvár.

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod predicta filia sua per tres annos sic fuit infirma, ut dixit, respondit: «Scio, quia tunc temporis apud me fuit».

Interrogatus, cuiusmodi infirmitas erat illa, quam habuit filia sua per tres annos, ut dixit, respondit: «Morbus caducus erat in ea».

Interrogatus, si habebat aliam infirmitatem, nisi morbum caducum, ut dixit, respondit: «Non, sed ille morbus caducus faciebat eam cadere in terram».

Interrogatus, si omni die habebat morbum illum, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt illi, qui portaverunt dictam filiam suam ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Quedam cognata mea, que vocatur Martinca, que stat in Sorlou».

Interrogatus, si aliqui alii venerunt cum dicta Martinca et filia sua, respondit: «Fiala, qui modo stat in Goshovam, [...] ^a qui stat in Sorlou».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta filia sua sanata fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Scio, quod portata fuit ad sepulcrum predictum, ut dixi, et reversa fuit domum cum pedibus suis; sed quando liberata fuit, non fui presens».

Interrogatus, si postea habuit illam infirmitatem, vel similem, respondit: «Nunquam».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dicta filia sua portata fuit ad sepulcrum predictum, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, ubi incepit habere predicta filia sua predictam infirmitatem, respondit: «In Sorlou, in domo mea».

Interrogatus, si postquam maritus suus duxit eam in uxorem, habuit infirmitatem predictam, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dedit eam ad maritum, respondit: «Quatuor anni».

Interrogatus, quando mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot annos habuit dicta filia sua, respondit: «Nescio».

^a *vacat*

When asked the name of his daughter, he replied, "Sura."

When asked how he knew that the aforesaid daughter was ill in this way for three years, as he said, he replied, "I know, because she was with me all that time."

When asked what the nature of that illness was, the one she had for three years, as he said, he replied, "She had the falling sickness."

When asked if she had any other ailment besides the falling sickness, as he said, he replied, "No, but that falling sickness caused her to fall on the ground."

When asked if she had the falling sickness every day, he replied, "Yes."

When asked who they were, who carried his daughter to the said tomb, he replied, "A female relative of mine called Martinca, who lives at Salló."

When asked if any others went with the said Martinca and his daughter, he replied, "Fiala, who now lives in Goshova [...] who lives at Salló."

When asked how he knew that his said daughter was healed at the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "I know that she was carried to the aforesaid tomb, as I said, and that she came back on her own two feet, but I wasn't there when she was healed."

When asked if she had suffered the illness or one like it, afterwards, he replied, "Never."

When asked how many years ago his said daughter was carried to the aforesaid tomb, as he said, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked where his aforesaid daughter started having the aforesaid illness, he replied, "At Salló, in my house."

When asked if she had the aforesaid illness after her husband married her, he replied, "Yes."

When asked how many years it had been since he gave her in marriage to her husband, he replied, "Four."

When asked when the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old his said daughter was, he replied, "I don't know."

Interrogatus, si servus est, vel liber, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Dives eram, sed depredatus sum a predonibus».^a

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE²²¹

LXI

Andreas de sancto Georgio diocesis Strigoniensis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «(Nihil) scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «De domina uxore mea; in primo mense, postquam duxi eam, habuit morbum caducum per tres annos, et fuit tota contracta in pedibus, et ego non poteram eam tenere, et portata fuit ad domum patris et matris sue, et portata fuit ad istud sepulcrum, et sanata fuit».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod duxit eam in uxorem, respondit: «Quatuor anni sunt».

Interrogatus de nomine dicte uxoris sue, respondit: «Sura».

Interrogatus, (quomodo scit) quod habuit per predictos tres annos dicta uxor sua predictam infirmitatem, respondit: «Scio, quia in festo omnium sanctorum incepit habere dictam infirmitatem», et portata fuit ad domum patris sui, ut dixit, «et post tres annos revoluti eiusdem festi reportata fuit mihi».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore stetit in domo sua, postquam incepit habere dictam infirmitatem, antequam portaretur ad domum patris sui, respondit: «Per duos menses».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta uxor sua portata fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Scio, quod portata fuit in curru».

^a gelonibus *ms.*

When asked if he were a servant, or free, he replied, "Free."

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, "I used to be rich, but I was robbed by brigands."

When asked if he had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, he replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²²¹

61

Andrew of Szentgyörgy, of the diocese of Esztergom, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I don't know anything about it."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "About my wife. The first month after I married her, she suffered from a falling sickness that lasted for three years, and she was all crippled in her feet, and I wasn't able to keep her, and she was carried to the house of her father and mother, and carried to this tomb, and was healed."

When asked how many years ago he married her, he replied, "Four."

When asked the name of his said wife, he replied, "Sura."

When asked how he knew that his said wife had the aforesaid sickness for the aforesaid three years, he replied, "I know, because at the feast of All Saints she began to have the said sickness," and she was carried, as he said, to her father's house, "and after three more years of the same feast she was brought back to me."

When asked how long she stayed in his house after she started having the said sickness, before she was carried to her father's house, he replied, "Two months."

When asked how he knew that his said wife was carried to the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "I know that she was carried in a cart."

²²¹ August 15.

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt illi, qui portaverunt dictam uxorem suam ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Soror patris uxoris mee et multi alii, de quibus non recordor».

Interrogatus, quod est nomen eius, respondit: «Martinca».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta Martinca et alii, de quibus dixit, portaverunt eam ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Scio, quia vocatus fui obviam eis usque Strigonium».

Interrogatus, quis vocavit eum, respondit: «Filius dicte Martince».

Interrogatus, quod est nomen eius, respondit: «Clementius».

Interrogatus, in quantum distat locus, in quo habitat, a loco, in quo habitat pater uxoris sue, respondit: «Per unum rastum».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod portata fuit dicta uxor sua ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Unus annus est».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod liberata fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Audivi a dicta uxore mea, sed non fui tunc presens».

Interrogatus, si postquam sanata fuit, habuit infirmitatem predictam, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot annos habet ipse testis, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si esset servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, si est, dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Pauper».

Interrogatus, si est doctus, vel rogatus dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Dominus Martinus, presbyter et prior ecclesie sancti Michaelis de insula interpretis fuit in depositionibus predictis.

When asked who they were, who carried his said wife to the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "The sister of my wife's father, and many others, whom I don't remember."

When asked what her name was, he replied, "Martinca."

When asked how he knew that the said Martinca and others, that he had spoken about, carried her to the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "I know, because I was sent for to meet her at Esztergom."

When asked who sent for him, he replied, "The said Martinca's son."

When asked his name, he replied, "Clementius."

When asked how far the place he lives is from where his wife's father lives, he replied, "One German mile."

When asked how many years ago his said wife was carried to the said tomb, he replied, "A year ago."

When asked how he knew she was delivered at the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "I heard it from my wife, but I wasn't present at the time."

When asked if she had suffered the aforesaid ailment after she was healed, he replied, "No."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he answered, "I don't know."

When asked how old he, the witness, was, he answered, "I don't know."

When asked if he were servant or free, he answered, "Free."

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, "Poor."

When asked if he had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, he replied, "No."

Lord Martin, the priest and prior of the church of Saint Michael on the Island, was the interpreter in the aforesaid depositions.

DIE DECIMA QUINTA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM.

LXII

Domina Agnes, filia quondam Herlip,²²² neptis domini Caroli²²³ iudicis de Buda, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata de vita et conversatione dicte virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere de miraculis, respondit: «Per decem septimanas fui in magna infirmitate, et per quatuor dies steti quod non potui loqui, nec sciebam quid esset de me, et quatuor medici, qui medicabant me, dicebant, quod de illa infirmitate non poteram scampare; et quod quando stabam et non poteram loqui, mater mea rogavit beatam Margaretham quod me sanaret, et tunc loquuta fui et dixi: ‚Si quis me portaret ad sanctam Margaretham, essem sana’; et postea portata fui per tres sorores usque ad Danubium, et ibi intravimus aquam, et postea portaverunt me ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et quam cito fui ibi, sensi, in qualibet die quod melius erat mihi, et in quarta die stando circa dictum sepulcrum fui sanata et liberata de dicta infirmitate».

Interrogata, si poterat ire per illas decem septimanas, in quibus sic infirma fuit, respondit: «Non, nec exire de loco, nisi aliquis me portaret».

Interrogata, si scit, cuiusmodi infirmitas erat illa, respondit: «Habebam in corpore tantum dolorem, sicut aliquis pungeret cor meum cum lanceis».

Interrogata de nominibus illorum, qui eam medicabant, respondit: «Nescio nomina illorum, sed bene scio, quod (duo) mortui sunt, et alii duo nescio ubi sunt».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod stetit per quatuor dies, quod non potuit loqui, ut dixit, respondit: «Predictae (sorores) dixerunt hoc mihi».

Interrogata de nominibus illarum, respondit: «Jorautht et Melt et Athleita, que stabant mecum in Buda, in domo matris mee».

²²² The *Legenda maior* calls him Herlip the German (Herlip Teutonicus).

AUGUST 15

62

Lady Agnes, daughter of the late Herlip,²²² and niece of Lord Charles,²²³ Judge of Buda, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the said virgin Margaret, she replied, "I know nothing about it."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "I was very ill for ten weeks, and for four days I was unable to speak and had no idea what would become of me, and four doctors, who were treating me, said that I couldn't survive that illness; and when my inability to speak persisted, my mother asked the blessed Margaret to cure me, and it was then I spoke and said, 'If someone were to carry me to saint Margaret, I would be healed'; and after that I was carried by my three sisters to the Danube, and there we entered the water, and then they carried me to the tomb of this saint Margaret, and as soon as I got there, I felt better and better every day, and on the fourth day, as I stayed around the said tomb, I was delivered and cured of the said illness."

When asked if she could move on her own during those ten weeks in which she was so ill, she replied, "No, nor could I leave the spot, unless someone carried me."

When asked if she knew the nature of that illness, she replied, "I had such a severe pain in my body, it was like somebody was piercing my heart with spears."

When asked the names of those who were treating her, she replied, "I don't know their names, but I do know that two are dead, and I don't know where the other two are."

When asked how she knew that she had been unable to speak for four days, as she said, she replied, "My aforesaid sisters told me."

When asked their names, she replied, "Jorautht, Melt, and Althleita, who stayed with me in Buda, in my mother's house."

²²³ He is Witness 52.

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod rogavit mater sua beatam Margaretham, ut dixit, respondit: «Mater mea hoc mihi dixit, et quod duceret me ad dictum sepulcrum».

Interrogata, quomodo portata fuit per predictas sorores, respondit: «Portabant me, et ego tenebam unum brachium super collum unius et alterum brachium super collum alterius, et alia iuvabat nos, et taliter portabant me, quod non tangebam terram».

Interrogata, si aliqui alii associabant eam tunc, respondit: «Non, preterquam una puella parva, que sequebatur nos».

Interrogata, si eadem die, qua inceperunt portare eam ad dictum sepulcrum, potuerunt illuc venire, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogata, si quando fuit sanata in quarta die apud sepulcrum, ut dixit, aliqui erant presentes, respondit: «Sic, predictae tres sorores».

Interrogata, que verba dicebat, quando stabat ad dictum sepulcrum ut dixit, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «Ego stabam iuxta sepulcrum, et predictae sorores tenebant me, quia non poteram sustinere me, et rogabam istam sanctam Margaretham, quod sanaret me, et promisi si me sanaret, quod ego dicerem qualibet die ter ‚Ave Maria‘ et ter ‚Pater noster‘ tempore vite mee, et ieiunarem vigiliam suam, et festarem diem eius».

Interrogata, si postquam portata fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi, antequam esset liberata, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si tunc liberata fuit, quod cum pedibus suis potuerit ire ad domum suam sine aliquo adiutorio, respondit: «Sic, et mater mea, que non fuit presens, non credebat, quod ego essem ita sanata, et quando vidi eam, incepti magis cito ire, quam alie sorores, et dixi, quod beata Margaretha sanaverat me».

Interrogata, si postquam sanata fuit, habuit illam infirmitatem, vel similem, respondit: «Nec illam, nec aliam habui».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod sic sanata fuit a dicta infirmitate, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Nescio».

When asked how she knew that her mother made the request, as she said, of saint Margaret, she replied, "My mother told me this, and that she'd take me to the said tomb."

When asked how she had been carried by her aforesaid sisters, she replied, "They were carrying me, with me holding one arm over the neck of one, and the other arm over the neck of another, and the other one was helping us, and they carried me such that I didn't touch the ground."

When asked if she had other companions at the time, she replied, "No, except for one little girl, who was following us."

When asked if they were able to reach the said tomb on the same day they set out carrying her, she replied, "Yes."

When asked if there were any present when she was cured on the fourth day at the tomb, as she said, she replied, "Yes, my aforesaid three sisters."

When asked what words she uttered when she stayed at the said tomb, as she said, before she was cured, she replied, "I was next to the tomb, and my sisters were holding me, because I couldn't hold myself up, and I kept asking this saint Margaret to heal me, and I promised that, if she did, I'd say three rosaries and three Pater Nosters every day for the rest of my life, and I'd fast on her vigil, and keep her feast day."

When asked if after she had been carried to the said tomb any medicine was given to or made for her before her cure, she replied, "No."

When asked if she was so delivered at that time that she was able to go home on her own two feet without any assistance, she replied, "Yes, and my mother, who hadn't been present, didn't believe that I was so healed, and when I saw her I speeded up past my other sisters, and said that the blessed Margaret had healed me."

When asked if after her healing she had that ailment or one like it, she replied, "Neither that, nor any other."

When asked how many years ago she had been healed of the said ailment, as she said, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't know."

Interrogata, si de die et de nocte stabat ad dictum sepulcrum per illas quatuor dies, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «De nocte stabam in domo domini regis, que modo destructa est, et de die apud sepulcrum predictum».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si maritus eius est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Dives homo, sicut burgensis».

Interrogata, si est libera vel ancilla, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Frater Henricus, presbyter ordinis Premonstratensis et dominus Martinus, prior ecclesie sancti Michaelis eiusdem ordinis et Joannes Teutonicus, serviens domini Uberti Blanci inquisitoris, interpretes fuerunt in dicto isto in lingua teutonica.²²⁴

EADEM DIE.²²⁵

LXIII

Guirich, ²²⁶ filius Damiani de villa Endreit diocesis Quinqueecclesiensis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Istum filium meum in die ascensionis domini portavi ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et non fuit liberatus, et postea in octava pentecostes remisi eum ad dictum sepulcrum per fratrem meum, quando rediit domum, et sanatus est».

²²⁴ This is the only deposition told in German.

²²⁵ August 15.

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if she stayed day and night at the said tomb for those four days before her healing, she replied, "At night I stayed in the house of the King, which has now been pulled down, and during the day at the aforesaid tomb."

When asked her age, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if her husband was rich or poor, she replied, "A rich man, as he was a burgher."

When asked if she were free or servant, she replied, "Free."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if she had been coached or asked to say this testimony, she replied, "No."

Brother Henry, priest of the Praemonstratensian order, and Lord Martin, prior of the church of Saint Michael, of the same order, and John the German, a servant of Lord Ubert Bianchi, the inquisitor, were the interpreters in this deposition in the German language.²²⁴

ON THE SAME DAY²²⁵

63

Guirich,²²⁶ son of Damian of the village of Endréd, in the diocese of Pécs, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "I carried this son of mine on Ascension to the tomb of this saint Margaret, and he was not delivered, and later, on the eighth day of Pentecost, I sent him back in the charge of my brother to the said tomb, when he came home, and he was cured."

²²⁶ That is, György (George), a name very often appearing in charters.

Interrogatus, de quo fuit sanatus dictus filius suus, quando rediit ad domum suam, ut dixit, respondit: «De pede, quem habebat curvum a nativitate sua».

Interrogatus, qualiter habebat dictum pedem curvum, respondit: «Quod non poterat ambulare cum planta pedis, sed cum crate».

Interrogatus, ubi fuit sanatus dictus filius suus, respondit: «Statim, quando venit domum, incepit ire cum illo pede».

Interrogatus de nomine fratris sui, qui portavit eum ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Georgius, qui stat in predicta villa Endreit».

Interrogatus de nomine dicti filii, respondit: «Laurentius».

Interrogatus, quot annorum erat tunc dictus puer, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si credit, quod sit duodecim annorum, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si credit, quod sit quindecim annorum, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod ita incepit ire cum pede, ut dixit, respondit: «Tres anni fuerunt circa pentecostem».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «De mense pentecostes».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «In tertia feria».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «In hora prandii».

Interrogatus, quomodo liberatus fuit dictus filius suus, respondit: «Sancta Margaretha liberavit eum, quam orabam».

Interrogatus, que verba dixit, quando oravit, ut dixit, respondit: «Dicebam, Ave Maria'».

Interrogatus, in quo loco erat, quando oravit, ut dixit, respondit: «In domo mea et ubicumque eram».

Interrogatus, in quantum distat illa villa, in qua habitat, ab isto loco, respondit: «Tertia dimidia dieta».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Pauper».

When asked of what his son was cured, when he returned home, as he said, he replied, "Of a foot which he had turned in from birth."

When asked in what way he had his foot turned in, he replied, "In a way that made him unable to walk on the flat of his foot, but with the side."

When asked when his said son was cured, he replied, "Immediately after he got home he began to walk with that foot."

When asked the name of his brother, who carried him to the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "George, who lives in the aforesaid village of Endréd."

When asked the name of his son, he replied, "Lawrence."

When asked how old his son was at the time, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he thought he was twelve, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he thought he was fifteen, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how many years ago it was that he thus began to walk on the foot, as he said, he replied, "Three years ago, come Pentecost or thereabouts."

When asked the month, he replied, "In the month of Pentecost."

When asked the day, he replied, "On a Tuesday."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "Lunch time."

When asked how his said son was delivered, he replied, "Saint Margaret, to whom I prayed, delivered him."

When asked what words he used when he prayed, as he said, he replied, "I said the *Ave Maria*."

When asked where he was when he prayed, as he said, he replied, "In my house and wherever I was."

When asked how far the estate on which he lived was from this place, he replied, "Three and a half days' journey."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he were servant or free, he replied, "Free."

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus dicere hoc testimonium, respondit: «Non».

Frater Petrus, presbyter et rector ecclesie sancte crucis de Buda veteri et Martinus de Nitra, scholasticus eiusdem ecclesie interpretes fuerunt in dicto predicto.

DIE DOMINICA DECIMA
SEXTA INTRANTE AUGUSTUM.
LXIV

Buda de villa Endreit, diocesis Quinqueecclesiensis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc, nisi quod audiui, quod humilis fuit in vestibus et in aliis factis suis».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Iste puer, qui fuit heri ante vos, est filius fratris mei, et ibat cum crate pedis, et in ascensione domini pater suus portavit ipsum filium suum ad sepulcrum beate Margarethe, et non fuit liberatus, et reduxit eum ad domum, et tertius frater meus in octavis pentecostes reduxit eum ad dictum sepulcrum, et quando reversus fuit domum, dictus puer ponebat recte pedem ad terram, et per illam septimanam incepit firmiter ambulare, et scimus, quod hoc factum fuit per gratiam sancte Margarethe».

Interrogatus de nomine patris pueri predicti, respondit: «Guirich».

Interrogatus de nomine pueri, respondit: «Laurentius».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod pater dicti pueri portavit eum ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Hoc fecit de consilio meo».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando dedit sibi dictum consilium, respondit: «Vicini mei».

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, "Poor."

When asked his age, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he had been coached or asked to speak this testimony, he replied, "No."

Brother Peter, priest and rector of the Church of the Holy Cross of Óbuda, and Martin of Nitra, a schoolmaster of the same church, were the interpreters in the aforesaid deposition.

ON SUNDAY, AUGUST 16

64

Buda, of the village of Endréd in the diocese of Pécs, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing of this except what I've heard, that she was humble in the way she dressed and in everything she did."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "That boy who was before you yesterday is my brother's son, and he used to walk on the side of his foot, and at Ascension his father took him to the tomb of the blessed Margaret, and he was not delivered, and he brought him back home, and my third brother took him back on the octave of Pentecost to the said tomb, and when he went home, the said boy was putting his foot flat on the ground, and in that week he began to walk without hesitation, and we know that this had been done by the grace of saint Margaret."

When asked the name of the father of the aforesaid boy, he replied, "Guirich."

When asked the name of the boy, he replied, "Lawrence."

When asked how he knew that the father of the said boy took him to the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "He did it on my advice."

When asked who were present when he gave the said advice, he replied, "My neighbors."

Interrogatus de nominibus ipsorum, respondit: «Janus,²²⁷ de aliis non recordor».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod tertius frater suus portavit dictum puerum ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Quia hoc fecit de consilio meo similiter».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando dedit sibi dictum consilium, respondit: «Tantum temporis est, quod non possum scire».

Interrogatus de nomine dicti tertii fratris sui, respondit: «Georgius».

Interrogatus, quot annorum erat tunc dictus puer, respondit: «Non scio annos nominare, sed scio, quod tunc cadebant primi dentes de ore suo».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore ivit cum crate pedis, respondit: «De ventre matris sue (usque dum) sic sanatus est».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod quando dictus tertius frater suus reversus fuit ad domum suam cum dicto puero, dictus puer incepit ire fortiter per septimanam illam, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego sto secum in una domo».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod per gratiam sancte Margarethe hoc factum fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Scio, quia quando reversus fuit, incepit tunc sic ambulare».

Interrogatus, que est illa sancta Margaretha, per gratiam cuius hoc factum est, respondit: «Hec est illa sancta Margaretha de insula».

Interrogatus, ad cuius invocationem hoc factum fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ad invocationem istius sancte Margarethe».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando ad invocationem istius sancte Margarethe hoc factum fuit, quod dixit, respondit: «Quid ego scio? multi».[...] ^a

^a *vacat*

When asked their names, he replied, "Janus,²²⁷ I don't remember the others."

When asked how he knew that his third brother took the said boy to the said tomb, he replied, "Because he did it likewise on my advice."

When asked who were present when he gave him the said advice, he replied, "It's been so long, I can't possibly know."

When asked the name of his said third brother, he replied, "George."

When asked how old the said boy was at the time, he replied, "I can't say how old, but I know that at the time, his milk-teeth were falling out of his mouth."

When asked how long he had walked on the side of his foot, he replied, "From his mother's womb right up until he was cured in this way."

When asked how he knew that when his said third brother came home with the said boy, the said boy began to walk strongly that week, as he said, he replied, "I live in the same house with him."

When asked how he knew that this was done by the grace of saint Margaret, as he said, he replied, "I know, because when he came back, he then began to walk in the way I described."

When asked who that saint Margaret was, by whose grace this was done, he replied, "She's that saint Margaret of the Island."

When asked at whose invocation this was done, as he said, he replied, "At the invocation of saint Margaret."

When asked who were present when this was done at the invocation of this saint Margaret, as he said, he replied, "How do I know? Many." [...]

²²⁷ Probably János, that is, John.

DIE LUNE VIGESIMA QUARTA MENSIS AUGUSTI.
LXV

Elisabeth, uxor Michaelis de Gisnod,²²⁸ Colocensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Frater meus dixit mihi, quod Dumbo inimicus suus ceperat eum, et ligaverat sibi manus cum quadam corrigia, et ad pedes suos posuerat sibi duas ferreas, et postmodum posuit eum in quadam navi, et volebat eum submergere cum duabus molis, et ipse frater meus tunc rogavit beatam Margaretham, quod ab illo periculo liberaret eum, et statim dicta corrigia fracta fuit, et habuit manus liberatas, et adhuc rogavit pro ferreis quas habebat in pedibus, et incontinenti exivit occrea de uno pede dicte ferree; sed primo, antequam rogasset, voluit extrahere dictas ferreas, sed non potuit, et quando fuit disligatus, cum remo percussit eum qui erat in navi, et evasit, et omnia predicta dixit mihi frater meus».

Interrogata de nomine patris sui, respondit: «Nicolaus, filius Johante de Barant».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando dixit sibi predicta verba, respondit: «Marcus, filius meus mecum erat, quando dixit mihi predicta verba, et vidi, quando dictus filius meus traxit sibi dictam ferream de alio pede».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dictus frater suus dixit sibi predicta, respondit: «Hoc anno circa festum sancti Georgii».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «De mense post pascha».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Die Veneris, qui fuit ante illud festum sancti Georgii».

²²⁸ In the manuscript: Gisnod; in the *Legenda maior* the place is written sometimes as Dindex, sometimes as Sisnod. Disznód seems to be the correct form. There is a locality so-called south of Kalocsa, the second archiepiscopal see after Esztergom in me-

ON MONDAY, AUGUST 24

65

Elizabeth, wife of Michael of Disznód,²²⁸ of the diocese of Kalocsa, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "My brother told me that his enemy, Dumbo, had captured him and tied his hands with a bootstrap, and had put a pair of iron shackles on his feet, and after that put him in a boat and planned to sink him with two millstones, and my brother then asked the blessed Margaret to free him from that danger, and immediately the bootstrap snapped and he had his hands free, and he further asked to be freed of the irons that were on his feet, and in short order the sheath fell from the shackle on one foot; but before he asked he had tried to pull off the said shackles, without success; and when he got free, he struck the man in the boat with an oar, and escaped, and my brother told me all that I have just said."

When asked the name of her father, she replied, "Nicholas, the son of Johanta of Barant."

When asked who were present when he told her the aforesaid account, she replied, "My son Mark was with me when he said the aforesaid words to me, and I saw it when my said son dragged the said iron from his other foot."

When asked how many years ago her said brother gave her the aforesaid account, she replied, "It was this year, around the feast of Saint George."

When asked the month, she replied, "The month after Easter."

When asked the day, she replied, "The Friday before that feast of Saint George."

dieval Hungary. Cf. Wertner, "A Margit-legenda," 36. On the noble kindred Bárándi involved in this miracle, see *ibid.*, 33–34.

Interrogata de hora diei, quando sibi dixit predicta, respondit: «Quando galli cantabant venit ad domum meam, et dixit mihi predicta».

Interrogata, ubi stat ille Dumbo, respondit: «In Tiudei predictae diocesis».

Interrogata, si est serva, vel libera, respondit: «Libera et de nobili progenie».

Interrogata, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Satis dives».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE²²⁹

LXVI

Matheus, filius Michaelis de Gisnod diocesis Colocensis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Audiui, quod ista sancta Margaretha semper fuit sancte vite et conversationis».

Interrogatus, a quibus audivit, respondit: «A monialibus cognatis meis, que manent in Pest».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Duo fratres matris mee capti fuerunt per quemdam malum hominem, quorum unus custodiebatur in uno curru, et alius positus fuit in una navi, et ligate sibi fuerunt manus et brachia post tergum cum quibusdam corrigiis, et posite sibi fuerunt due boge ad pedes, et ligatus fuit in collo cum una sogā,^a et posite fuerunt due mole de molendino in dicta navi, et duo homines, qui ibant in alia navi ei dicebant: ‚Nos debemus te submergere cum istis molis‘; et tunc ipse rogavit istam sanctam Margaretham, quod liberaret eum ab isto periculo, et ipse faceret peregrinationem ad sepulcrum

^a sogā *ital.*

²²⁹ August 24.

When asked the hour of the day that he said the aforesaid, she replied, "At cock-crow he came to my house, and told me the aforesaid."

When asked where that Dumbo lived, she replied, "In Tiu-dei, in the aforesaid diocese."

When asked if she were servant or free, she replied, "Free, and of noble stock."

When asked if she was rich or poor, she replied, "Rich enough."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²²⁹

66

Matthias, son of Michael of Disznód, of the diocese of Kalocsa, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I have heard that this saint Margaret was always of good life and ways."

When asked from whom he heard that, he replied, "From nuns who are relatives of mine and stay in Pest."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "Two of my mother's brothers were captured by a certain villain. One of them was being guarded in a wagon, and the other one was put on a boat, and his hands and arms were tied behind his back with bootstraps, and two fetters were attached to his feet, and his neck was secured with a thong, and two millstones from the millhouse were put aboard, and two men who were going in another boat said to him, 'We're going to sink you under with these millstones'; and it was then he asked the saint Margaret to free him from this danger, and promised that he would make a pilgrimage to her tomb, and then at once the bootstrap, with which he had his hands tied, flew apart, and he undid the other bootstraps with which his

suum, et tunc statim corrigia, cum qua habebat ligatas manus, fracta est, et alia corrigia, cum que habuit ligata brachia, disligavit, et collum similiter disligavit, et accepit remum, et percussit unum ex illis, et statim fugerunt, et postea venit ad quamdam insulam parvam, et extraxit sibi unam bogam de uno pede cum occrea, et aliam ego fregi, quando venit ad domum meam de nocte circa galli cantum, et tunc ipse narravit mihi et dicte matri mee Elisabeth omnia predicta, que sibi evenerant; sed ego non fui presens, quando caput fuit, sed domi accepi sibi bogam, sicut supra dixi».

Interrogatus de nominibus fratrum dicte matris sue, respondit: «Nicolaus et Johanta».

Interrogatus de nomine illius mali hominis, qui cepit eos, ut dixit, respondit: «Dombo de Tiudei, Colocensis diocesis».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dictus Nicolaus dixit sibi predicta et liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «In hoc anno, circa festum sancti Georgii».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «De mense post pascha».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Inter feriam quintam et feriam sextam». De hora diei dixit supra.

Interrogatus, si aliqui alii presentes fuerunt, quando dixit sibi et predictae matri sue predicta, respondit: «Sic, Michael, pater meus».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando fregit predicto Nicolao bogam, ut dixit, respondit: «Dictus Michael, pater meus et mater mea».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Bene possum habere triginta annos».

Interrogatus, si est liber, vel servus, respondit: «Liber et nobilis».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Satis habeo, nisi spoliar».

Interrogatus, si est doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

Martinus de Nitra, scholasticus ecclesie sancte crucis de Buda interpres fuit in dictis predictorum duorum testium.

arms were bound, and in the same way he freed his neck, and he took an oar and struck one of them, and they fled at once, and after that he came to a certain small island, and took one fetter off from one foot together with the greave, and I broke the other one when he came to my house by night around cock-crow, and at that time, he himself told me and my mother Elizabeth everything I have already said that happened to him; but I wasn't present when he was captured, though I did get the fetter off him at home, as I said before."

When asked the names of his said mother's brothers, he replied, "Nicholas and Johanta."

When asked the name of that bad man who captured them, as he said, he replied, "Dumbo of Tiudei, in the diocese of Kalocsa."

When asked how many years ago the said Nicholas told him the aforesaid and was freed, as he said, he replied, "It happened this year, around the feast of Saint George."

When asked the month, he replied, "In the month after Easter."

When asked the day, he replied, "Between Thursday and Friday." He stated the hour of the day earlier.

When asked if there were any present when he [Nicholas] told him and his mother the aforesaid things, he replied, "Yes, my father, Michael."

When asked who were present when he broke the fetter for the aforesaid Nicholas, as he said, he replied, "The said Michael, my father, and my mother."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I'm probably over thirty."

When asked if he were free or servant, he replied, "Free and noble."

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, "I have enough, unless I'm robbed."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

Martin of Nitra, schoolmaster of the Church of the Holy Cross at Buda was the interpreter in the statements of the aforesaid two witnesses.

DIE MARTIS VIGESIMA QUINTA AUGUSTI.

LXVII

Thomas, filius Pautha de Gisnod, Colocensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus de vita et conversatione predictæ virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Quidam meus cognatus captus fuit per quemdam inimicorum suorum, qui vocatur Dumbo et per quosdam servientes ipsius, et dixit mihi predictus cognatus meus, quod illi volebant eum occidere, sed timebant eum occidere in aperto, quia nobilis erat, unde miserunt eum in quadam navi, ut facerent eum necari in Danubium, et duo servientes predicti Dumbo intraverunt aliam navim, et sic ducebant eum ligatum in manibus post dorsum suum, et collum habebat ligatum, et bogam habebat circa gambas, et volebant eum cum petris grossis mittere in aquam, ut necaretur ibi, et dictus meus cognatus rogavit sanctam Margaretham, quod liberaret eum de illa morte, et manus disligate fuerunt, et accepit remum, et percussit unum ex illis, et sic liberatus fuit de illa morte per merita ipsius sancte Margarethe».

Interrogatus, quod est nomen dicti cognati sui, respondit: «Nicolaus de Barand, diocesis Colocensis».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus cognatus suus captus fuit per predictos, respondit: «Audiui hoc dici a dicto Nicolao, cognato meo, et a multis aliis, sed non fui presens».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dictus cognatus suus dixit sibi, sicut predicti inimici sui volebant eum submergere in aqua Danubii, ut necaretur ibi, et quod per merita ipsius sancte Margarethe liberatus fuerat, respondit: «Fuit in isto anno, iuxta festum sancti Georgii».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Nescio menses».

Interrogatus de die, (respondit): «Quadam die Veneris, ante predictum festum».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «In illa nocte liberatus fuit, et sequenti die hoc mihi dixit».

ON TUESDAY, AUGUST 25

67

Thomas, son of Pautha of Disznód, of the diocese of Kalocsa, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing about it."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "A certain kinsman of mine was captured by one of his enemies, called Dumbo, and by some of his [Dumbo's] retainers, and my aforesaid kinsman told me that they intended to kill him, but were afraid to do so in the open, because he was noble, so they dispatched him on a boat, to have him done away with in the Danube, and two of the aforesaid Dumbo's retainers went into another boat, and took him off with his hands tied behind his back and his neck bound, and he had shackles round his legs, and they wanted to sink him under the water with heavy stones, so that he'd die there, and my said relative asked saint Margaret to free him from that death, and his hands came untied, and he took an oar and struck one of them, and so was freed from that death through the merits of saint Margaret herself."

When asked the name of his said relative, he replied, "Nicholas of Báránd, in the diocese of Kalocsa."

When asked how he knew that his said kinsman was captured by the aforesaid persons, he replied, "I heard about it from the said Nicholas, my kinsman, and from many others, but I wasn't there."

When asked how many years ago this said relative told him how the aforesaid enemies wanted to submerge him in the water of the Danube, so that he'd be killed there, and that he had been delivered by the merits of this saint Margaret herself, he replied, "It happened this year, close to the feast of Saint George."

When asked the month, he replied, "I don't know the months."

When asked the day, (he replied,) "One Friday, before the aforesaid feast."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "He was delivered that night, and the next day he told me about it."

Interrogatus, qui erant tunc presentes, quando dixit sibi predicta verba, respondit: «Dominicus cognatus, et de aliis nescio».

Interrogatus, in quo loco erat, quando dixit sibi predicta, respondit: «Ante domum meam».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Dives homo fui, sed modo pauper, quia spoliatus sum».

Interrogatus, si est liber, vel servus, respondit: «Liber et nobilis».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE²³⁰

LXVIII

Cosma de Batatinio, Colocensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Quidam malus homo, qui vocatur Dumbo, cepit duos cognatos meos, Nicolaum et Johantam fratres, et volebat interficere eos, Nicolaum volebat necare et Johantam volebat interficere in campis, et liberati sunt propter merita beate Margarethe, et venerunt ad domum cum ferro ad gambas, et tunc narrarunt mihi, sicut eis evenerat, et sicut liberati fuerunt per merita istius sancte Margarethe».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod predicti Nicolaus et Johanta dixerunt sibi predicta, respondit: «Post pascha, circa festum sancti Georgii».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Credo, quod die Veneris».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «In mane».

Interrogatus de loco, respondit: «In domo mea».

²³⁰ August 25.

When asked who were present at the time when he gave him the aforesaid account, he replied, "My relative Dominic, and I don't know about any others."

When asked where he was when he gave him the aforesaid account, he replied, "In front of my house."

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, "I was a rich man, but I'm poor now, because I was robbed."

When asked if he were free or servant, he replied, "Free and noble."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²³⁰

68

Cosmas of Batatinium, in the diocese of Kalocsa, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "A certain evil man called Dumbo captured two kinsmen of mine, Nicholas and Johanta, who are brothers, and he wanted to kill them. He wanted to do away with Nicholas and he wanted to kill Johanta in the open countryside, and they were delivered because of the merits of saint Margaret, and they came to my home with irons on their legs, and at that time told me what had happened to them and how they were delivered by the merits of this saint Margaret."

When asked how many years ago the aforesaid Nicholas and Johanta told him the aforesaid things, he replied, "After Easter, around the feast of Saint George."

When asked the month, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked the day, he replied, "I think it was a Friday."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "In the morning."

When asked the place, he replied, "In my house."

Interrogatus de presentibus, respondit: «Anastasia, uxor mea et alia familia mea».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber et nobilis».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Satis sum dives».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE²³¹

LXIX

Elech, filius quondam Cuti, de villa Caren, Colocensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio dicere de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Nicolaus et Johanta fratres de villa Barand capti fuerunt per Dumbo inimicum ipsorum, et ipse Dumbo faciebat duci Nicolaum ad Danubium, ut ibi necaretur, et quando fuit in ripa Danubii, et deberent intrare quamdam navem, in qua erant due mole, cum quibus debebat mitti in aquam, ut necaretur, et ipse Nicolaus rogavit beatam Margaretham, ut liberaret eum ab illa morte, et intravit navem illam, et illi, qui ducebant ipsum, intraverunt aliam navem, et cum ipse Nicolaus haberet manus ligatas post spallas cum corrigia, et collum similiter haberet ligatum multum fortiter, et ad pedes haberet ferrum, unus illorum tenebat eum per ligaturam, quam habebat ad collum, et semper rogabat beatam Margaretham, ut liberaret eum, et ita stando sic sensit, quod manus sue disligate erant, et accepit remum et percussit eum, qui tenebat illum, et sic fugit de manibus illorum, et illi querebant eum, sed non poterant invenire, quia de nocte erat, et quando ille Nicolaus fuit in terra, adhuc rogavit beatam Margaretham, quod disligaretur de

²³¹ August 25.

When asked about those present, he replied, "My wife Anastasia and the rest of my household."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he were servant or free, he replied, "Free and noble."

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, "I'm rich enough."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²³¹

69

Elech, son of the late Kuti, of the Karen village, in the diocese of Kalocsa, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing I could say about this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "Nicholas and Johanta, brothers from the village of Báránd, were captured by their enemy Dumbo, and Dumbo had Nicholas taken to the Danube to be killed there, and when he was on the Danube's bank and they were about to enter a boat, in which there were two millstones with which he was going to be thrown in the water to be killed, and Nicholas asked the blessed Margaret to deliver him from that death, and he entered the boat, and those who were leading him entered another boat, and when Nicholas had his hands tied behind his shoulder blades with a bootstrap, and his neck also tied very tight, and irons around his feet, one of them was holding him by the cord that he had attached to his neck, all the time he kept asking the blessed Margaret to deliver him, and as he stood there like this, he felt that his hands had been loosened, and he took an oar and struck the one who was holding him, and thus escaped their hands, and they sought but couldn't find him, because it was night time, and when that Nicholas was on dry land he again called upon the blessed Margaret this time to be freed of the fetters he had on his

ferreis, quas habebat in pedibus, et tunc de uno pede cum occrea exivit ferrea, et sic venit ad domum suam cum illa ferrea».²³²

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod capti fuerunt dicti Nicolaus et Johanta, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi eos ligatos».

Interrogatus, si aliqui erant presentes secum, quando sic vidit eos sic ligatos, respondit: «Sic, servientes mei, Ohuandus, de aliis non recordor».

Interrogatus, in quo loco capti fuerunt, respondit: «In villa Hatt».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod capti fuerunt ibi, respondit: «Non fui presens, quando capti fuerunt, sed postea vidi eos ligatos, sicut dixi superius».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod Nicolaus ductus fuit ad Danubium, ut ibi necaretur, respondit: «Ipse Nicolaus dixit mihi, quando liberatus fuit, omnia, que sibi evenerant, et sic per merita beate Margarethe liberatus fuit, sicut rogaverat eam».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dixit sibi predicta, respondit: «Circa festum sancti Georgii, quod fuit de isto anno».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «De mense, quo solitum est evenire festum sancti Georgii».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «In mane».

Interrogatus de presentibus, quando dixit sibi predicta verba, respondit: «Multi erant; et stetit per tres dies tunc in domo mea».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Dives».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber et nobilis».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

Frater Martinus, prior ecclesie sancti Michaelis de insula interpretis fuit in dictis Thome filii Paute, Cosme et Elech.

²³² See the previous account.

feet, and then the fetter from one foot dropped off together with the greave and so he came to his own house with the other fetter.”²³²

When asked how he knew that the said Nicholas and Johanta had been captured, as he said, he replied, “I saw them tied up.”

When asked if there were any present with him when he saw them thus tied up, he replied, “Yes, my servants, Ohuandus, and others I don’t recall.”

When asked where they were captured, he replied, “In the town of Hatt.”

When asked how he knew they were captured there, he replied, “I wasn’t there when they were taken, but I later saw them tied up, as I said before.”

When asked how he knew that Nicholas was taken to the Danube to be killed there, he replied, “Nicholas himself told me, when he was delivered, everything that had happened to him, and how he had been delivered by the merits of the blessed Margaret, as he had asked her.”

When asked how many years ago he told him the aforesaid, he replied, “It happened this year, around the feast of Saint George.”

When asked the month, he replied, “In the month when the feast of Saint George usually falls.”

When asked the day, he replied, “I don’t know.”

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, “In the morning.”

When asked about those present, when he told him the aforesaid words, he replied, “There were many; and he stayed for three days in my house at that time.”

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, “Rich.”

When asked if he were free or servant, he replied, “Free and noble.”

When asked how old he was, he replied, “I don’t know.”

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, “No.”

Brother Martin, prior of the Church of Saint Michael of the Island was the interpreter in the statements of Thomas, son of Pau-ta, of Cosmas, and of Elech.

DIE SABATHI VIGESIMA
NONA^a MENSIS AUGUSTI.²³³

LXX

Gunig, uxor Nicolai de villa Tarnocs,²³⁴ diocesis Vaciensis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Habui duos filios in uno partu, et puellam inveni mortuam in brachiis meis, de nocte in lecto meo, et sepulta fuit, et postea alterum inveni mortuum in lecto meo, et tenebam pedes suos in brachiis meis, et exivi de lecto, et incepti plorare et clamare super illum puerum, et tangebam eum, et non se movebat, sicut mortuus, et multum eram tristis et spaventata,^b sic iste filius meus erat mortuus, sicut et alius; et rogavi istam sanctam Margaretham, quod istum meum filium faceret vivum, si verum esset, quod faceret miracula; et quando audivi, quod ipsa faciebat miracula, istud devenit mihi de isto puero, et quando multum rogavi, iste filius meus, qui est hic, habuit vitam, qui mortuus fuerat».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod habuit predictos filios in uno partu, respondit: «Septem».

Interrogata, quanto tempore vixit ille, qui prius mortuus est et sepultus, ut dixit, respondit: «A carnisprivio usque ad festum sancti Martini».

Interrogata, quanto tempore vixit alius, qui est hic, post mortem alterius, antequam invenisset eum mortuum iuxta se, ut dixit, respondit: «Usque ad festum sancti Andree, quod tunc venit».

Interrogata de hora noctis, in qua invenit eum mortuum, ut dixit, respondit: «Circa primum somnum».

^a octava *ms.*

^b spaventata *ital.*

²³³ The manuscript says August 28, but August 29 fell on a Saturday.

ON SATURDAY, AUGUST 29²³³

70

Gunig, wife of Nicholas of the village Tárnok²³⁴ in the diocese of Vác, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, “I know nothing of this.”

When asked if she wanted to speak about miracles, she replied, “I had two children at the one birth, and I found the girl dead in my arms at night in my bed, and she was buried, and later I found the other child, the boy, dead in my bed, and I was holding his feet in my arms and I left my bed and started crying and carrying on about the boy, and I kept touching him and he didn’t move, as if he were dead, and I was very sad and frightened that this child was dead, like the other one; and I asked saint Margaret to bring this son of mine to life, if it were true that she did miracles; and when I heard that she did miracles, this thought came to me about the boy, and after many requests this son of mine here, who had been dead, came to life.”

When asked how many years it had been since she had the aforesaid children at one birth, she replied, “Seven.”

When asked how long the one who died first and was buried, as she said, had lived, she replied, “From Ash Wednesday until the feast of Saint Martin.”

When asked how long the other one lived—the one who was there—after the death of the other, before she found him dead next to her, as she said, she replied, “Until the following feast of Saint Andrew.”

When asked about the hour of the night when she found him dead, as she said, she replied, “About the first sleep.”

²³⁴ The same miracle is also described in the *Legenda vetus*, see p. 108–109 n. 84. Mór Wertner would locate this village in Nógrád county, north of Pest, and identify it with a locality there called Tarnócz (“A Margit-legenda,” 37), but Tárnok, closer to Pest, seems to be more probable.

Interrogata, quantum stetit sic mortuus, respondit: «Usque ad auroram».

Interrogata, ubi stabat tunc, quando invenit istum, de quo loquitur, mortuum, ut dixit, respondit: «In illa villa, in qua sto modo».

Interrogata de nomine ville, respondit: «Nenigh dicitur».

Interrogata, in qua villa nati fuerunt predicti filii sui, respondit: «In predicta villa Tarnoch».

Interrogata, si habitat modo cum marito suo in eadem domo, in qua mortuus fuit iste filius suus, ut dixit, de quo loquitur, respondit: «Non, quia domus ista deserta est».

Interrogata, si aliqui vicini sui sciverunt de morte istius filii sui, qui modo vivit, respondit: «Nullus scivit, nisi maritus et familia mea».

Interrogata de nominibus illorum, qui erant tunc de familia sua, respondit: «Anguilla, filia mea et filius meus Alexander, et vivunt».

Interrogata, quantum distabant vicini sui, qui magis stabant prope domum suam a domo illa, in qua iste filius suus, qui modo vivit, mortuus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Quantum posset sagittare unus homo cum arcu».

Interrogata, si predicti vicini adhuc stant in illa villa, in qua tunc stabant, respondit: «Sic, quia servi sunt domini Velig, qui ibi stant».

Interrogata, quot mansiones possunt esse in dicta villa, respondit: «Quinque».

Interrogata, si aliquibus tunc temporibus dixit, sicut iste filius suus mortuus fuerat, ut dixit, respondit: «Quasi tota provincia scivit».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortuus fuit et resuscitatus filius suus, ut dixit, respondit: «Sex anni».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «De mense sancti Andree».

Interrogata de die, que precedebat illam noctem, respondit: «Die Jovis». De hora dixit supra et de loco, in quo mortuus fuit, et de illis, qui presentes fuerunt.

When asked how long he stayed dead thus, she replied, "Until dawn."

When asked where she lived at the time when she found the boy of whom she spoke dead, as she said, she replied, "In the village where I live now."

When asked the name of the village, she replied, "It's called Nenigh."

When asked in what village her aforesaid children were born, she replied, "In the aforesaid village of Tárnok."

When asked if she were now living with her husband in the same house, in which, as she said, this son of hers died, the one she was speaking about, she replied, "No, because that house is deserted."

When asked if any of her neighbors knew about the death of that son of hers, the one now living, she replied, "No one knew except my husband and my household."

When asked the names of those who were in her family at that time, she replied, "Anguilla, my daughter, and my son Alexander, and they're alive."

When asked how far away her nearest neighbors on the estate lived from that house, in which this still-living son of hers died, as she said, she replied, "As far as a man could shoot an arrow."

When asked if the aforesaid neighbors were still living in that village, where they were living at that time, she replied, "Yes, because they are servants of Lord Velig, and they live there."

When asked how many settlements could be in the said village, she replied, "Five."

When asked if she told anyone at the time how this son of hers died, as she said, she replied, "Just about the whole province knew."

When asked how many years ago her son died and was raised again, as she said, she replied, "Six years ago."

When asked the month, she replied, "The month of Saint Andrew."

When asked the day that preceded that night, she replied, "A Thursday." She earlier stated the hour and place where he died, and also those who were present.

Interrogata, ad cuius invocationem resuscitatus fuit, ut dixit, dictus filius suus, respondit: «Clamabam sanctam Margaretham, filiam domini regis Bele».

Interrogata de nomine pueri, respondit: «Sebastianus».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Pro certo nescio».

Interrogata, si est libera, vel ancilla, respondit: «Libera et nobilis».

Interrogata, si maritus est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Satis dives».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE.²³⁵

LXXI

Nicolaus de Tarnoch, Vaciensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Non fui conversatus hic, sed audivi dici, quod sancta domina fuit».

Interrogatus, a quibus audivit, respondit: «A fratribus et aliis christianis».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Quodam tempore de mense sancti Martini, sicut credo, circa festum sancti Andree, filius meus Sebastianus, qui modo fuit hic, de nocte fuit inventus mortuus apud Gunig uxorem meam et matrem dicti pueri, et ipsa uxor mea, quando invenit eum mortuum sic, et filia mea Anguilla inceperunt ululare et clamare, et ego, qui iacebam in curte, prope animalia nostra, quando hoc audivi, ivi ad ostium et cepi dicere: ‚Quid est illud quod habetis? Aperiat mihi ostium;’ et ipse non aperiebant mihi, sed clamabant et ululabant, et ego cepi clamare: ‚Aperiat ostium;’ et tunc dicta filia mea aperuit ostium, et ego intravi, et vidi dictum filium meum mortuum, et hoc fuit circa primum somnum, et accepi eum in manibus meis, et cepi palpare et videre, si habebat aliquid de spiritu, et nihil habebat de spiritu, sed mortuus erat; et tunc dicta uxor mea incepit

When asked at whose invocation her said son was brought back to life, as she said, she replied, "I called upon saint Margaret, daughter of the lord King Béla."

When asked the boy's name, she replied, "Sebastian."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "I don't know for sure."

When asked if she were free or servant, she replied, "Free and noble."

When asked if her husband was rich or poor, she replied, "Quite rich."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²³⁵

71

Nicholas of Tárnok, of the diocese of Vác, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I wasn't resident here, but I've heard tell that she was a holy lady."

When asked from whom he heard this, he replied, "From the brothers and other Christians."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "One time, in the month of Saint Martin I believe it was, around the feast of Saint Andrew, my son Sebastian, who was just here, was found dead by my wife, Gunig, the mother of the said boy, and when my wife found him dead like this, she and my daughter Anguilla began to wail and cry out, and I, who was lying in the yard near our animals went to the door when I heard this and started to say, 'What's wrong? Open the door,' and they wouldn't open the door but were crying and wailing, and I began to shout, 'Open up the door!' and then my daughter opened the

²³⁵ August 29.

clamare ad istam sanctam Margaretham, quod redderet sibi filium suum, ne videretur mortuus in brachiis suis, quia iam fuerit in simili periculo, et postea moreretur, quando sibi placeret; et ita iacuit mortuus, donec galli cantaverunt bis, et tunc uxor mea dixit mihi: ‚Videtur, quod puer noster sit calidus, et credo quod spiritus rediit in ipsum;‘ et ego dicebam sibi: ‚Deus fecit multa miracula, sed iste puer mortuus est;‘ et iste puer ita stetit usque ad auroram, et factus est vivus».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dictus filius suus Sebastianus inventus fuit mortuus apud uxorem suam, ut dixit, respondit: «Non computavi annos, sed sunt sex anni, sicut credo».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando predicta uxor sua rogavit beatam Margaretham, sicut dixit, respondit: «Dicta filia mea (Anguilla) et dictus filius meus Alexander».

Interrogatus, [qui erant presentes]^a quando dictus filius suus factus est vivus, ut dixit, respondit: «Predicta uxor mea et filia mea Anguilla et Alexander filius meus et multi alii».

Interrogatus de die, que precessit noctem illam, quando dictus puer sic inventus est mortuus, ut dixit, respondit: «Dies Jovis».

Interrogatus, quale fuit istud periculum simile, in quo fuit uxor sua, respondit: «Primum est periculum, quod filius meus mortuus erat, secundum periculum est, quod mortuus erat in brachiis uxoris mee».

Interrogatus, ubi est illa domus, in qua dicitur puer mortuus fuisse et vivus factus, ut dixit, respondit: «In villa Nenigh, que villa est domini Veligh, sed illa domus modo est deserta».

Interrogatus, ubi stat modo, respondit: «In eadem villa».

Interrogatus, qui erant vicini sui tunc, respondit: «Nullum habebam vicinum prope».

Interrogatus, quantum poterat distare proximior vicinus, quem habebat a domo sua, respondit: «Quantum potest sagittare unus homo cum arcu».

Interrogatus, si vicini, qui tunc morabantur in dicta villa de Nenigh, quando dictus filius suus mortuus fuit et factus vivus, ut dixit, modo stant ibi, respondit: «Sic, predictus dominus Veligh et servi sui et ancille, que habitant ibi».

door and in I went and saw my son dead. This was around first sleep. I took him in my hands and started patting him to see if he had any life in him, and he didn't, he was dead; and then my wife started loudly calling on this saint Margaret to restore her son to her, lest he be seen dead in her arms, because she was already in a similar danger, and if she did so she would die whenever it pleased her [Margaret]; and he lay dead like this until the second cock-crow, and then my wife said to me, 'Our son seems to be warm, and I think that his life's coming back,' and I said, 'God has done many miracles, but this boy is dead,' and the boy stayed like this until dawn, and came to life."

When asked where that house was, in which the boy is said to have died and come to life again, as he said, he replied, "In the Nenigh village, belonging to Lord Veligh, but that house is now deserted."

When asked where he was now living, he replied, "In the same village."

When asked who his neighbors were at the time, he replied, "I had no close neighbors."

When asked how close his nearest neighbor might be from his home, he replied, "The distance a man could shoot an arrow with a bow."

When asked if the neighbors, who were living at that time in the said village of Nenigh, when his son died and came to life again, as he said, were still living there, he replied, "Yes, the aforesaid Lord Veligh and his men-servants and maids, who live there."

When asked if the aforesaid lord and the other neighbors knew anything at the time about his said son dying and coming again to life, as he said, he replied, "The next day I told everyone I came across what had happened to me."

^a qui erant presentes *addidi*

Interrogatus, si predicti dominus et alii vicini tunc sciverunt aliquid, quod dictus filius suus mortuus fuerit et factus vivus, ut dixit, respondit: «Sequenti die omnibus dixi quos inveni, sicut mihi devenerat».

Interrogatus de nominibus illorum, quibus hoc dixit, respondit: «Nicolao, servo ipsius domini Velicz (et) Tilnalo, Cephdeva, que sunt ancille ipsius domini».

Interrogatus, ad cuius invocationem dictus filius suus factus fuit vivus, ut dixit, respondit: «Ad invocationem sancte Margarethe, filie regis Bele».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod ista sancta Margaretha, de qua loquitur, est mortua, respondit: «Non computavi annos».

Interrogatus, si habuit alium filium de dicta uxore sua, ab octo annis circiter, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, quot annos habet iste filius suus Sebastianus, respondit: «Sex, sicut credo, sed dicta mater sua melius scit».

Interrogatus, si quando natus fuit iste filius suus Sebastianus de dicta uxore sua, alius natus fuit cum eo in eodem partu, respondit: «Sic, quedam puella, quam mater sua invenit mortuam in cunabulo».

Interrogatus, si dicta puella inventa fuit mortua antequam predictus Sebastianus, filius suus inventus fuerit mortuus et factus vivus, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogatus, per quantum tempus mortua fuit, antequam dictus Sebastianus inventus fuit mortuus et vivus, ut dixit, respondit: «Dicta puella in die sancti Martini mortua inventa fuit et sepulta, et predictus Sebastianus, filius meus, postea inventus fuit mortuus et vivus circa festum sancti Andree».^a

Interrogatus, si scit, in quantum distat domus illa, in qua mortuus fuit dictus Sebastianus, ut dixit, et in qua tunc stabat pater suus et mater sua, ab isto loco, in quo sumus, respondit: «Usque ad meridiem possemus venire huc».

Interrogatus, quot annos habet, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Non sum dives».

When asked the names of those to whom he told this, he replied, "Nicholas, the servant of Lord Velicz, and Tilnalo and Cephdeva, who are the lord's maidservants."

When asked at whose invocation his said son came to life again, as he said, he replied, "At the invocation of saint Margaret, King Béla's daughter."

When asked how many years ago saint Margaret of whom he was speaking, died, he replied, "I haven't counted the years."

When asked if he had another son by his said wife, about eight years ago, he replied, "No."

When asked how old this son of his, Sebastian, was, he replied, "Six, I think, but his mother knows better than I do."

When asked if, when this son of his, Sebastian, was born of his said wife, there was another child born with him at the same birth, he replied, "Yes, a girl, whom her mother found dead in the cradle."

When asked if the said girl was found dead before the aforesaid Sebastian, his son, died and was brought back to life, as he said, he replied, "Yes."

When asked for how long she was dead before the said Sebastian was found dead and then revived, as he said, he replied, "The said girl was found dead and was buried on Saint Martin's Day, and the aforesaid Sebastian, my son, was found dead after that and came to life about the feast of Saint Andrew."

When asked if he knew how far that house, in which the said Sebastian died, as he said, and in which his father and mother were staying at the time, was from this place that we were in, he replied, "It would take us until midday to get here."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, "I'm not rich."

When asked if he were servant or free, he replied, "I'm not a servant."

^a *lectio dubia; emendavit* Fraknói

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Non sum servus».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE.²³⁶

LXXII

Anguilla, filia predicti Nicolai de Tarnocz, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nescio de illo».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Iste parvus, qui fuit hic, quem vos vidistis, iacebat in lecto iuxta matrem suam, et ipsa mater sua in nocte cepit plorare et clamare, et ego surrexi et dixi: ‚Quid est hoc?‘ Et ipsa respondit: ‚Inveni filium meum mortuum;‘ et ego accendi candelam unam, et inveni eum mortuum in brachiis suis, et mater sua ponebat eum in terra, et lavabat, et semper mortuus erat, et stetit sic mortuus, donec galli cantarent per duas vices, et ipsa mater nostra clamabat ad sanctam Margaretham, et ipsa dicebat: ‚Sancta Margaretha, tu fecisti multa miracula, facias, quod iste filius meus vivat;‘ et stando sic dixit mater nostra: ‚Videtur mihi, quod calidus sit;‘ et ego tetigi eum, et calidus erat, et iuxta auroram factus est vivus, et vivit, sicut vos videtis».

Interrogata de nomine matris, respondit: «Gunigh».

Interrogata de nomine dicti pueri, respondit: «Sebastianus».

Interrogata, ubi iacebat tunc dicta mater sua, respondit: «In villa Nenig».

Interrogata, si iacebat in domo, vel extra domum, respondit: «In domo».

Interrogata, si modo stat dicta mater sua in eadem domo, in qua tunc iacebat, respondit: «Non, sed in alia domo».

Interrogata, si modo stat in eadem villa, respondit: «Sic».

²³⁶ August 29.

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²³⁶

72

Anguilla, daughter of the aforesaid Nicholas of Tárnok, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I don't know about that."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "This little lad, who was here and whom you saw, was lying in bed next to his mother, and during the night she started crying and carrying on. I got up and said, 'What's this?' and she answered, 'I've found my son dead.' I lit a candle, and found him dead in her arms. His mother put him on the ground and washed him but still he was dead and he stayed dead until second cock-crow. Our mother kept on crying out to saint Margaret, saying, 'Saint Margaret, you have done many miracles; make it so that this son of mine may live,' and standing up, our mother said, 'It seems to me that he's warm,' and I touched him, and he was warm; and close to dawn, he came to life, and he's living, as you see."

When asked her mother's name, she replied, "Gunig."

When asked the name of the said boy, she replied, "Sebastian."

When asked where his said mother was lying at the time, she replied, "In the Nenig village."

When asked if she was lying inside or outside the house, she replied, "Inside."

When asked if her said mother was living now in the same house in which she was lying at that time, she replied, "No, in another house."

When asked if she were still living in the same village, she replied, "Yes."

Interrogata, si in illa domo, in qua tunc stabat, modo stat aliquis, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si aliqui alii sciverunt, quod dictus Sebastianus erat mortuus, sicut dixit, respondit: «Nulli, nisi nos, qui eramus ibi».

Interrogata, qui erant ibi alii, qui erant tunc ibi, respondit: «Pater meus, qui de foris venit et frater meus, qui est maior me, et ipsa mater mea».

Interrogata de nomine fratris sui, respondit: «Alexander».

Interrogata, quomodo dictus pater suus intravit domum, respondit: «Per ostium».

Interrogata, si tunc erat ostium apertum, vel firmatum, respondit: «Firmatum, et ego aperui sibi».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dictus Sebastianus mortuus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia inveni eum mortuum in brachiis matris sue».

Interrogata, si tunc tetigit eum, respondit: «Sic, quando portavi candelam».

Interrogata, si tunc erat calidus, vel frigidus, respondit: «Tamquam glacies».

Interrogata, ad cuius invocationem dictus puer tunc factus fuit vivus, ut dixit, respondit: «Ipsa mater nostra invocabat sanctam Margaretham».

Interrogata, ubi est illa sancta Margaretha, respondit: «Hic, ad quam venimus in peregrinationem, que fuit filia regis Bele».

Interrogata, si iuxta domum, in qua mortuus fuit dictus puer, ut dixit, stabant tunc aliquae persone, respondit: «Nullus».

Interrogata, quantum erant remote ille domus, in quibus stabant ille persone, que magis vicine erant domui predictae, respondit: «Ille, qui erat magis vicinus noster, erat dominus ville, et domus sua erat tantum longe a domo nostra, quantum posset sagittare unus arcus».

Interrogata, si dictus dominus ville, vel alii de magis vicinis sciverunt aliquid, sicut mortuus erat dictus Sebastianus, respondit: «Nullus».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortuus est dictus Sebastianus et factus vivus, ut dixit, respondit: «Sex anni».

When asked if anyone were now staying in that house where she was staying at the time, she replied, "No."

When asked if any others knew that the said Sebastian had died, as she said, she replied, "None but those of us who were there."

When asked what others were there at the time, she replied, "My father, who came in from outside, and my brother, who is older than me, and my mother herself."

When asked the name of her brother, she replied, "Alexander."

When asked how her said father entered the house, she replied, "By the door."

When asked if the door was open, or shut, at the time, she replied, "Shut, and I opened it to him."

When asked how she knew that the said Sebastian was dead, as she said, she replied, "Because I found him dead in his mother's arms."

When asked if she touched him at that time, she replied, "Yes, when I brought the candle."

When asked if her brother was warm, or cold, at the time, she replied, "Cold as ice."

When asked at whose invocation the said boy then came to life, as she said, she replied, "Our mother kept invoking saint Margaret."

When asked where that saint Margaret was, she replied, "Here, the one we have made a pilgrimage to, who was the daughter of King Béla."

When asked if any other persons were staying at the time near the house, in which the said boy died, as she said, she replied, "No one."

When asked how far away those houses were, in which those people lived who were closest to the aforesaid house, she replied, "Our closest neighbor was the lord of the village, and his house was a bow-shot's distance from ours."

When asked if the said lord of the village or any of their close neighbors knew anything about the said Sebastian dying, she replied, "Nobody."

Interrogata, de mense, quo mortuus fuit, respondit: «De mense sancti Andree».

Interrogata de die precedente illam noctem, respondit: «Die Jovis».

Interrogata, quot annorum est dictus puer, respondit: «Septem».

Interrogata, si mater sua habuit alium filium in eodem partu cum dicto Sebastiano, respondit: «Sic, puellam unam».

Interrogata, quid factum est de illa puella, respondit: «Mater sua invenit eam mortuam in cunabulo, et sepulta fuit, prius quam iste puer moreretur, unde magis dolebat de morte ipsius pueri».

Interrogata, quanto tempore stetit iste puer, antequam moreretur, et factus fuerit vivus, ut dixit, postquam illa puella fuit mortua et sepulta, respondit: «Illa puella fuit mortua in festo sancti Martini, et iste puer mortuus fuit post festum sancti Martini, circa festum sancti Andree».

Interrogata, si scit, quantum distat domus illa, in qua mortuus fuit dictus puer, ut dixit, et in qua stabat puer suus, et mater sua, ab isto loco, in quo sumus, respondit: «Usque ad meridiem possumus venire huc».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est ista virgo Margaretha, de qua loquitur, respondit: «Nescio, sed credo, quod sunt septem anni».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si umquam habuit maritum, respondit: «Maritum habeo, qui habet nomen Marcellus».

Interrogata, si maritus eius est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Nec dives, nec pauper».

Interrogata, si est libera, vel ancilla, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

Dominus Joannes, cantor ecclesie Budensis et Martinus scholasticus ecclesie sancte crucis interpretes fuerunt modo predicto in dictis predictorum Gunigh, Nicolai et Anguille.

When asked how many years ago the said Sebastian died and came to life again, as she said, she replied, "Six."

When asked the month he died in, she replied, "Saint Andrew's month."

When asked the day preceding that night, she replied, "A Thursday."

When asked how old the said boy was, she replied, "Seven."

When asked if her mother had another child at the same birth as the said Sebastian, she replied, "Yes, a girl."

When asked what happened about the girl, she replied, "Her mother found her dead in the cradle, and she was buried before this boy died, and so she was all the more upset about the boy's death."

When asked how long it was before this boy died and was brought back to life, after that girl died and was buried, she replied, "That girl died on the feast of Saint Martin, and this boy died after the feast of Saint Martin, around the feast of Saint Andrew."

When asked how she knew how far that house was, in which, as she said, the said boy died, and in which her mother and father lived, from the place where we now were, she replied, "We can get here in half a day."

When asked how many years ago this virgin Margaret died, the one she was speaking about, she replied, "I don't know, but I think it was seven years ago."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if she had ever had a husband, she replied, "I have a husband named Marcellus."

When asked if her husband was rich, or poor, she replied, "Neither rich nor poor."

When asked if she were free or servant, she replied, "Free."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

John, church cantor at Buda, and Martin, schoolmaster of the Church of the Holy Cross, were the interpreters in the aforesaid manner in the statements of the aforesaid Gunigh, Nicholas, and Anguilla.

EADEM DIE²³⁷

LXXIII

Elisabeth, soror Thomasii, qui stat in suburbio castri Bude, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata, super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Ego nihil volo dicere de isto».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «De mense sancti Michaelis, quando vindemie sunt, ivi ad quamdam vineam, in qua fuit pater meus, et steti ibi usque ad vespertas, et quando veni ad domum, dabam comedere cani cuidam ligato in domo mea, et quidam canis niger et magnus et nimis horribilis ad videndum passavit iuxta me, et habui magnam pa^auram in tantum, quod ego exivi de casa illa, et intravi in aliam casam, et vidi super fenestras que erant ibi, tres homines tam pulchros et splendidos, quod ego non poteram inspicere, et habui maiorem pa^auram quam antea, et nescivi, quid esset de me, et fui sine mente, et accepi spatam unam, et cucurri supra patrem et matrem meam, nec sciebam qui essent, nec ubi essem; sed bene scio, quod ligabant mihi manus post renes meos, et ponebant ferream de equo circa gambas meas strictas, quantum poterant, et illa ferrea per se aperiebatur, quod ego poteram andare,^b et remanebat ibi ferrea, et pluries devenit hoc mihi, sicut bene recordor, et steti in tali statu usque ad festum sancti Antonii, quando veniebat, et in illo festo fui ducta ad istud sepulcrum sancte Margarethe, et fui sanata et habui mentem meam incontinenti».

Interrogata, cuius domus erat illa, in qua erat ligatus ille canis, respondit: «Patris mei».

Interrogata, de presentibus, quando vidit illum canem nigrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Nullus».

Interrogata, ubi est illa domus, respondit: «In Coan, ubi stabat pater meus».

^a paura *ital.*

^b andare *ital.*

ON THE SAME DAY²³⁷

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Elizabeth, sister of Thomasius, resident in the suburbs of the Castle of Buda, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I don't want to make a statement about this."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "In the month of Saint Michael, during the vintage, I went to a certain vineyard where my father was, and I stayed there until vespers, and when I came home I fed a dog that was tethered in my house, and then a big black dog, really awful to look at, passed close by me, and I was so terrified that I left that house and went into another, and I saw through the windows that were in it three men so beauteous and bright that I couldn't look upon them, and I got even more afraid than before, not knowing what was happening to me, and I lost my mind. I got a sword and rushed upon my mother and father, but I didn't know who they were nor where I was; but I do know that they tied my hands behind my back and put a horse shackle round my legs, as tight as they could, and those shackles had an opening (?) so that I could walk, while the shackle stayed on. This happened several times; I have many a clear memory of this. I stayed in this condition until the feast of Saint Anthony, when it came, and on that feast day I was led to this tomb of saint Margaret, and was cured and got my wits back right away."

When asked whose house it was, in which that dog was tied, she replied, "My father's."

When asked who were present when she saw that black dog, as she said, she replied, "No one."

When asked where that house was, she replied, "In Coan, where my father was staying."

²³⁷ August 29.

Interrogata quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Quinque».

Interrogata de nominibus patris et matris sue, respondit: «Pater vocatur Acileus et mater Fera».

Interrogata, qui erant illi, qui ligabant sibi manus et ponebant ferream ad pedes, ut dixit, respondit: «Pater meus et mater mea».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi, qui duxerunt eam ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Nescio, sed dictorum [...]»^{a 238}

LXXIV

[Fera uxor Acilei] « veni ad monasterium istud, in quo stabam, quando habebam febrem, et sperabam multum de ea, et liberata fui».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Elisabet, filia mea, quam vidistis, sine mente facta fuit, et tenebamus eam in ferrea et in aliis ligaturis, et ducta fuit sic ligata in quadam navi ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et quando fuit ibi, sanata fuit».

Interrogata, quanto tempore dicta filia sua ita fuit sine mente, ut dixit, respondit: «A festo sancti Galli, in quo inciduntur olera, usque ad festum sancti Antonii duravit sibi malum illud».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi, qui duxerunt ipsam sic ligatam ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Lucas, frater meus et ego et maritus meus».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod sanata fuit apud dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia presens fui, et stando ibi circa sepulcrum loquebatur recte et bene».

Interrogata, si aliqui alii erant presentes, quando sanata fuit sic apud dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego et pater suus et multi alii, de quibus non recordor».

^a *vacat*

When asked how many years ago this was, she replied, "Five."

When asked the names of her father and mother, she replied, "My father's called Acileus, and my mother Fera."

When asked who tied her hands and shackled her feet, as she said, she replied, "My father and mother."

When asked who led her to the said tomb, she replied, "I don't know, but of the said [...]"²³⁸

74

[Fera, the wife of Acileus] "...I came to this monastery, where I stayed when I had the fever, and I placed high hopes in her, and was delivered."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "My daughter Elizabeth, whom you have seen, lost her mind, and we were restraining her with iron shackles and other bonds, and she was taken tied up like this by boat to the tomb of this saint Margaret, and when she was there, she was cured."

When asked how long her said daughter was mad like this, as she said, she replied, "That illness lasted from the vegetable cutting at the feast of Saint Gall until the feast of Saint Anthony."

When asked who took her tied up like this to the said tomb, as she said, she replied, "My brother Luke, my husband, and myself."

When asked how she knew that she was cured at the said tomb, as she said, she replied, "Because I was present, and as she stood round the tomb she began to speak well and sensibly."

When asked if there were any others present when she was cured at the said tomb, as she said, she replied, "My father, myself, and many others I don't remember."

When asked if she herself or her husband spoke any words when they were restraining her at the said tomb, before she was

²³⁸ The end of the deposition and the beginning of the next one are missing, as well perhaps as other depositions in between.

Interrogata, si ipsa, vel maritus suus dicebant aliqua verba quando tenebant eam apud dictum sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Eramus in tanto dolore et tremore, quod nesciebamus quid faceremus, quia ipsa loquebatur lingua slavica, teutonica et nostra lingua».

Interrogata, si scit, ad cuius invocationem sanata fuit, respondit: «Ad invocationem sancte Marie et ad invocationem istius sancte Margarethe».

Interrogata, qui erant illi, qui invocabant sanctam Mariam et sanctam Margaretham, ut dixit, respondit: «Omnes, qui erant in ecclesia, orabant pro ea».

Interrogata, quomodo^a scit, quod orabant pro ea, nescivit respondere.

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod sic sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio bene de mense, sed fuit sequenti die post festum sancti Antonii».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, de hora diei, respondit: «In hora misse».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Dives eram, sed modo sum pauper».

Interrogata si est libera, vel ancilla, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE.²³⁹

LXXV

Nicolaus, qui stat in villa sancte Elisabethe Vaciensis diocesis, qui fuit de Irich, iuravit, ut supra.

^a quando *ms.*

cured, as she said, she replied, "We were so shaken and grieved that we didn't know what to do, because she was speaking in Slavic, German, and in our own language."

When asked if she knew at whose invocation she had been cured, she replied, "At the invocation of the Virgin Mary and at the invocation of this saint Margaret."

When asked who were the ones who called upon the Virgin Mary and saint Margaret, as she said, she replied, "Everyone who was in the church was praying for her."

When asked how she knew that they were praying for her, she did not know how to reply.

When asked how many years ago she [her daughter] was cured in this way, as she said, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the month, she replied, "I'm not sure about the month, but it was on the day after the feast of Saint Anthony."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "At the hour of mass."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if she were rich, or poor, she replied, "I used to be rich, but I'm poor now."

When asked if she were free or servant, she replied, "Free."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²³⁹

75

Nicholas, who lives in the village of Szenterzsébet in the diocese of Vác, once a resident of Irich, took the oath, as above.

²³⁹ Fraknói: August 31.

Interrogatus, super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Scio, quod fuit filia regis, et audiui, quod humiliavit se et paupertatem diligebat».

Interrogatus, a quibus audivit, quod humiliabat se et paupertatem diligebat, ut dixit, respondit: «A fratribus audiui, quia sum confrater huius domus».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Quidam, qui vocabatur Petrucius de genere Catha,²⁴⁰ qui est maritus sororis uxoris mee, quodam tempore ita fuit infirmus, quod iacebat in lecto sicut lignum, et non poterat movere manus, nec pedes, nec loqui poterat, nec comedere, nisi quando ponebatur cibus in os suum per unam pennam, et duravit sibi illa infirmitas quasi per tres annos, et in somnis apparuit sibi ista sancta Margaretha et palpat eum et dicebat: ‚Quid facis miser?‘ Et in secunda nocte apparuit sibi et dixit: ‚Surge‘, et precepit sibi quod deberet venire ad istud sepulcrum, ut sanaretur hic; et tunc, quando hoc dictum fuit sibi, statim surrexit et sanatus est, et quando pueri sui hoc viderunt, aliqui ridebant, aliqui flebant, et sequenti die cognati sui venerunt ad eum pro miraculo isto pro eo facto, et postea in curru duxerunt eum ad domum meam, et de domo mea postea ductus fuit ad sepulcrum istius beate Margarethe, et tunc^a apud sepulcrum incepit dicere et exponere omnia, que sibi devenerant».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus Petrucius ita infirmus fuerit, quod iacebat in lecto, sicut lignum et quod non poterat movere nec manus, nec pedes, nec loqui, nec comedere nisi apponeretur sibi cibus in ore, ut dixit, respondit: «Qualiter nescio, quia cognatus meus est?»

Interrogatus, si per illos tres annos continue ita graviter fuit infirmus, ut dixit, respondit: «Fuit ita graviter infirmus, quod non poterat se movere, sicut lignum».

Interrogatus, si per illos tres annos semper fuit sibi cibus ita positus cum penna in ore, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic».

^a hunc *ms.*

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know she was the King's daughter, and I have heard that she humbled herself and loved poverty."

When asked from whom he heard that she humbled herself and loved poverty, as he said, he replied, "I heard it from the brothers, because I am a confrère of this house."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied,²⁴⁰ "One time, a certain Petrucius of the Káta kindred, the husband of my wife's sister, was so ill that he lay like a log in bed, and couldn't move his hands or feet, or speak or eat, except when food was placed into his mouth through a tube, and that illness lasted for about three years, and in his sleep this saint Margaret appeared to him and caressed him, saying, 'How are you, poor fellow?' And the second night she appeared to him again and said, 'Get up,' ordering him to come to this tomb to be healed here; and when this was said to him, he rose at once and was healed, and when his children saw this, some laughed, others cried, and the next day his kinsmen came to him about this miracle that had been done for him, and later they brought him in a wagon to my house, and from my house he was taken to the tomb of this blessed Margaret, and then at the tomb he began saying and recounting everything that had happened to him."

When asked how he knew that the said Petrucius was so ill that he lay in bed like a log and could not move hand or foot, nor speak or eat unless food were placed in his mouth, as he said, he replied, "Why wouldn't I know, since he's my kinsman?"

When asked if he was so seriously ill all the time throughout those three years, as he said, he replied, "He was so gravely ill that he couldn't move, like a log."

When asked if throughout those three years food was always placed into his mouth with a tube, as he said, he replied, "Yes."

²⁴⁰ This miracle is included in the *Legenda vetus*, 112–13 n. 87

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod cibus ita administraretur sibi cum penna per totum illud tempus, ut dixit, respondit: «Scio, quia cognatus meus est».

Interrogatus, (quomodo scit) quod dicta Margaretha virgo apparuit sibi Petrucio et dixit sibi predicta verba, respondit: «Quia ipse Petrucius ante altare clamavit hoc».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus Petrucius post verba sibi dicta per virginem Margaretham, ut dixit, surrexit, et sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Audivi ab eo».

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt illi, qui duxerunt eum ad predictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego et uxor dicti Petrucii et due filie sue».

Interrogatus de nominibus uxoris et filiarum dicti Petrucii, respondit: «Nomen uxoris nescio, nomen unius filii est Vramus, et nomen alterius nescio».

Interrogatus, quomodo duxerunt eum ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Usque ad Danubium venimus in curru, et Danubium transivimus per navem, et postea cum pedibus suis ivit ad sepulcrum predictum».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando dictus Petrucius stans apud sepulcrum predictum exposuit omnia, que sibi devenerant, ut dixit, respondit: «Tria millia hominum et plurimi».

Interrogatus de nominibus aliquorum illorum trium millium, respondit: «Quomodo possum connumerare totum regnum?»

Interrogatus, si dictus Petrucius, postquam fuit sic sanatus, ut dixit, habuit predictam infirmitatem, vel similem, respondit: «Numquam».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dictus Petrucius ita liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Tres anni».

Interrogatus, de quo mense, respondit: «De mense pentecostes».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, in qua hora noctis sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Circa diem».

When asked how he knew that the food was thus served to him through a tube for that whole period, as he said, he replied, "I know, because he's a kinsman of mine."

When asked [how he knew] that the said virgin Margaret had appeared to Petrucius and spoken the aforesaid words to him, he replied, "Because Petrucius himself cried this aloud before the altar."

When asked how he knew that the said Petrucius arose and was healed, as he said, after the words spoken to him by the virgin Margaret, he replied, "I heard it from him."

When asked who took him to the aforesaid tomb, as he said, he replied, "Myself, and the said Petrucius's wife and two daughters."

When asked the names of the wife and daughters of the said Petrucius, he replied, "I don't know the wife's name. The name of one child is Uramus, and I don't know the other one's name."

When asked how they brought him to the said tomb, he replied, "We went as far as the Danube in a wagon, we crossed the Danube by boat, and thereafter he went to the aforesaid tomb on his own two feet."

When asked who were present when the said Petrucius, as he stood beside the aforesaid tomb, recounted everything that had happened to him, as he said, he replied, "Three thousand people, and a lot more."

When asked the names of some of that three thousand, he replied, "How can I enumerate the whole kingdom?"

When asked if the said Petrucius had the aforesaid ailment or one like it after he was healed, as he said, he replied, "Never."

When asked how many years it was since the said Petrucius was thus healed, as he said, he replied, "Three years."

When asked in what month, he replied, "In the month of Pentecost."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked at what hour of the night he was healed, as he said, he replied, "Around dawn."

Iterum rogatus, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Dictus Petrus dixit mihi».

Interrogatus, quot annos habet, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam centum annos».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Nec dives, nec pauper».

Interrogatus si est liber, vel servus, respondit: «Liber et nobilis».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

DIE MARTIS PRIMA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM. LXXVI

Maria, uxor Joannis de Meger,^{a241} Vaciensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc.»

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Eram contracta in genibus circa pascha, et nullo modo poteram extendere gambas ad ambulandum, et si volebam ire, semper tenebam genua mea circa pectus meum, et nates ad terram, et trahebam me sic, et steti sic usque ad festum sancti Jacobi, quod veniebat, et portata fui ad illud sepulcrum sanctae Margarethe, et antequam fuisset sanata, steti per duas septimanas ad illam ecclesiam, ubi erat sepulcrum, super currum, qui non habebat nisi duas rotas, et quadam die eram portata ad ecclesiam, (et) habebam verecundiam ire ad sepulcrum propter multos homines, qui erant ibi, et cogitavi, quare non vado sicut possum, et cepi me trahere per terram versus sepulcrum, et due femine ceperunt mea brachia et dixerunt: ,Quare

^a Mejer *ms.*

²⁴¹ This miracle is included in the *Legenda vetus*, 96 n. 74.

When asked a second time how he knew this, he replied, "The said Petrucius told me."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I think I'm a hundred years old."

When asked if he were rich, or poor, he replied, "Neither rich nor poor."

When asked if he were free or servant, he replied, "Free and noble."

When asked how many years the said virgin Margaret had been dead, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 1

76

Mary, wife of John of Megyer,²⁴¹ of the diocese of Vác, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "I was crippled in my knees around Easter, and I couldn't extend my legs at all to walk, and if I wanted to move, I always used to hold my knees to my chest, with my buttocks on the ground, and drag myself along that way, and that was my condition until the feast of Saint James. As it approached, I was carried to that tomb of saint Margaret, and before I was cured I stayed for two weeks near that church, where the tomb was, on top of a cart, which had only two wheels, and one day I was carried to the church. I was shy about going to the tomb because of the crowds of people who were there, and then I thought to myself, 'Why don't I go as best I can?' and I began hauling myself along the ground towards the tomb, and two women took my arms and said, 'Why don't you get up?' and I said, 'I can't,' and they said, 'We'll help you; get up,' and I stretched my legs out and got up, and walked

non surgis?,' et ego dixi: 'Non possum surgere;' et ille dixerunt: 'Iuvabimus te, surgas;' et distendi gambas, et surrexi, et recta ivi cum pedibus ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et sanata fui, et illi, qui viderunt (me) prius contractam et postea sanatam, dixerunt hoc fratribus, et fratres dixerunt sororibus, quod cantarent «Te Deum laudamus;' et cantaverunt, et pulsaverunt campanas».

Interrogata, si scit causam infirmitatis sue, respondit: «Habui acutam, et ex illa infirmitate facta fui contracta».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi, qui portaverant eam ad dictum sepulcrum, quando stetit per duas septimanas, antequam sanata fuisset, respondit: «Maritus meus et Zegise, qui stat in eadem villa de Meger et alii homines de illa villa, qui veniebant ad sepulcrum».

Interrogata, quomodo portata fuit ad sepulcrum, respondit: «De domo mea ad Danubium [in brachiis mariti mei],^{a 242} et postea in navi portaverunt me usque ad insulam istam, et postea maritus meus portavit me in brachiis suis usque ad sepulcrum».

Interrogata de nominibus illorum aliorum hominum, respondit: «Nescio nominare».

Interrogata, in cuius domo stetit per illas duas septimanas, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «In domo cuiusdam monialis, que fuit uxor de uno, qui habebat nomen Elias, sed nomen monialis nescio».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi, qui portaverunt eam ad ecclesiam illa die, qua sanata fuit, respondit: «Dicta monialis et alia monialis, que habebat nomen Margaretha».

Interrogata, que fuerunt ille femine, que ceperunt eam per brachia, quando surrexit et ivit ad sepulcrum, ut dixit, et sanata fuit, respondit: «Unam non cognovi, alia fuit illa, cuius erat currus, super quo fui portata ad ecclesiam, et nomen de illa nescio».

Interrogata, ad cuius invocationem sanata fuit, respondit: «Ego semper orabam istam sanctam Margaretham, sed Deus scit quod me liberavit».

^a in brachiis mariti mei *addidi*

straight to the tomb of this saint Margaret. I was healed and those who had seen me crippled before, and now healed, told the brothers about it, and the brothers told the sisters to sing *Te Deum laudamus*; and they sang it, and rang the bells.”

When asked if she knew the cause of her ailment, she replied, “I had an acute fever, and I was crippled as a result.”

When asked who the people were, who carried her to the said tomb, when she stayed for two weeks before being healed, she replied, “My husband, and Zegise, who stays in the same village of Megyer, and other people from that village, who were coming to the tomb.”

When asked how she was carried to the tomb, she replied, “From my home to the Danube [in my husband’s arms],²⁴² and after that they took me in a boat as far as this island, and then my husband carried me in his arms up to the tomb.”

When asked the names of those other people, she replied, “I don’t know their names.”

When asked in whose house she stayed for those two weeks before her healing, she replied, “In the home of a certain nun, who was once the wife of a man called Elias, but I don’t know the nun’s name.”

When asked who they were, who carried her to the church that day she was healed, she replied, “The said nun and another one, who had the name Margaret.”

When asked who the two women were, who took her by the arms, when she rose and went to the tomb, as she said, and was healed, she replied, “One I didn’t know, the other one was the owner of the cart, on which I was carried to the church, and I don’t know her name.”

When asked at whose invocation she was healed, she replied, “I prayed continually to this saint Margaret, but God knows what delivered me.”

²⁴² The vehicle or the way she reached the river is missing from the text, but the husband’s deposition says that he carried her in his arms, the same way she was carried from the boat to Margaret’s tomb. (Megyer lies by the river.)

Interrogata, quibus verbis interpositis, respondit: «Ego dicebam: ‚Deus, qui es salvator noster et sancta Maria, detis potestatem isti sancte Margarethe, quod sanet me, si verum est, quod ipsa sit sancta’ ».

Interrogata, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi infra illas duas septimanas, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Non, nisi quod frater Vincentius dedit mihi quamdam petiam, quam ipse dicebat fuisse de scapulario istius sancte Margarethe et aquam, quam dicebat esse lavaturam capillorum ipsius sancte Margarethe, cum quibus fricabam et lavabam genua mea».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando frater Vincentius dedit sibi istam petiam et lavaturam, respondit: «Multi erant, sed nescio nominare».

Interrogata, si scit, ubi stat modo illa femina, que dabat sibi currum, respondit: «Non, sed stabat in ista insula, quando mihi dabat currum».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi, qui viderant ipsam prorsus contractam et postea sanatam, ut dixit, et dixerunt hoc fratribus, respondit: «Unus habet nomen Jedomericus, qui colligebat offeras, que fiebant ad sepulcrum, sed nescio, ubi sit; nomina aliorum nescio».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi fratres, qui dixerunt sororibus, quod cantarent: ‚Te Deum laudamus’, respondit: «Frater Vincentius, alios nescio nominare».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod sorores cantaverunt, ‚Te Deum laudamus’, respondit: «Audiui, quod cantabant fortiter: ‚Laudate laudantium’ ».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod sic sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Non bene scio, sed possunt esse sex anni».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «De mense sancti Jacobi».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Die Mercurii».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post meridiem, quando pecora vadunt ad campum».

Interrogata, si postea habuit illam infirmitatem, vel similem, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quot annos habet, respondit: «Nescio».

When asked with the utterance of what words, she replied, "I said, 'God, our savior, and the Virgin Mary, give power to the saint Margaret to cure me, if it's true that she's a saint.'"

When asked if any medicine was given to, or made for her in the course of the fortnight before her healing, as she said, she replied, "No, except that Brother Vincent gave me a scrap that he himself said was from the scapular of the saint Margaret, and water that he said was rinse from a washing of the saint Margaret's hair, and I bathed and rubbed my knees with them."

When asked who were present, when Brother Vincent gave her this scrap and the rinse, she replied, "There were many, but I don't know their names."

When asked if she knew where the woman, who gave her the cart, was now living, she replied, "No, but she was staying on that island, when she gave me the cart."

When asked who those people were, who had seen her utterly crippled and later healed, as she said, and told the brothers about it, she replied, "One's called Jedomericus; he collected the offerings made at the tomb, but I don't know where he is. I don't know the names of the others."

When asked who those brothers were, who told the sisters to sing *Te Deum laudamus*, she replied, "Brother Vincent; I can't name the rest."

When asked how she knew that the sisters sang *Te Deum laudamus*, she replied, "I heard them loudly singing, *Laudate laudentium*."

When asked how many years ago she was healed in this way, as she said, she replied, "I can't be sure, but maybe six years."

When asked the month, she replied, "The month of Saint James."

When asked the day, she replied, "Wednesday."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "After midday, when the cattle go to the fields."

When asked if she suffered afterwards from that ailment or something similar, she replied, "No."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't know."

Interrogata, si est serva, vel libera, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si est maritus eius dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Multa amisimus, sed adhuc satis habemus».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE.²⁴³

LXXVII

Joannes de Meger, maritus dicte Marie, diocesis Vaciensis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Ista domina, que modo fuit hic, est uxor mea, et quodam tempore in septimana de pascha maiori habuit acutam, et in sequenti septimana facta fuit contracta in genibus, et stetit sic contracta usque ad festum sancti Jacobi, et portavi eam in brachiis usque ad Danubium de domo mea, que est ibi prope, et ibi intravi navem, et duxi eam usque insulam istam, et cepi eam tunc in brachiis meis et portavi eam ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et stetit in insula ista usque ad festum sancti Dominici, et post festum sancti Dominici sanata fuit die Mercurii ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando portavit eam ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Zegise et Petro de illa villa, Palsa sacerdos de eadem villa».

Interrogatus, si aliquis iuvit eum portare eam ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Nullus».

Interrogatus, in cuius domo stetit dicta uxor sua usque ad festum sancti Dominici in ista insula, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «In domo cuiusdam monialis, cuius nomen nescio, sed fuit uxor cuiusdam Elie, qui mortuus est».

²⁴³ September 1.

When asked if she were servant or free, she replied, "Free."

When asked if her husband were rich, or poor, she replied, "We have lost a lot, but we still have enough."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁴³

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John of Megyer, husband of the said Mary, of the diocese of Vác, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "That lady, who was here just now, is my wife, and once in the week of Easter she had an acute fever, and the following week she was crippled in the knees, and stayed that way until the feast of Saint James. I carried her in my arms from my house to the Danube, which is nearby, and there I boarded a boat and brought her to this island, and then I took her in my arms and carried her to the tomb of the saint Margaret, and she stayed on this island until the feast of Saint Dominic, and after the feast of Saint Dominic she was healed on a Wednesday at the tomb of the saint Margaret."

When asked who were present, when he carried her to the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "Zegise and Petro from that village, and Palsa, the priest of the same village."

When asked if anyone helped him to carry her to the said tomb, he replied, "No one."

When asked in whose house his said wife stayed until the feast of Saint Dominic on this island, before she was healed, he replied, "In the house of a certain nun, whose name I don't know, but she was the wife of a certain Elias, who died."

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta uxor sua sanata fuerit die Mercurii post festum beati Dominici ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Ipsa dixit mihi, sed presens non fui».

Interrogatus, si scit, quod aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi in ista insula, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dicta uxor sua sanata fuit ad sepulcrum predictum, ut dixit, respondit: «Non bene scio, sed credo, quod sint quinque anni».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Credo, quod festum sancti Dominici, de quo dixi, sit in Augusto». De die superius dixit.

Interrogatus de hora diei, qua sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego non eram ibi, sed uxor mea dixit mihi, quod fuit hora none».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Quando Tartari intraverunt terram istam, eram sex annorum».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Quando bene laboro, satis habeo».

Interrogatus, si est liber, vel servus, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si est doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE.²⁴⁴

LXXVIII

Zegise de Meger, diocesis Vacienensis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil volo dicere super hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Ista domina Maria, quae fuit hodie hic, est cognata mea, et habuit magnum malum, quod erat acuta, et hoc fuit circa pascha ma-

²⁴⁴ September 1.

When asked how he knew that his said wife was healed at the tomb on the Wednesday after the feast of Saint Dominic, as he said, he replied, "She told me herself, but I wasn't there."

When asked if he knew of any medicine being given to, or made for her, on this island before she was healed, as he said, he replied, "I don't."

When asked how many years ago his said wife was healed at the aforesaid tomb, as he said, he replied, "I'm not certain, but I think its five years."

When asked the month, he replied, "I think the feast of Saint Dominic I spoke about is in August." He stated the day above.

When asked the hour of the day, in which she was cured, as he said, he replied, "I wasn't there myself, but my wife told me it was around nones."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I was six when the Tartars invaded this land."

When asked if he were rich, or poor, he replied, "When I work well, I have enough."

When asked if he were free or servant, he replied, "Free."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁴⁴

Zegise of Megyer, of the diocese of Vác, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I don't want to make a statement about this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "This lady Mary, who was here today, is a kinswoman of mine, and she had a severe illness, an acute fever, and this was

ius, et de illo malo contracta facta fuit in venis²⁴⁵ ubi sunt genua, et non poterat ire, et sic stetit usque ad festum sancti Jacobi, quod est de mense Augusti,²⁴⁶ et posita fuit in navi, et portata fuit ad istud sepulcrum, quod est in insula ista, et stetit in domo cuiusdam monialis, que fuit uxor cuiusdam, qui habebat nomen Elias, et antequam fuisset sanata, stetit per novem dies in ista insula, et postea in die Mercurii sanata fuit ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta Maria ita erat contracta, ut dixit, respondit: «Ipsa fuit ante me, et eam vidi contractam».

Interrogatus, si est maritata, respondit: «Uxor est cuiusdam qui habet nomen Joannes».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod posita fuit in navi, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego duxi eam».

Interrogatus, si alii erant tunc presentes, quando duxit eam in navi ad istam insulam, respondit: «Plures, quam viginti quinque».

Interrogatus, quis portavit eam ad sepulcrum, postquam dicta Maria tracta fuit de nave, respondit: «Maritus suus».

Interrogatus, si maritus eius erat secum in una navi, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogatus de nominibus aliorum, qui erant in dicta navi, respondit: «Nescio nominare».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta Maria stetit in domo dicte monialis per illas tres dies, ut dixit, respondit: «Scio, quia dimisimus eam ibi».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod sanata fuit apud dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «In domo mea audivi, quod sic sanata fuit».

Interrogatus, a quibus hoc audivit, respondit: «Non notavi».

Interrogatus, si diebus illis, in quibus dictum fuit, quod sanata erat, vidit eam sanatam a dicta infirmitate, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogatus, si scit, quod habuit dictam infirmitatem, vel similem, postquam vidit eam sic sanatam, respondit: «Numquam postea».

²⁴⁵ The Latin says veins (*in venis*) but here it may mean tendons.

around Easter, and from that illness she was crippled in the veins²⁴⁵ where her knees are, and she couldn't walk, and she stayed that way until the feast of Saint James in the month of August,²⁴⁶ and she was put in a boat and carried to this tomb on this island, and stayed in the house of a certain nun, who had been wife to a certain Elias, and before her cure she stayed nine days on this island, and then she was cured on a Wednesday at the tomb of the saint Margaret."

When asked how he knew that the said Mary was so crippled, as he said, he replied, "She was in front of me, and I saw her crippled."

When asked if she were married, he replied, "She's the wife of a man called John."

When asked how he knew that she was put in a boat, as he said, he replied, "I took her."

When asked if there were others present at the time when he took her in the boat to this island, he replied, "More than twenty-five people."

When asked who carried her to the tomb after the said Mary was hauled off the boat, he replied, "Her husband."

When asked if her husband was with him on the one boat, he replied, "Yes."

When asked the names of others, who were on the said boat, he replied, "I don't know their names."

When asked how he knew that the said Mary stayed in the home of the said nun for those three days, as he said, he replied, "I know, because we left her there."

When asked how he knew that she was healed at the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "I heard in my house that she was healed in this way."

When asked from whom he heard this, he replied, "I didn't take note."

When asked if during those days, in which it was said that she had been healed, he saw her cured of the said ailment, he replied, "Yes."

²⁴⁶ In reality in July.

Interrogatus, si scit, quod aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi, priusquam fuit in ista insula, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, si scit, ad cuius invocationem sanata fuit, respondit: «Dixit mihi ista domina Maria, quod ad invocationem istius sancte Margarethe sanata fuit».

Interrogatus, si scit, cuiusmodi verba dixit tunc dicta domina Maria, quando sanata fuit, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod sanata fuit, respondit: «Possunt esse sex anni». De mense et de die dixit.

Interrogatus, si scit, in qua hora diei sanata fuit, respondit: «Illa domina dixit mihi, quod sanata fuit post meridiem, quando pecora ducuntur foras».

Interrogatus, quando hoc sibi dixit, respondit: «Illa die, qua venit de ista insula».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dicta virgo Margaretha mortua est, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Possum esse bene quinquaginta, vel sexaginta annorum».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Satis habeo».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE²⁴⁷

LXXIX

Petrus de Meger, diocesis Vaciensis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Numquam fui conversatus cum ea, sed audivi, quod fuit bona domina».

Interrogatus, a quibus audivit, respondit: «Nescio nominare».

²⁴⁷ September 1.

When asked if he knew of her having the said ailment, or anything like it, after he saw her thus healed, he replied, "Never afterwards."

When asked if he knew of any medicine being given to, or made for her before she was on the island and was cured, he replied, "No."

When asked if he knew at whose invocation she was cured, he replied, "This woman, Mary, told me she was cured at the invocation of the saint Margaret."

When asked if he knew what kind of words the said woman, Mary, used at the time she was cured, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how many years ago she was cured, he replied, "Maybe six." He had already stated the month and day.

When asked if he knew at what hour of the day she was cured, he replied, "That lady told me that she was cured in the afternoon, when the cattle are led outdoors."

When asked when she told him this, he replied, "On the day she left this island."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "Maybe a good fifty or sixty."

When asked if he were servant or free, he replied, "Free."

When asked if he were rich, or poor, he replied, "I have enough."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁴⁷

Peter of Megyer, of the diocese of Vác, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I never had anything to do with her, but I've heard that she was a good lady."

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Ista domina Maria, que fuit hodie hic, est cognata mea, et quodam tempore post pascha maius et ante pentecosten habuit acutam, et ex illa acuta facta fuit contracta in genibus, ita, quod non poterat ire, nisi aliquis eam iuaret, et ego et Zegise et Joannes maritus suus duximus eam in quadam navi usque ad insulam istam, et dictus maritus accepit eam postea in brachiis suis, et portavit eam usque ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, postea commendata cuidam moniali, cuius nomen nescio, sed fuit uxor Elie, que portabat eam de mane ad sepulcrum predictum, et de sero (ad) domum suam, et stetit hic dicta domina Maria usque ad festum beati Dominici, et tunc sanata fuit ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe».

Interrogatus, si scit, quod aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit dicte domine Marie, respondit: «Nulla».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta domina Maria ita fuit contracta, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego vidi hoc cum oculis meis».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta monialis portabat eam omni die ad sepulcrum predictum, ut dixit, respondit: «Scio, quia rogavimus eam, quod sic faceret, et etiam vidi hoc cum oculis meis».

Interrogatus, quomodo dicta monialis portabat eam, quando eam vidit portari, ut dixit, respondit: «In biga».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta domina sanata fuit apud dictum sepulcrum circa festum beati Dominici, ut dixit, respondit: «Portavimus eam contractam ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et postea tornavit sana domum».

Interrogatus, si vidit eam sanam, quando rediit domum, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod rediit domuni sana, ut dixit, respondit: «Annos non computavi, sed credo, quod sint quinque anni et dimidius».

Interrogatus, de quo mense rediit domum sana, ut dixit, respondit: «De mense sancti Jacobi».

When asked from whom he heard it, he replied, "I don't know their names."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "This woman, Mary, who was here today, is a relative of mine, and once after Easter, before Pentecost, she had an acute fever, as a result of which she was crippled in the knees to the point that she couldn't walk unless someone helped her, and Zegise, her husband John, and I brought her in a boat to this island, and then the said husband carried her in his arms up to the saint Margaret's tomb. Later, she was entrusted to the care of a certain nun, whose name I don't know, but she was once the wife of Elias. She carried her in the morning to the aforesaid tomb, and then home again to her place in the evening, and this woman Mary stayed here right on up to the feast of the blessed Dominic, and then she was cured at the tomb of the saint Margaret."

When asked if he knew of any medicine being given to, or made for the said lady Mary, he replied, "None."

When asked how he knew that the said woman, Mary, was as crippled as he said, he replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked how he knew that the said nun carried her every day to the aforesaid tomb, as he said, he replied, "I know, because we asked her to do it, and I also saw it with my own eyes."

When asked how the said nun carried her, when he saw her being carried, as he said, he replied, "On a two-wheeled cart."

When asked how he knew that the said lady was cured at the said tomb around the feast of the blessed Dominic, as he said, he replied, "We carried her crippled to the tomb of this saint Margaret, and later she came back home cured."

When asked if he saw her healthy when she came home, as he said, he replied, "I did."

When asked how many years ago she came home healthy, as he said, he replied, "I haven't reckoned the years, but it was five and a half years ago, I think."

When asked in what month she came home healthy, as he said, he replied, "The month of Saint James."

Interrogatus, quo die rediit sana, ut dixit, respondit: «Feria quarta sanata fuit hic apud sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, ut dixit mihi, et tertia die tornavit domum sic sanata».

Interrogatus, si postea habuit illam infirmitatem, vel similem, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Credo, quod sint septem anni».

Interrogatus, quot annos habet, respondit: «Habeo per quadraginta annos et plures».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Pauper, contentus tamen sum de iis, que habeo».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

DIE VENERIS QUARTA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM. LXXX

Venis, uxor quondam Leopardi de Fais,^a Vesprimiensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Habeo quemdam puerum meum, qui per septem annos fuit infirmus de scabie et bognonis, et quasi de omni infirmitate, ad finem ita fuit contractus in genu dextro, quod nullo modo poterat ire, et portabam eum foris pro necessitate temporis in brachiis meis, quando oportebat eum, et quando audivi, quod ista sancta Margaretha faciebat miracula, portavi eum in curru ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et quando fuit ad sepulcrum, statim sanatus fuit».

Interrogata de nomine pueri, respondit: «Leo».

Interrogata, quot annorum erat, respondit: «Sexdecim annorum, sicut credo».

^a Feces *ms.*

When asked on what day she returned healthy, as he said, he replied, "She was cured on a Wednesday here at the tomb of the saint Margaret, as she told me, and on the third day she returned home thus healed."

When asked if she had that ailment afterwards, or anything like it, he replied, "No."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I think it was seven years ago."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I'm more than forty."

When asked if he were rich, or poor, he replied, "Poor, but content with what I have."

When asked if he were free, or servant, he replied, "Free."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

ON FRIDAY, SEPTEMBER 4

80

Venis, wife of the late Leopard of Faisz, of the diocese of Veszprém, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "I have a boy, who for seven years was sick with scabs and swellings and just about every kind of illness, and finally he was so crippled in his right knee that there was no way he could walk, and I used to carry him outside in my arms, when he had to go to the latrine; and when I heard that the saint Margaret was working miracles, I took him in a wagon to the tomb of the saint Margaret, and when he was at the tomb, he was cured at once."

When asked the boy's name, she replied, "Leo."

When asked how old he was, she replied, "Sixteen, I think."

When asked if anyone helped her to carry the said boy to the said tomb, she replied, "When we left our house, the boy

Interrogata, si aliquis iuvit eam portare dictum puerum ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Quando recessimus de domo nostra, puer nullo modo poterat ire, et portaverunt me et ipsum puerum in curru Petrus, filius Rulto et Gallus, filius Gabrielis de eadem villa, et ibi posuimus currum in una carina, et venimus usque ad insulam istam, et dicti Gallus et Petrus venerunt mecum, et quando fuimus in insula, puer, quando exivit de curru, statim sanatus est, et cum pedibus suis ivit ad ecclesiam».

Interrogata, si aliqui erant presentes, quando dictus puer descendit de curru et sanatus est, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego et predicti Petrus et Gallus et alii, quos nescio nominare».

Interrogata, si ipsa et dictus puer suus dixerunt aliqua verba, quando descendit de curru et sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego orabam sanctam Margaretham pro eo, sed puer nihil dicebat, quia parvus erat».

Interrogata, que verba dicebat tunc, respondit: «O sancta Margaretha, tu es misericordiosa omnibus, sis et misericordiosa mihi et isti puero, qui est filius meus».

Interrogata, quanto tempore dictus puer sic steterat contractus in genu, respondit: «A nativitate domini usque ad festum pentecostes».

Interrogata, si fecit, vel dedit sibi aliquam medicinam, veniendo ad sepulcrum, respondit: «Nullam».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dictus puer descendendo de curru ita liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Circa festum pentecostes fuit unus annus».

Interrogata, si ab eo tempore circiter dictus puer fuit contractus, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si postea habuit aliquam contractionem in dicto genu, respondit: «Non, sed sanus fuit semper».

Interrogata de mense, quo dictus puer sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Non recordor, sed fuit circa pentecosten».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Die Mercurii».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post missam». Item dixit: «Quedam pauper femina in quodam loco, ubi ista sancta Margaretha fecerat miraculum, invenit unum panem, et accepit il-

couldn't walk at all, and Peter, the son of Rulto, and Gall, the son of Gabriel from the same village, carried me and the boy in a wagon, and we put the wagon in a boat and came to this island, and the said Gall and Peter came with me, and when we were on the island, the boy was cured the minute he got down from the wagon, and he walked to the church on his own two feet."

When asked if there were any present, when the said boy came down from the wagon and was cured, as she said, she replied, "Myself, the aforesaid Peter and Gall, and others, whose names I can't give."

When asked if she herself and the said boy spoke any words, when he descended from the wagon and was cured, as she said, she replied, "I was praying to saint Margaret for him, but the boy said nothing, because he was small."

When asked what words she said at that time, she replied, "O saint Margaret, you are merciful to all; be merciful to me also and to this boy, my son."

When asked how long the said boy had been suffering from a lame knee, she replied, "From the Nativity of our Lord until the feast of Pentecost."

When asked if she made any medicine for him or gave him any on their way to the tomb, she replied, "None."

When asked how many years ago the said boy was delivered, as he descended from the wagon, as she said, she replied, "It was about a year this past Pentecost."

When asked if afterwards he had any crippling condition, she replied, "No."

When asked if afterwards he had any spasm in the said knee, she replied, "No, he has been always healthy."

When asked the month when the said boy was cured, as she said, she replied, "I don't remember, but it was around Pentecost."

When asked the day, she said, "A Wednesday."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "After mass." She also said, "A certain poor woman in a place where the saint Margaret had done a miracle, found a loaf of bread and took it in the name of saint Margaret, so that any sick person eating this

lum in nomine sancte Margarethe, ut quicumque infirmus comederet de illo pane, haberet aliquam misericordiam, et vidi^a quod quicumque febrem habebat et comedebat de illo pane, sanatus fuit».

Interrogata de nomine dicte mulieris, respondit: «Nescio, sed est quedam vidua, que stat in domo mea».

Interrogata, quanto tempore stetit in domo sua, respondit: «A carnevaleo usque modo».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta mulier invenit dictum panem, ut dixit, respondit: «Ipsa dixit mihi».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando dixit sibi, quod invenerat dictum panem, respondit: «Nullus».

Interrogata, ubi est locus ille, in quo invenit dictum panem, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta virgo Margaretha fecerat miraculum in dicto loco, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia ibi erat sancta crux».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod ibi fuerit sancta crux, respondit: «Quia ipsa vidua dixit mihi».

Interrogata, si aliquos vidit comedentes de dicto pane, respondit: «Vidi, et cuidam puero dedi de manu mea, et postea non habuit febrem».

Interrogata de nomine pueri, respondit: «Paulus, filius predicte vidue, que panem invenit».

Interrogata, qualis panis erat ille, respondit: «Niger et siccus».

Interrogata, cuiusmodi febrem habuit dictus puer, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «In tertiana».

Interrogata, quanto tempore habebat tertianam, respondit: «Per tres vices habuerat eam».

Interrogata, si aliqui erant presentes, quando dictus puer comedit panem, et sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego et dicta mater sua».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dictus puer ita liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Fuit hoc anno».

^a ibi *ms.*

bread would have an act of mercy, and I saw that whoever had a fever and ate of that bread was cured.”

When asked the name of the said woman, she replied, “I don’t know, but she’s a widow staying in my house.”

When asked how long she had been staying in her house, she replied, “From Carnival up to the present.”

When asked how she knew that the said woman found the said loaf of bread, as she said, she replied, “She told me herself.”

When asked who were present when she told her that she had found the bread, she replied, “No one.”

When asked where that place was, where she found the said loaf, she replied, “I don’t know.”

When asked how she knew that the said virgin Margaret had worked a miracle in the said place, as she said, she replied, “Because there was a holy cross there.”

When asked how she knew there was a holy cross there, she replied, “Because the widow herself told me.”

When asked if she saw anyone eating the said bread, she replied, “I did, and I gave a certain boy some of it with my own hand, and he didn’t have a fever after that.”

When asked the boy’s name, she replied, “Paul, the aforesaid widow’s son, the one who found the bread.”

When asked what kind of bread it was, she replied, “Black and dry.”

When asked what kind of fever the said boy had before he was cured, she replied, “A tertian.”

When asked how long he had the tertian, she replied, “He had it three times.”

When asked if there were any present, when the said boy ate the bread and was cured, as she said, she replied, “His mother and I.”

When asked how many years ago the said boy was cured in this way, as she said, she replied, “It happened this year.”

When asked the month, she replied, “After the feast of Pentecost just past, but I don’t know the name of the month.”

When asked the day, she replied, “I don’t know.”

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Post festum pentecostes, quod modo ivit, hoc fuit; sed mensem nescio nominare».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «In sero».

Interrogata, in quo loco erat dictus puer, quando sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Prope dictum furnum, qui est in domo mea».

Interrogata, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi dicto puero, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dicta vidua invenit dictum panem, respondit: «Hoc anno, circa festum pentecostes».

Interrogata, si aliqua verba dixit, quando dedit dictum panem dicto puero et sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Dixi: ,O sancta Margaretha, iste panis fuit inventus in loco, in quo fecisti misericordiam, taliter fac et isti puero' ».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est ista dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Nescio, sed quando Tartari intraverunt terram, habebam tres annos, sicut dixit mater mea».

Interrogata, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Non sum dives».

Interrogata, si est serva, vel libera, respondit: «Libera sum et nobilis».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE²⁴⁸

LXXXI

Bethe de Barloc,²⁴⁹ Vesprimiensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit «Nihil scio de hoc».

²⁴⁸ September 4.

²⁴⁹ The Latin text of the manuscript gives the place name as Barloc, and this is the form of the name we use in all four testimonies. It perhaps refers to a village called Barcz in Fejér county, cf. Wertner, "A Margit-legenda," 34. The *Legenda maior* has

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "In the evening."

When asked where the boy was, when he was cured, as she said, she replied, "Near the said oven, which is in my house."

When asked if any medicine had been given to, or made for the said boy before he was cured, as she said, she replied, "No."

When asked how many years ago the said widow found the said boy, she replied, "It was this year, around the feast of Pentecost."

When asked if she spoke any words, when she gave the said bread to the said boy, and he was cured, as she said, she replied, "I said, 'O saint Margaret, this bread was found in a place you did an act of mercy; do likewise for this boy.'"

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't know, but when the Tartars entered the country, I was three, or so my mother told me."

When asked if she were rich, or poor, she replied, "I'm not rich."

When asked if she were servant or free, she replied, "I'm free and noble."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁴⁸

81

Bethe of Barlóc,²⁴⁹ of the diocese of Veszprém, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing about this."

Baloch, which the Hungarian editors took to be Balog, and kept this version of the name in the depositions. Attila Zsoldos suggests that it might be rather Barlag in Veszprém County, which belonged to the queen's estates. Cf. Attila Zsoldos, *Az Árpádok és asszonyaik: A királynéi intézmény az Árpádok korában* [The Arpads and their wives. The institution of queenship in the age of the Arpads] (Budapest: MTA Történettudományi Intézete, 2005), 67.

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Habeo quemdam filium, qui multum et turpiter erat inflatus, et rogavimus istam sanctam Margaretham, et promisimus, si sanaretur, duceremus eum ad sepulcrum eius, et quando fecimus hoc, sanatus fuit, et cum pedibus suis venit ad dictum sepulcrum».

Interrogatus de nomine dicti filii sui, respondit: «Stephanus».

Interrogatus, in qua parte corporis fuerit sic inflatus, ut dixit, respondit: «Totum corpus habebat inflatum».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore duraverit sibi dicta inflatura, respondit: «Per duas septimanas».

Interrogatus, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi, postquam venit ad dictum sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Nulla».

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt illi, qui rogaverunt virginem Margaretham et promiserunt ducere ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego et mater sua».

Interrogatus de nomine matris sue, respondit: «Gunig».

Interrogatus, si aliqui alii erant presentes, quando rogaverunt et promiserunt, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic, Dyam, vicinus meus».²⁵⁰

Interrogatus, in quo loco erant, quando sic rogaverunt et sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «In domo mea».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus filius suus venit ad sepulcrum cum pedibus suis, ut dixit, postquam sanatus fuit, respondit: «Quia mater sua venit secum».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod mater sua venit secum, respondit: «Quia ego mandavi eis».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est dictus puer, respondit: «Nescio quot annorum sit, sed bene potest equitare unum equum».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dictus filius suus ita sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Hoc anno fuit, ante pentecosten».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Nescio».

²⁵⁰ Apparently the same person as Dien in the witness account 82 and Dyan himself, witness 83.

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "I have a son, who was very badly bloated, and we asked the saint Margaret, and promised that if he were cured, we'd take him to her tomb, and when we did this, he was cured, and he went on his own two feet to the said tomb."

When asked the name of his son, he replied, "Stephen."

When asked in what part of his body he was so bloated, as he said, he replied, "He had his whole body swollen up."

When asked how long his said swelling lasted, he replied, "For two weeks."

When asked if any medicine had been given to, or made for him after he came to the aforesaid tomb, before he was cured, as he said, he replied, "None."

When asked if any medicine had been given to, or made for him after he came to the aforesaid tomb, before he was cured, as he said, he replied, "None."

When asked who they were, who asked the virgin Margaret and promised to lead [the boy] to the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "His mother and I."

When asked his mother's name, he replied, "Gunig."

When asked if any others were present, when they made the request and the promise, as he said, he replied, "Yes, my neighbor Dyam.²⁵⁰"

When asked where they were, when they made the request and he was healed, as he said, he replied, "In my house."

When asked how he knew that the said boy, his son, came to the tomb on his own two feet, as he said, after he was cured, he replied, "Because his mother came with him."

When asked how he knew that his mother came with him, he replied, "Because I ordered them."

When asked how old the said boy was, he replied, "I don't know his age, but he can ride a horse well."

When asked how many years ago his said son was cured in this way, as he said, he replied, "It was this year, before Pentecost."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't know."

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Ante vespervas».

Interrogatus, quantum stetit, antequam veniret ad istud sepulcrum, postquam sic sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Per tres septimanas».

Interrogatus, per quot dies stetit, antequam fuisset bene liberatus, postquam rogaverunt sanctam Margaretham et promiserunt, ut dixit, respondit: «In illa die, in qua rogavimus et promissimus, sicut ego dixi, potuit comedere, quod ante non fecerat, et fuit sibi melius, et sequenti die surrexit de lecto, et ivit ad campum».

Interrogatus, si aliquis erat presens, quando petiit comedere et melius fuit sibi, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego et mater sua et nullus alius».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est virgo Margaretha, de qua loquitur, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Eram dives, sed spoliaverunt me».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Ego sum liber, tamen sum de genere coquorum regine».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE.²⁵¹

LXXXII

Joannes presbyter sanctorum Cosme et Damiani²⁵² de Veristo Vespriemiensis diocesis iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Super hoc nescio».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Iste Bethe, qui modo fuit hic ante vos, habet quemdam fi-

²⁵¹ September 4.

²⁵² The Byzantine doctor-saints, two of the most important miraculous healers, were especially popular in medieval Hungary; they are represented already on Saint

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "Before vespers."

When asked how long it was before he came to this tomb, after he was cured in this way, as he said, he replied, "Three weeks."

When asked how many days he remained before he was fully delivered, after they made the request and promise to saint Margaret, as he said, he replied, "On the day we made the request and promise, just as I said, he was able to eat, which he couldn't do before, and his condition improved, and the next day he got out of bed and went outdoors."

When asked if there was anyone present when he asked for something to eat and felt better, as he said, he replied, "Only his mother and I."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how many years ago the virgin Margaret, of whom he was speaking, died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he were rich, or poor, he replied, "I was rich, but they robbed me."

When asked if he were servant or free, he replied, "I'm free, but my rank is that of queen's cook."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁵¹

82

John, priest of the Saints Cosmas and Damian ²⁵² of Verestó, of the diocese of Veszprém, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I don't know about it."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "This Bethe, who was just here before you, has a cer-

Stephen's crown. Cf. *Legenda vetus*, 100–101 n. 81. See also Vida, "Szent Kozma és Damján magyarországi tiszteletének eredete és értelmezése," 340–67.

lium, qui per tres septimanas multum fuit infirmus, et habuit corpus ita inflatum, quod non poterat movere se, et dictus pater suus dixit ei, quod rogaret beatam Margaretham, quod succurreret sibi, et puer rogavit ipsam beatam Margaretham, quod faceret sibi misericordiam, et ipse veniret ad sepulcrum suum, et ab illa hora cepit melius habere, et in die sequenti sanus ibat, nec habebat aliquam infirmitatem».

Interrogatus de nomine dicti filii Bethe, respondit: «Stephanus».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod ita fuerit infirmus et inflatus per tres septimanas, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi eum tunc».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus Bethe, pater dicti pueri dixerit dicto puero suo, quod rogaret dictam sanctam Margaretham, ut dixit, respondit: «In presentia mea dixit sibi».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus puer rogavit beatam Margaretham, ut dixit, respondit: «In presentia mea dixit hoc».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod melius tunc fuerit dicto puero, postquam rogavit beatam Margaretham, ut dixit, respondit: «Presens fui, et parochianus suus sum».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus Stephanus sequenti die sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi».

Interrogatus, si aliqui erant presentes, quando dictus puer rogavit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego et Benedictus de eadem villa Barloch et Dien clericus de eadem villa et pater et mater dicti pueri».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dictus puer habuit illam infirmitatem, respondit: «Anno isto».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Ante pentecosten, et tunc sanatus fuit sicut ego dixi».

Interrogatus de die, quando dictus puer rogavit et melius habuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Non recordo».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «In nonis».

Interrogatus, in quo loco erat dictus puer, quando rogavit et melius fuit sibi, ut dixit, respondit: «In domo Bethe predicti patris sui».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est dictus puer, respondit: «Nescio».

tain son, who was very sick for three weeks, and had such a swollen body that he couldn't move and his father told him to ask the blessed Margaret to help him, and the boy prayed to the blessed Margaret to show him mercy and he would go in person to her tomb; and from that hour he began to get better and the next day he was going about cured, and had no sickness."

When asked the name of the said son of Bethe, he replied, "Stephen."

When asked how he knew he was so ill and bloated for three weeks as he said, he replied, "I saw him at the time."

When asked how he knew that the said Bethe, father of the said boy, told the said boy to ask the said saint Margaret, as he said, he replied, "He said it in my presence."

When asked how he knew that the said boy asked the blessed Margaret, as he said, he replied, "He said it in my presence."

When asked how he knew that the boy's condition then improved, after he asked the blessed Margaret, as he said, he replied, "I was present, and I'm his parish priest."

When asked how he knew that the said Stephen was cured the next day, as he said, he replied, "I saw it."

When asked if anyone were present, when the said boy made the request, as he said, he replied, "I was, and Benedict from the same village of Barlóc, and Dien, a cleric of the same village, and the mother and father of the said boy."

When asked how many years ago the said boy had that ailment, he replied, "It was this year."

When asked the month, he replied, "Before Pentecost, and at that time he was cured just as I said."

When asked the day, when the said boy made the request and felt better, as he said, he replied, "I don't recall."

When asked the hour of day, he replied, "At nones."

When asked where the said boy was, when he made the request and got better, as he said, he replied, "In the house of Bethe, his aforesaid father."

When asked how old the boy was, he replied, "I don't know."

Interrogatus, quanto tempore vidit dictum puerum sic sanum, respondit: «Vidi eum postea sanum usque nunc».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est ista virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Puer eram, quando Tartari intraverunt terram istam, et quatuor anni sunt, quod ego sum presbyter».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE²⁵³

LXXXIII

Dyan, filius quondam Barnabe de Barloch, Vesprimiensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Habeo quemdam puerum meum, qui habet nomen Casparis, qui habuit morbum, de quo cadebat per quinque septimanas, et non poterat exire de loco, nec mentem habebat, et duxi eum ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et cum tenerem eum in brachiis meis, apud dictum sepulcrum sanatus est.

Interrogatus, quot annorum erat tunc predictus puer, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est modo, respondit: «Credo, quod habeat sexdecim annos».

Interrogatus, ubi iacebat dictus puer, quando erat sic infirmus, ut dixit, respondit: «In domo mea».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dictus puer sanatus fuit apud dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Tres».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Circa pentecosten».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Nescio».

²⁵³ September 4.

When asked how long he saw the said boy thus healthy, he replied, "Since then, I've seen him healthy to this day."

When asked how many years it had been since the death of this virgin Margaret, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I was a boy, when the Tartars invaded this country, and I've been a priest for four years."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁵³

83

Dyan, son of the late Barnabas of Barlóc, of the diocese of Veszprém, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing of this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "I have a boy called Caspar, who had a falling sickness for five weeks, and he couldn't go anywhere, but was out of his mind. I took him to the tomb of this saint Margaret, and while I was holding him in my arms, he was cured at the said tomb."

When asked how old the aforesaid boy was at the time, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old he was now, he replied, "I think he's sixteen."

When asked where the boy was lying, when he was so sick, as he said, he replied, "In my home."

When asked how many years ago it was when the said boy was cured at the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "Three."

When asked the month, he replied, "Around Pentecost."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "At the hour of mass."

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «In hora misse».

Interrogatus, si aliqui erant presentes, quando sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Vicini mei».

Interrogatus de nominibus dictorum vicinorum, respondit: «Bethe, de aliis non recordor».

Interrogatus, si dixit aliqua verba, quando dictus puer sanatus fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Rogabam sanctam Margaretham, quod sanaret filium meum».

Interrogatus, quam sanctam Margaretham rogabat, ut dixit, respondit: «Illam, cuius sepultura est in ecclesia sancte Marie de insula Danubii».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore vidit eum sic sanum, postquam sic sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Usque ad tempus istud».

Interrogatus, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi antequam sanaretur apud dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Nulla».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dicta virgo Margaretha mortua est, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Quando Tartari intraverunt terram istam, iam eram natus».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Pauper».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, si cognoscit Stephanum, filium Bethe de Barloch diocesis Vesprimiensis, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogatus, si vidit eum infirmum a quatuor annis circiter, respondit: «Scio, quod fuit infirmus, sed non vidi ipsum».

Interrogatus, si scit, quod dominus Bethe et uxor eius rogaverunt istam sanctam Margaretham, quod sanaret Stephanum, dictum filium suum et quod promiserunt, quod eum ducerent ad sepulcrum eiusdem virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si aliquis (alius) est in eadem villa, qui vocetur Dyam, respondit: «Non».²⁵⁴

²⁵⁴ The reason for the question seems to be that the inquisitors are puzzled why the witness denies knowledge of the parents' vow, when witness 81 had stated that "my

When asked if there were any there, when he was cured, as he said, he replied, "My neighbors."

When asked the names of the said neighbors, he replied, "Bethe, I don't remember the others."

When asked if he spoke any words, when the said boy was cured at the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "I asked saint Margaret to cure my son."

When asked what saint Margaret he asked, as he said, he replied, "She, whose tomb is in the church of the Virgin Mary on the Danube Island."

When asked how long he saw him healthy in this way, after he was thus cured, as he said, he replied, "Up till now."

When asked if any medicine had been given to, or made for him before his cure at the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "None."

When asked how long ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I had already been born when the Tartars invaded this country."

When asked if he were rich, or poor, he replied, "Poor."

When asked if he were servant or free, he replied, "Free."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

When asked if he knew Stephen, son of Bethe of Barlóc in the diocese of Veszprém, he replied, "Yes."

When asked if he saw him sick about four years ago, he replied, "I know he was sick, but I didn't see him in person."

When asked if he knew that Bethe and his wife had asked this saint Margaret to cure Stephen, their said son, and had promised to take him to the tomb of the same virgin Margaret, he replied, "I didn't."

When asked if there was anyone else in the same village, who is called Dyam, he replied, "No."²⁵⁴

neighbor Dyam" was present when the vow was made. Hence they ask if they might have been referring to someone else of the same name in the village.

EADEM DIE²⁵⁵

LXXXIV

Benedictus de villa Barloch, Vesprimiensis diocesis, iuravit ut supra.

Interrogatus, de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Iste bonus homo, qui fuit ante vos, habebat filium infirmum, et habuit gratiam a sancta Margaretha, et sanatus factus fuit».

Interrogatus de nomine illius boni hominis, qui fuit ante nos, respondit: «Bethe de villa in questo».^a

Interrogatus de nomine filii illius Bethe, qui fuit infirmus et habuit gratiam et sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Stephanus».

Interrogatus, qualem infirmitatem habebat, respondit: «Inflatus fuit».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore fuit inflatus, respondit: «Per duas septimanas».

[Interrogatus quanto tempore vidit ipsum sic inflatum,]^b respondit: «Vidi ipsum sic inflatum per illas duas septimanas».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod habuit gratiam a sancta Margaretha et sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia portavimus eum ad sepulcrum in curru, et postea rediit ad domum sanus».

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt illi, qui portaverunt eum ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Dyan, qui fuit hodie hic ad dicendum dictum suum».

Interrogatus, si alii fuerunt ad portandum dictum Stephanum tunc ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Ego non fui ad portandum ipsum, nescio quod alii portaverunt eum quando fuit sanatus, sed in ista vice quando venimus ad istud sepulcrum, ego et dictus Dyan portavimus eum».

Interrogatus, si fuit presens, quando habuit predictam gratiam et sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego ibi eram».

^a questo [loco] *ital.*

^b *vacat* Interrogatus quanto tempore vidit ipsum sic inflatum

ON THE SAME DAY²⁵⁵

84

Benedict of Barlóc village, of the diocese of Veszprém, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing of it."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "This good man, who was before you, had an ailing son, and he got grace from saint Margaret and was made whole."

When asked this good man's name, who had been before us, he replied, "Bethe, of the village in [this place]."

When asked the name of that Bethe's son who was sick and had grace and was cured, as he said, he replied, "Stephen."

When asked what kind of ailment he had, he replied, "He was bloated."

When asked how long he was bloated, he replied, "Two weeks."

[When asked how long he had seen him thus bloated,] he replied, "I saw him bloated like this throughout those two weeks."

When asked how he knew that he had grace of saint Margaret and was cured, as he said, he replied, "Because we carried him to the tomb on a cart, and he went home afterwards, cured."

When asked who they were, who carried him to the said tomb, he replied, "Dyan, who was here today to make his statement."

When asked if there were others at the carrying of the said Stephen at that time to the said tomb, he replied, "I wasn't at the carrying myself, and I don't know what others carried him at the time he was cured, but on the occasion we came to this tomb, the said Dyan and I carried him."

When asked if he were present when he [Stephen] had the aforesaid grace and was cured, as he said, he replied, "I was there."

²⁵⁵ September 4.

Interrogatus, in quo loco tunc erat, quando sanatus fuit, respondit: «In via, quando portabatur ad dictum sepulcrum, sed ego non fui ibi».

EADEM DIE²⁵⁶

LXXXV

Bogdam de Fays Vesprimiensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Habui febres per tres septimanas, et quedam domina dedit mihi de uno pane, quem invenerat in quodam loco, ubi ista sancta Margaretha fecerat miraculum, et comedi de illo pane, et statim lassavit me dicta febris».

Interrogatus, cuiusmodi febris erat illa, respondit: «Tertiana».

Interrogatus de nomine illius domine, que dedit sibi dictum panem, respondit: «Nescio nomen eius».

Interrogatus, ubi stat dicta domina, respondit: «In eadem villa de Fays».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dicta domina invenit panem in loco, ubi dicta virgo Margaretha fecit miraculum, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio, quia non fui cum ea».

Interrogatus, in quo loco erat, quando dicta domina dedit sibi dictum panem et comedit et laxavit eum dicta febris, ut dixit, respondit: «Jacebam in domo mea iuxta caminum».

Interrogatus, si in die illa, qua comedit dictum panem, debebat habere dictam febrem, respondit: «Quando datus fuit mihi dictus panis, habebam febrem, et quando comedi dictum panem, lassavit me dicta febris».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando comedit dictum panem et laxavit eum dicta febris, ut dixit, respondit: «Petra, uxor mea et nullus alius».

²⁵⁶ September 4.

When asked where he was at the time when he was cured, he replied, "On the road, when he was being carried to the said tomb, but I wasn't there."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁵⁶

85

Bodgam of Faisz, of the diocese of Veszprém, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing of this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "I had fevers for three weeks, and a certain lady gave me a piece of bread, that she had found in a place where the saint Margaret had worked a miracle, and I ate that bread, and the said fever immediately left me."

When asked what kind of fever that was, he replied, "A tertian."

When asked that lady's name, the one who gave him the said bread, he replied, "I don't know her name."

When asked where the said lady lives, he replied, "In the same village of Faisz."

When asked how he knew that the said lady found the bread in a place where the said virgin Margaret worked a miracle, as he said, he replied, "I don't know, because I wasn't with her."

When asked where he was, when the said lady gave him the said bread, and he ate it, and the said fever left him, as he said, he replied, "I was lying in my house beside the hearth."

When asked if, on the day he ate the said bread, he really had the said fever, he replied, "I had the fever, when the bread was given to me, and when I ate it, the fever left me."

When asked who were present, when he ate the said bread, and the said fever left him, as he said, he replied, "My wife Petra, and no one else."

Interrogatus, si aliqua verba dixit, quando comedit dictum panem, ut dixit, respondit: «Dixi in corde meo, quod venirem ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, si lassaret me febris».

Interrogatus, si tunc fuit data, vel facta sibi aliqua medicina, antequam febris eum dimitteret, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dicta domina [...] ^a 257

LXXXVI

[Leo filius quondam Leopardi de Fais] cebat, respondit: «Rogavi Deum, quod in nomine sancte Margarethe me sanaret, sicut multos alios infirmos sanaverat».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando sanatus fuit, respondit: «Illi, qui veniebant mecum erant ibi, et alios non cognoscebam».

Interrogatus, quomodo exivit de ecclesia, quando sanatus fuit, respondit quod: «Cum pedibus meis ivi rectus, sicut alii homines».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod sanatus fuit, respondit: «Circa pentecosten fuit annus».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «De mense pentecostes».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, si postquam sanatus fuit, habuit illam infirmitatem, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Non bene scio, sed credo, quod habeam quindecim annos».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Pauper».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber et nobilis».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

^a *vacat*

²⁵⁷ The end of this deposition and the beginning of the next one are missing.

When asked if he spoke any words, when he ate the said bread, as he said, he replied, "I said in my heart that I would go to the tomb of the saint Margaret, if the fever left me."

When asked if on that occasion any medicine was given to, or made for him before the fever left him, he replied, "No."

When asked how many years ago the said lady [...] ²⁵⁷

86

[Leo, son of the late Leopard of Faisz] ... he replied, "I asked God to heal me in the name of saint Margaret, just as she had healed many other sick people."

When asked who were present, when he was healed, he replied, "Those who came with me were there, and I didn't know the others."

When asked how he left the church, when he was healed, he replied, "I went on my own two feet, standing upright like other men."

When asked how many years ago he was healed, he replied, "About a year ago this Pentecost past."

When asked the month, he replied, "The month of Pentecost."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked if he had that ailment after he was healed, he replied, "No."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I'm not sure, but I think I'm fifteen."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he were rich, or poor he replied, "Poor."

When asked if he were servant or free, he replied, "Free and noble."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

DIE SABATHI QUINTA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM.
LXXXVII

Viola, uxor Gabrielis (de) Fays, Vesprimiensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Vidi puerum illum, qui fuit heri ante vos, a pueritia sua infirmum, et postea fuit contractus et ductus fuit in curru per matrem suam et Gallum, filium meum et Petrum ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et quando positus fuit super curru, nullo modo poterat ire, et quando tornavit domum, vidi eum sanum».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dictus puer ita fuit contractus, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi eum oculis meis».

Interrogata, in qua parte corporis erat ita contractus, respondit: «In genu dextro».

Interrogata, quanto tempore steterit sic contractus, respondit: «Non computavi ipsa, sed scio, quod magno tempore stetit sic».

Interrogata de nomine pueri, respondit: «Leo, filius Leopardi».

Interrogata, si vivit pater suus, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod mater dicti pueri et Petrus et Gallus portaverunt dictum puerum ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Ante me factum fuit, sed ego non veni cum eis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dictus puer non poterat ire, quando portatus fuit in curru, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi hoc cum oculis meis».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando rediit domum sanus ut dixit, respondit: «Socii et amici».

Interrogata de nominibus illorum, respondit: «Johanta, filius Joannis, qui mortuus est, et Petrus et Gabriel de eadem villa».

Interrogata, si scit, quod aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuerit dicto puero, quando portatus fuit ad dictum sepulcrum antequam sanaretur, respondit: «Non».

ON SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 5

87

Viola, wife of Gabriel of Faisz, of the diocese of Veszprém, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "I saw that boy, who was before you yesterday, an invalid since boyhood, and later he became cripple and was taken in a cart by his mother and Gall, my son, and Peter to the tomb of the saint Margaret, and when he was set upon the cart, there was no way he could walk, but when he came back home, I saw him sound."

When asked how she knew that the said boy was so crippled, as she said, she replied, "I saw him with my own eyes."

When asked in what part of his body he was so crippled, she replied, "In his right knee."

When asked how long he stayed thus crippled, she replied, "I haven't myself counted it, but I know he was a long time like that."

When asked the boy's name, she replied, "Leo, the son of Leopard."

When asked if his father was alive, she replied, "No."

When asked how she knew that the mother of the said boy and Peter and Gall carried the said boy to the said tomb, she replied, "It was done in front of me, but I didn't myself go with them."

When asked how she knew that the said boy could not walk, when he was carried in the cart, as she said, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked who were present, when he returned home healthy, as she said, she replied, "Friends and associates."

When asked their names, she replied, "Johanta, the son of John, who is dead, and Peter and Gabriel from the same village."

When asked if she knew about any medicine being given to, or made for the said boy, when he was carried to the said tomb before he was cured, she replied, "No."

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dictus puer portatus fuit ad dictum sepulcrum et rediit domum sanus, ut dixit, respondit: «Circa festum pentecostes, quod modo ivit, fuit unus annus».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «De mense pentecostes».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Die Mercurii».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Circa vespas».

Interrogata, quantum distat locus, in quo habitat dictus puer, a loco isto, respondit: «Qui venit pedes ille venit in tribus diebus, et ille qui venit in curru venit in duobus».

Interrogata, quanto tempore vidit dictum puerum sic sanatum, ut dixit, respondit: «Usque modo».

Interrogata, quot annorum est dictus puer, respondit: «Nescio, nec mater eius scit».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Bene possum habere triginta annos».

Interrogata, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Pauper sum».

Interrogata, si est serva, vel libera, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

Predictus Martinus de Nitra interpretis fuit in dictis predictorum testium.

EADEM DIE²⁵⁸

LXXXVIII

Dominus Gurich de genere Caac,^{a 259} iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Audivi de domina Margaretha, matre do-

^a Taat *ms.*

²⁵⁸ September 5.

²⁵⁹ The manuscript erroneously says Taat, whereas the text makes it clear that he is the member of the Csák kindred, on which see p. 346–47 n. 126 and p. 364–65 n. 132 above.

When asked how many years ago the said boy was carried to the said tomb and came back home healthy, as she said, she replied, "It was one year ago this past feast of Pentecost."

When asked the month, she replied, "In the month of Pentecost."

When asked the day, she replied, "A Wednesday."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "Around vespers."

When asked how far the place where the said boy lived was from this place, she replied, "On foot, it takes three days, two in a cart."

When asked how long she saw the said boy thus healed, as she said, she replied, "To this very day."

When asked how old the said boy was, she replied, "I don't know, and his mother doesn't, either."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I could be all of thirty."

When asked if she were rich, or poor, she replied, "I'm poor."

When asked if she were servant or free, she replied, "Free."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

The aforesaid Martin of Nitra was the interpreter in the statements of the aforesaid witnesses.

ON THE SAME DAY²⁵⁸

88

Lord Gurich of the Csák²⁵⁹ kindred took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I have heard from Lady Margaret, mother of Lord Matthew, the ban, who is a sister in this monastery and a member of my family, and from many other people, whom

mini Matthei bani, que est soror in isto monasterio, et est de parentela mea et a multis aliis personis, quas non habeo modo in mente, quod ista sancta Margaretha, dum esset parva, usque ad mortem, semper fuit in monasterio de Vesprimio et in isto, et semper fuit bona domina et in multis orationibus, et omnibus serviebat sicut poterat; aliter nescio, nisi sicut audiui, quia ipsam numquam vidi».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Audiui a multis, quod multa miracula sunt (facta) per eius merita, sed de illis dimittamus, et dicam vobis, quod factum est in persona mea. Ego habui tam grande malum, quod de vita mea eram desperatus et illud malum descenderat per renes meos ad anchas et per coxas usque ad genua et quando [...]»^{a 260}

LXXXIX

« ad casam, ille Benedictus parlavit.^b

Interrogatus, quid dixit tunc ille Benedictus, respondit: «Dixit matri sue, que lavabat sibi oculos propter pulverem: ‚Non faciatis mihi malum’ ».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit hoc, quod sic dixit, respondit: «Hoc audiui».

Interrogatus de presentibus, respondit: «Mater mea et sorores mee et Elena, uxor Laurentii et Catharina, uxor Cedre, que stant in ista villa, et pater meus de novo intravit curtem».

Interrogatus de nominibus matris et sororum suarum, respondit: «Mater habet nomen Elena et soror mea maior habet nomen Anet et alia Elisabeth».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore stetit mortuus dictus Benedictus, ut dixit, respondit: «Usque ad mediam noctem».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Quia vidi eum».

^a *vacat*

^b *parlare ital.*

²⁶⁰ The end of this and the beginning of the next deposition are missing, together with the name of the next witness.

I don't recall just at this minute, that this saint Margaret was always in this monastery and the one at Veszprém from the time she was a little girl until her death, and she was always a good lady and very prayerful, and she served everyone as she was able; all I know is what I've heard, because I never saw her."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "I've heard from many people that many miracles have been done through her merits, but let's pass over those, and let me tell you what happened in my own case. I had an illness so severe, that my life was despaired of, and it had gone down through my lower back to my thighs and through my hips to my knees, and when [...]"²⁶⁰

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[...] "to the house, that Benedict spoke."

When asked what that Benedict said then, he replied, "He said to his mother, who was washing the dust out of his eyes, 'Don't hurt me.'"

When asked how he knew what he said, he replied, "I heard it."

When asked about those present, he replied, "My mother and sisters, and Elena, Lawrence's wife, and Catherine, Cedra's wife, who live on this estate, and my father again entered the courtyard." When asked the name of his mother and sisters, he replied, "My mother's name is Elena, my elder sister's is Anet, and the other one's Elizabeth."

When asked how long the said Benedict stayed dead, as he said, he replied, "Until midnight."

When asked how he knew this, he replied, "Because I saw him."

When asked how old the said boy was, he replied, "Eight or nine."

When asked how many years ago the said wall fell upon him, as he said, he replied, "This is the third summer."

Interrogatus, quot annorum est dictus puer, respondit: «Octo vel novem».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod cecidit ita dictus murus super eum, ut dixit, respondit: «Est tertia estas».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Feria quinta, de hora dixi».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam sedecim annos et plus».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

Predicti presbyteri Dominicus et Paulus interpretes fuerunt in dicto predicto die Martis octava intrante Septembrem in predicto monasterio virginis gloriose de insula Danubii.

DIE MARTIS OCTAVA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM.

XC

Bede, filius quondam Johante de Cesu,²⁶¹ Vesprimiensis diocesis iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Ista filia mea, quam vidistis,²⁶² quando habuit sex annos, facta fuit ceca de ambobus oculis, et duxi eam per tres vices in curru ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et tertia vice sanata fuit apud dictum sepulcrum per merita ipsius sancte Margarethe».

Interrogatus de nomine dicte filie sue, respondit: «Petro-nella».

Interrogatus, si scit causam, quare facta fuit ceca, ut dixit, respondit: «Ipsa puella mea a nativitate sua sana fuit per duos annos

²⁶¹ Fraknói identifies this locality as Gyula-Keszi, today called Gyulakeszi ("Bevezetés," *MRV*, vol. I, 355). The miracle described here is with the same as the last, fragmentary miracle of the *Legenda vetus*, cap. 59.

When asked the month, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the day, he replied, "Thursday. I told you the hour."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I think I'm sixteen or more."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't recall."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

The aforesaid priests Dominic and Paul were the interpreters in the aforesaid statement, given on Tuesday, September the eighth, in the aforesaid monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the Island in the Danube.

ON TUESDAY, SEPTEMBER 8

90

Bede, the son of the late Johanta of Keszi,²⁶¹ of the diocese of Veszprém, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing of this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "This daughter of mine, whom you have seen,²⁶² became blind at the age of six in both eyes, and I took her on three occasions in a cart to the tomb of the saint Margaret, and the third time she was cured at the said tomb through the merits of this saint Margaret."

When asked his said daughter's name, he replied, "Petro-nella."

When asked if he knew the cause of her blindness, as he said, he replied, "This girl of mine was healthy in both eyes when

²⁶² The father speaks for his daughter, who was still too young to be interrogated.

de oculis suis, et postea per tres annos habuit dolorem in oculis, et per unum annum facta fuit ceca».

Interrogatus, qui venerunt cum eo, quando tertia vice duxit dictam filiam suam ad sepulcrum et sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Uxor mea Elisabeth et domina Benedicta, uxor Vitalis de eadem villa et non alius».

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt presentes, quando dicta sua puella sanata fuit ad sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Multi fuerunt presentes, sed nullum scio nominare».

Interrogatus, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit dicte filie sue, quando ducta fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, si aliqua verba dicebat, quando dicta filia sua sanata fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Dicebam in corde meo: ,Sancta Margaretha, sana filiam meam, et ipsa ieiunabit quolibet Sabatho usque ad mortem suam'».

Interrogatus, si dicta filia sua, postquam sanata fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, habuit cecitatem illam, vel similem, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dicta filia sua sanata fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Modo sumus in tertio anno».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Fuit in festo sancti Jacobi, aliter nescio de die».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Post missam».

Interrogatus, quot annos habet dicta filia sua, respondit: «Novem».

Interrogatus, quot annorum esset, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam quadraginta annos».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Non sum multum dives, sed habeo unde vivere possum».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

Martinus Rubini interpretes fuit in dicto predicto.

she was born and for two years, but later on she experienced pain in her eyes for three years, and within a year she became blind.”

When asked who came with him, when he took his said daughter the third time to the tomb, and she was cured, as he said, he replied, “My wife Elizabeth, and Benedicta wife of Vitalis from the same village. No one else.”

When asked who were present, when his said daughter was cured at the tomb, as he said, he replied, “There were a lot of people there, but I don’t know their names.”

When asked if any medicine had been given to, or made for his said daughter when she was brought to the said tomb, before she was cured, as he said, he replied, “No.”

When asked if he spoke any words, when his said daughter was cured at the said tomb, as he said, he replied, “I said in my heart, ‘Saint Margaret, cure my daughter, and she will fast every Sunday until her death.’”

When asked if his daughter, after she was cured at the said tomb, as he said, had that blindness or anything like it, he replied, “No.”

When asked how many years ago his said daughter was cured at the said tomb, as he said, he replied, “We’re now in the third year.”

When asked the month, he replied, “I don’t remember.”

When asked the day, he replied, “It was on the feast of Saint James, that’s all I know.”

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, “After mass.”

When asked how old his said daughter was, he replied, “Nine.”

When asked how old he was, he replied, “I think I’m forty.”

When asked if he were rich, or poor, he replied, “I’m not very rich, but I have enough to live on.”

When asked if he were servant or free, he replied, “Free.”

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, “No.”

Martin Rubini was the interpreter in the said statement just made.

EADEM DIE.²⁶³

XCI

Marcus de Caris, diocesis Waradiensis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Modo in festo sancti Jacobi secunda die est unus annus, quod ego eram in era mea et dixi familie mee, quod aliquid facerent, et statim sic cecidi ad terram, et habebam manus et alia membra tota adormitata, et non poteram me movere et [...]»^{a 264}

XCII

[Elisabeth uxor Bede de Cesu] ad sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Multi prope erant, sed ego nescio nomina ipsorum».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dicta filia sua incepit videre apud dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Quatuor».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Circa festum sancti Jacobi, aliter nescio de mense».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit dicte puellae, quando ducta fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si postea habuit illam cecitatem, respondit: «Dolorem habuit in oculis, sed non fuit ceca, et modo bene est sana».

Interrogata, quot annos habet dicta puella, respondit: «Novem».

Interrogata, per quot dies stetit ad eundem ad domum suam, postquam dicta filia sua incepit videre ad dictum sepulcrum,

^a *vacat*

²⁶³ September 8.

ON THE SAME DAY²⁶³

91

Marcus from Caris, of the diocese of Várad took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "It's been one year now, on the second day of the feast of Saint James, since I was in my untilled field and was telling my family to do something, when I fell on the ground and had my hands and other members so numbed out that I couldn't move..." [²⁶⁴]

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[Elizabeth, wife of Bede of Keszi] ... to the tomb, as she said, replied, "There were many people close by, but I don't know their names."

When asked how many years ago her said daughter began to see at the said tomb, as she said, she replied, "Four."

When asked the month, she replied, "It was around the feast of Saint James, that's all I know."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked if any medicine had been given to, or made for the said girl, when she was taken to the said tomb before she was cured, she replied, "No."

When asked if she had that blindness at a later date, she replied, "She had a pain in her eyes, but she wasn't blind, and now she's quite well."

When asked the age of the said girl, she replied, "Nine."

When asked how many days she stayed before going home, after her said daughter began seeing at the said tomb, as she said, she replied, "We went home the same day she started seeing."

²⁶⁴ The end of the deposition and the beginning of the next one are missing.

ut dixit, respondii: «Eadem die, quo incepit videre, ivimus ad domum nostram».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dicta virgo Margaretha mortua est, respondit: «Credo, quod sunt sex anni».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam viginti quinque annos».

Interrogata, si maritus eius est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Non est dives, sed habemus victum nostrum».

Interrogata, si est libera, vel ancilla, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE²⁶⁵

XCIII

Benedicta, uxor Vitalis de Cesu^a iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Ego cognovi istam Petronillam, filiam Bede, postquam fuit nata, et fuit per duos annos, quod bene videbat et postea facta fuit ceca, et ducta fuit per tres vices ad dictum sepulcrum, et in tertia vice in festo sancti Jacobi apud istud sepulcrum fuit resanata».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod fuit ceca, respondit: «Vidi cum oculis meis».

Interrogata, si scit causam, quare fuit ceca, respondit: «Ex parte Dei fuit hoc».

Interrogata, per quot annos fuit ceca, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod per tres vices ducta fuit ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Semper veni cum ea».

^a Casen *ms.*

²⁶⁵ September 9. But Fraknói believes that the depositions made on September 9, 10, and 11 are missing, assuming that in one day it would have been impossible to hear eight witnesses; the fragmentary depositions come from these days. For the re-

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "I think it is six years."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I think I'm twenty-five."

When asked if her husband was rich, or poor, she replied, "He's not rich, but we make a living."

When asked if she were free, or servant, she replied, "Free."

When asked if she had been coached, or suborned, she replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁶⁵

93

Benedicta, wife of Vitalis of Keszi, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "I have known this Petronilla, Bede's daughter, since she was born, and she saw well for two years and then got blind, and three times she was taken to the said tomb, and the fourth time, on the feast of Saint James, she was restored to health at this tomb."

When asked how she knew that she had been blind, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked if she knew the cause of her blindness, she replied, "It was an act of God."

When asked for how many years she was blind, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how she knew that she was taken on three occasions to the said tomb, she replied, "I always went with her."

construction of the missing parts, see V. Deák's calculations (who estimates 11–12 missing testimonies), see *La légende de sainte Marguerite de Hongrie et l'hagiographie dominicaine*, chapter 3.2.1

Interrogata, si alii venerunt cum ea, respondit: «Veniebamus cum cruce, et multi eramus, sed nescio nomina illorum».

Interrogata, si quando resanata fuit tertia vice, aliqui venerunt secum et cum dicta Petronilla ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Pater et mater sua».

Interrogata de nomine matris, respondit: «Elisabeth».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dicta puella resanata fuit apud dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Non eram ibi, sed postea vidi ipsam, quod sanata erat».

Interrogata, si scit, quod dicta Petronella fuerit ceca, postquam vidit eam sanam, ut dixit, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quomodo venit ad dictum sepulcrum dicta Petronella, quando sanata fuit, respondit: «In pedibus suis».

Interrogata, si venit per terram primas duas vices, respondit: «In curru».

Interrogata, si scit, ad cuius invocationem sanata fuit dicta Petronella, respondit: «Per tres vices veniebamus ad honorem sancte Margarethe, et sanata fuit, sicut ego dixi; quare plus me interrogatis?»

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod fuit sanata, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogata, quot annorum est dicta Petronella, respondit: «Duodecim annorum erat in festo sancti Michaelis».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Pauper».

Interrogata, si est libera, vel ancilla, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit, «Non».

When asked if others went with her, she replied, "We went with the cross, and there were many of us, but I don't know their names."

When asked if any came with her and the said Petronilla to the said tomb after she was restored to health on the third occasion, she replied, "Her father and mother."

When asked the mother's name, she replied, "Elizabeth."

When asked how she knew that the said girl was restored to health at the said tomb, she replied, "I wasn't there, but later I saw that she had been cured."

When asked if she knew about the said Petronilla being blind, after she saw her cured, as she said, she replied, "No."

When asked how the said Petronilla came to the tomb, when she was cured, she replied, "On her feet."

When asked if she came in contact with the ground the first two times, she replied, "In a cart."

When asked if she knew at whose invocation the said Petronilla was cured, she replied, "We came three times to honor saint Margaret, and she was cured, just as I said; why are you asking me more?"

When asked how many years ago she had been cured, she replied, "I don't remember."

When asked how old the said Petronilla was, she replied, "She was twelve on the feast of Saint Michael."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Seven."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if she were rich, or poor, she replied, "Poor."

When asked if she were free, or servant, she replied, "Free."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

²⁶⁷ Gaya appears in a charter, and must have been a village in Pozsony county—see Wertner, "A Margit-legenda," 35; in deposition 96 it is called Gaya in Corlochum, in the *Legenda maior* it is called Gaya in Zoroulouchun.

EADEM DIE.²⁶⁶

XCIV

Benedictus de villa Gaya in Morlochum²⁶⁷ Strigoniensis diocesis iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Devenit mihi propter peccatum meum, quod in quodam tempore factus fui cecus per tres annos, et nihil videre poteram, et audiavi per gentes, quod ista domina faciebat miracula, et feci per manum me duci ad istud sepulcrum, et semper rogabam sanctam Margaretham, quod faceret, quod ego possem videre, et quando fui apud sepulcrum, sensi in oculis, quod poteram videre manum meam, et ivi ad domum, et quando fui ibi, totus fui guaritus ita, quod bene videbam».

Interrogatus, quando devenit sibi [...] ^a ²⁶⁸

XCV

[...] quod rogavit eam, respondit: «Bene possunt esse quindecim anni».

Interrogatus, si vidit eam zoppam^b de duobus pedibus, vel de uno, respondit: «Vidi eam zoppam, sed nescio, utrum de uno pede, vel de duobus».

EADEM DIE²⁶⁹

XCVI

Benedictus de villa Gaya in Corlochum Strigoniensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

^a *vacat*

^b *zoppo ital.*

ON THE SAME DAY²⁶⁶

94

Benedict of the village of Gaya in Morlochum,²⁶⁷ of the diocese of Esztergom, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "Once because of my sin a blindness came upon me for three years, and I could see nothing, and I heard from some people that this lady was making miracles, and I had myself led by the hand to this tomb, and I kept on asking saint Margaret to cause me to see again, and when I was at the tomb, I felt in my eyes that I could see my hand, and I went home, and when I was there, I was completely cured, so that I could see well."

When asked when there came upon him [...] ²⁶⁸

95

[...] that he asked her, he replied, "A good fifteen years perhaps."

When asked if he saw her lame in both feet, or in one, he replied, "I saw her lame, but I don't know whether it was in one foot, or both."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁶⁹

96

Benedict of the village of Gaya in Corlochum, in the diocese of Esztergom, took the oath, as above.

²⁶⁸ The end of the deposition and the beginning of the following one are missing.

²⁶⁹ September 10.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Puella, que fuit hodie ante vos, est vicina mea, et semper vidi eam zoppam, postquam cognovi eam, sed quomodo fuerit sanata, ego nescio, quia non fui presens, sed omnibus dicit, quod bene sanata est».

Interrogatus de nomine dicte puelle, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod cognovit eam, respondit: «Bene possunt esse viginti anni».

Interrogata, si zoppa erat de uno pede tantum, vel de duobus? respondit: «Credo, de uno pede, sed nescio bene veritatem».

Interrogatus, si habebat tunc aliam infirmitatem in aliqua parte sui corporis, respondit: «Non vidi, quod haberet aliquam aliam infirmitatem».

EADEM DIE²⁷⁰

XCVII

Guniga de Gaya Strigoniensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata, super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Ego et Peccha simul longo tempore fuimus in una villa, et scio, quod semper fuit zoppa, et post octavam pentecostes, que modo fuit, in una die Veneris venimus ad istud sepulcrum, et vidi, quod ibi sanata fuit in hora de vespere, et quando andabamus ad casam, et intravimus navem, nescio quomodo, utrum per saltum, vel per aliud, tornavit sibi dictum malum, et in die Lune, que fuit in vigilia nativitatis sancte Marie, que fuit modo, apud dictum sepulcrum sanata fuit».

Interrogata, per quot annos fuerunt simul in una villa, respondit: «Nescio annos computare, sed est unus annus, quod comedimus semper de uno pane et stetimus in una casa».

²⁷⁰ September 10.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "The girl, who was before you today, is a neighbor of mine, and from the time I first knew her I always saw her lame, but how she was cured I don't know, because I wasn't present, but she told everyone she had been well and truly cured."

When asked the said girl's name, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how long he had known her, he replied, "A good twenty years."

When asked if she was lame in just one foot, or in both, he replied, "In one foot, I think, but I'm not sure."

When asked if at the time she had any other infirmity in any part of her body, he replied, "I didn't see that she had any other infirmity."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁷⁰

97

Guniga of Gaya, of the diocese of Esztergom, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "Peccha and I have lived for a long time on the same village, and I know that she was always lame, and after the eighth day of Pentecost just past, we came one Friday to this tomb, and I saw that she was cured there at the hour of vespers, and when we were going home and had gone into the boat, somehow or other, whether by jumping or something else, her said ailment came back, and on the Monday of the vigil of the Nativity of the Virgin Mary just past, she was cured at the said tomb."

When asked how long they had been together on the same village, she replied, "I can't count the years, but for the past year we have been eating the same bread and living together in the same house."

Interrogata, si fuit de uno pede zoppa, vel de duobus, respondit: «De duobus».

Interrogata, si habebat tunc aliam infirmitatem, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod sanata est modo ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Sedebamus iuxta sepulcrum, et ipsa incepit extendere pedes et movere manus et tremebat, et postea surrexit in pedibus, et exivimus de ecclesia».

Interrogata, si alii erant presentes tunc, respondit: «Multi erant sed nescio nomina ipsorum».

Interrogata, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi, postquam venit ad sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si aliqua verba dicebat dicta Peccha, quando erat apud dictum sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «Tenebam ipsam per manum, et audivi, quod ipsa rogabat Deum et sanctam Margaretham».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Septem anni sunt, sicut recorder».

Interrogata, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Pauper».

Interrogata, si est libera, vel serva, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quot annorum est ipsa testis, respondit: «Credo quod habeam viginti annos».

EADEM DIE²⁷¹

XCVIII

Soror Misa bigina,^{a272} filia quondam Cefe de Strigonio iuravit, ut supra.

^a bisma *ms.*

²⁷¹ September 10.

²⁷² The manuscript gives the nonsensical word “bisma.” The content and the *soror* title attest that she had been a Beguine. On Beguines and on this miracle, see *Legenda*

When asked if she was lame in one, or both feet, she replied, "In both."

When asked if she had any other ailment at the time, she replied, "No."

When asked how she knew that she had now been cured at the said tomb, she replied, "We were sitting next to the tomb, and she began on her own to stretch her feet and move her hands; she was trembling, and then she rose up on her feet, and we left the church."

When asked if there were others present at the time, she replied, "There were many, but I don't know their names."

When asked if any medicine had been given to or made for her, after she came to the tomb and before she was cured, as she said, she replied, "No."

When asked if the said Peccha said any words, when she was at the said tomb before her cure, she replied, "I was holding her by the hand, and I heard her asking God and saint Margaret."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Seven years, as I remember."

When asked if she were rich, or poor, she replied, "Poor."

When asked if she were free, or servant, she replied, "Free."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

When asked how old she, the witness, was, she replied, "I think I'm twenty."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁷¹

98

Sister Misa, a Beguine,²⁷² the daughter of the late Cefe of Esztergom, took the oath, as above.

vetus, 52 n. 16, 75 n. 48, 117 n. 89. The *Hungarian legend* gives her name as Meza and states that she was member of the Beguine community of Esztergom.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Habui quamdam magnam infirmitatem tribus annis in loco secreto, sed habeo verecundiam nominare, et rogavi Deum et beatam Margaretham, quod sanaret me de illa infirmitate, et promisi, quod venirem ad sepulcrum eius, et postea quando ascendi currum, occasione veniendi ad sepulcrum eius, incontinenti liberata fui, et propter hoc non steti, quod ego non venirem ad sepulcrum».

Interrogata, si aliqui sciebant, quod haberet infirmitatem predictam, respondit: «Sic, soror Osanna bigina et Margaretha bigina et Algent bigina, que stant in Strigonio».

Interrogata, si aliqui alii erant presentes, quando oravit Deum et beatam Margaretham, quod eam liberaret a dicta infirmitate et quod veniret ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Hoc ego dixi in corde meo».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando ascendit predictum currum et sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Osanna predicta et Elisabeth bigina, que venerunt mecum ad sepulcrum, et sciverunt quod liberata eram, quia statim dixi eis».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod liberata est ab infirmitate predicta, ut dixit, respondit: «Sunt quatuor anni et plus».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «In die beate Margarethe martyris fui liberata in mane, et aliter nescio nominare diem».

Interrogata, si postea habuit infirmitatem predictam, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi tunc, quando ascendit currum et sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Habeo quadraginta et plus, et bene per quadraginta annos fui bigina hic».

Interrogata, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «De tali regula quomodo possum esse divites?»

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I know nothing of this."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "I had a certain serious ailment for three years in a private place, which I'm ashamed to name, and I asked God and the blessed Margaret to cure me of that ailment, and I promised to come to her tomb, and afterwards when I got up on the wagon to come to her tomb, I was cured on the spot, and for that reason I could not resist going to the tomb."

When asked if any knew that she had the aforesaid ailment, she replied, "Yes, Sister Osanna, a Beguine, and Margaret, a Beguine, and Algent, a Beguine, who live in Esztergom."

When asked if there were others present, when she prayed to God and the blessed Margaret to deliver her from the said ailment, and she would come to the said tomb, as she said, she replied, "I said this in my heart."

When asked who were present, when she got up on the aforesaid wagon and was cured, as she said, she replied, "The aforesaid Osanna and Elizabeth, the Beguine, who came with me to the tomb, and knew that I had been delivered, because I told them at once."

When asked how many years ago she was delivered from the aforesaid ailment, as she said, she replied, "It's over four years ago."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the day, she replied, "I was delivered on the morning of the day of the blessed Margaret the Martyr; I can't name the day any other way."

When asked if she had had the aforesaid ailment afterwards, she replied, "No."

When asked if any medicine had been given to, or made for her, when she went up on the wagon and was healed, as she said, she replied, "No."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked her age, she replied, "I'm more than forty, and I've been a Beguine for a good forty years."

When asked if she were rich, or poor, she replied, "Belonging to such an order, how can I be rich?"

Interrogata, si est libera, vel serva, respondit: «Libera».
 Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».
 Predictus Martinus Rubini interpres fuit in dictis predictis.

DIE JOVIS TERTIA^{a273} INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM.
 XCIX

Gede de Teez,²⁷⁴ clericus ecclesie sancte Marie in dicta villa, diocesis Vespriemiensis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus de vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil volo dicere super hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Ego per tres annos eram ita infirmus, quod nullo modo poteram stare in pedibus meis, nec ire, nisi cum scabellis,²⁷⁵ et dicebam qualibet die decem ‚Ave Maria‘ ad honorem Marie, et decem ‚Pater noster‘ ad honorem sancte Margarethe, et Gregorius presbyter meus fecit me portare in curru suo ad sepulcrum sancte Margarethe, et in prima nocte, postquam fui ibi, dormiebam extra ecclesiam, ubi solent dormire infirmi, in platea apud portam crucis, et due domine apparuerunt mihi in somno et una dixit: ‚Iste pater adhuc iacet;‘ et ego dixi: ‚Domina, adhuc iaceo;‘ et ipsa dixit: ‚Surge et ambula;‘ et ego: ‚Quomodo possum surgere, quia vado cum scabellis?‘ et ipsa dixit: ‚Margaretha precipit tibi;‘ et incontinenti surrexi et ambulavi cum uno baculo usque ad ecclesiam, et tunc porta ecclesie aperta fuit et ivi ad sepulcrum, et adoravi sanctam Margaretham, et reddidi sibi grates de eo, quod sanaverat me, et steti ibi usque quo missa dicta fuit, et postea exivi, et in pedibus meis ivi rectus cum dicto baculo ad hospitium meum, et steti hic per quinque dies, et in omni die in missis et in vespers visitabam

^a quarta *ms.*

²⁷³ The manuscript says September 4, but Thursday fell on September 3 that year.

²⁷⁴ This village, called Tés, still exists in Veszprém county (cf. Wertner, “A Margit-legenda,” 38).

When asked if she were free, or servant, she replied, "Free."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

The aforesaid Martin Rubini was the interpreter in the statements given above.

ON THURSDAY, SEPTEMBER 3²⁷³

99

Gede of Teez,²⁷⁴ a cleric of the church of the Virgin Mary in the said town, of the diocese of Veszprém, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I don't want to make a statement about it."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "For three years I was so infirm that I couldn't stand on my feet at all, or move without blocks,²⁷⁵ and every day I used to say ten *Ave Marias* in honor of Mary and ten *Pater Noster* in honor of saint Margaret, and my priest, Gregory, had me carried in his wagon to the tomb of saint Margaret, and the first night I was there I slept outside the church, where the infirm are accustomed sleep, in a flat area near the door of the Cross, and two ladies appeared to me in a dream, and one said, 'This father is still lying down,' and I said, 'Lady, I'm still lying down,' and she said, 'Get up and walk,' and I said, 'How can I get up, seeing that I move on blocks?' and she said, 'Margaret orders you,' and I got up at once and walked with the aid of a stick to the church, and then the church door opened, and I went to the tomb and adored saint Margaret and thanked her for curing me, and I stayed there until mass was over, and then I went out and went upright on my own two feet with the aid of the said stick to my lodging, and I stayed here for five

²⁷⁵ This is perhaps closer to what is meant by *scabellis*, which is earlier glossed as *scabellis* = *scarunetis*, and translated: "wedges." The following descriptions also suggest that the man was too crippled to raise himself on crutches.

sepulcrum sancte Margarethe, et postea recessi, et ivi ad domum meam, aliquando in curru, aliquando per terram».

Interrogatus, si vicini sui sciebant, quod ita iret cum scabellis, ut dixit, respondit: «Omnes sciebant hoc».

Interrogatus de nominibus illorum, respondit: «Predictus Gregorius presbyter et Joannes, filius Eusin, Fabianus de eadem villa et Joannes, filius predicti Fabiani et Mattheus, clericus predictae ecclesiae et Marcus de eadem villa».

Interrogatus, qui venerunt tunc ad sepulcrum cum eo, respondit: «Dictus Gregorius sacerdos et dictus filius Eusin, Joannes et Bethe de eadem villa et nullus alius».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando surrexit et ivit cum baculo ad sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Due filie mee^a et filius meus, qui iacebant ibi apud me».

Interrogatus de nominibus illarum, respondit: «Una habet nomen Catharina et alia Margarethan.

Interrogatus de nomine filii, respondit: «Un».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando oravit beatam Margaretham, ut dixit, respondit: «Ecclesia erat plena de populis, et ego non cognoscebam eos».

Interrogatus, qui venerunt secum, quando ivit ad domum suam, quandoque curru, quandoque in pedibus suis, ut dixit, respondit: «Presbyter Petrus de villa Berin²⁷⁶ et presbyter Blasius de villa Verub²⁷⁷ et dicte filie mee et filius meus».

Interrogatus, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi, quando venit ad sepulcrum, ut dixit, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «Nulla».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore stetit sic sanus, respondit: «Usque modo, et laboro sicut alii homines».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod ita liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Duo».

Interrogatus de mense respondit: «De mense ascensionis».

^a due filius meus *ms.*

²⁷⁶ A village belonging to the archdeaconry of Fehérvár, today Csákerény.

days, and every day at mass and vespers I visited the tomb of saint Margaret, and then I departed and went home, sometimes in a wagon, sometimes on foot.”

When asked if his neighbors knew that he went like that on blocks, as he said, he replied, “They all knew it.”

When asked their names, he replied, “The aforesaid priest, Gregory, and John, son of Eusin, Fabian from the same town, and John, son of the aforesaid Fabian, and Matthew, a cleric of the aforesaid church, and Mark, a fellow townsman.”

When asked who came to the tomb with him at that time, he replied, “The said priest, Gregory, and the said son of Eusin, John, and Bethe from the same village, and no one else.”

When asked who were present, when he rose up and went with the aid of a cane to the tomb, as he said, he replied, “My two daughters and my son, who were bedded down there near me.”

When asked the daughters’ names, he replied, “One’s called Catherine, and the other Margaret.”

When asked the son’s name, he replied, “Un.”

When asked who were present, when he prayed to the blessed Margaret, as he said, he replied, “The church was full of people, and I didn’t know them.”

When asked who went with him, when he went home, sometimes on a wagon, sometimes on foot, as he said, he replied, “The priest Peter, from the village of Berény,²⁷⁶ and the priest Blasius, from the village of Vereb,²⁷⁷ and my said daughters and son.”

When asked if any medicine had been given to, or made for him, when he came to the tomb, as he said, before he was cured, he replied, “None.”

When asked how long he stayed thus healthy, he replied, “Until now, and I work just like the other men.”

When asked how many years ago he was thus delivered, as he said, he replied, “Two.”

When asked the month, he replied, “The month of Ascension.”

²⁷⁷ A parish in Fejér county, today belonging to Pázmánd.

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Die Jovis». De hora diei dixit.

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Quinquaginta».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Apud domum meam satis habeo pro me».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

EADEM DIE²⁷⁸

C

Gregorius presbyter ecclesie sancte Marie de Teez, Vesprimiensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil (scio) de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Septem anni sunt, quod ego sum presbyter apud istam ecclesiam, in qua ego modo sum, et vidi, quod iste bonus homo, qui habet nomen Gede, qui fuit modo ante vos, ita fuit infirmus per duos annos, quod ipse non poterat ire, nisi cum scabellis duobus, que tenebat in manibus; et quando audivimus, quod ista domina Margaretha faciebat miracula, ipse fecit se portari ad istud sepulcrum, et quando venit de sepulcro ad domum suam, venit sanus».

Interrogatus, quomodo fecit se portari ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «In curru».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit hoc, respondit: «Ego veni secum in curru, et unus filius eius ducebat currum, et quando fuimus ad sepulcrum, lassavi eum ibi, et tornavi ad ecclesiam meam».

Interrogatus, si alique alie persone tunc secum venerunt ad dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Sic, Joannes, filius Eusin de dicta villa, de aliis non recordor».

²⁷⁸ September 3.

When asked the day, he replied, "Thursday." He stated the hour earlier.

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "Fifty."

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, "In my house, I have enough for me."

When asked if he were servant, or free, he replied, "Free."

When asked if he had been coached, or suborned, he replied, "No."

ON THE SAME DAY²⁷⁸

100

Gregory, the priest of the church of the Virgin Mary of Teez, of the diocese of Veszprém, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing of it."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "I've been priest of this church I'm in now for seven years, and I saw that this good man called Gede, who has just been before you, was so infirm for two years that he couldn't go on his own without wedges that he held in his hands; and when we heard that this Lady Margaret was making miracles, he had himself carried to her tomb, and when he came home from the tomb, he came back whole."

When asked by what means he had himself carried to the said tomb, he replied, "On a wagon."

When asked how he knew this, he replied, "I went with him on the wagon, and his only son was leading it, and when we got to the tomb, I left him there and returned to my church."

When asked if any other persons went with them to the said tomb on that occasion, he replied, "Yes, John, the son of Eusin, from the same village; I don't remember who else."

Interrogatus, per quot dies stetit dictus Gede, antequam reverteretur tunc de dicto sepulcro ad domum suam sanatus, ut dixit, respondit: «Per novem dies».

Interrogatus, per quot dies potest homo ire in curru de isto sepulcro ad villam, in qua ipse stat, respondit: «Per diem unum».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod venit domum sanatus, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi eum, et intravit ecclesiam in pedibus suis, tunc cum uno bastone^a in manu».

Interrogatus, si aliqui alii erant presentes, respondit: «Sic, Matheus, clericus meus, et iste Joannes Eusin, de aliis non recordor».

Interrogatus, si aliqua verba dicebat dictus Gede veniendo in curru ad istud sepulcrum, respondit: «Dicebat ‚Pater noster‘, et ‚Ave Maria‘».

Interrogatus, si scit, quod aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi veniendo ad sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod venit ad istud sepulcrum, respondit: «In assumptione fuerunt duo anni».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «De mense pentecostes».

Interrogatus de die, quando venit domum sanatus, ut dixit, respondit: «Dominica erat».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «In mane».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore postea vidit eum sanum ab illa infirmitate, respondit: «Semper vidi eum postea sanum».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam sexaginta annos».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

^a bastano *ms.*; *recte* bastone *ital.*

When asked how many days the said Gede waited before returning home at that time from the tomb, cured, as he said, he replied, "Nine days."

When asked how long it would take a man to go by wagon from this tomb to the village on which he stayed, he replied, "A day."

When asked how he knew that he came home cured, as he said, he replied, "I saw him, and he came into the church on his own two feet, on that occasion with a cane in his hand."

When asked if any others were present, he replied, "Yes, Matthew, my cleric, and this John Eusin; the others I don't recall."

When asked if the said Gede spoke any words, when he was coming in the wagon to this tomb, he replied, "He kept saying the *Pater Noster* and the *Ave Maria*."

When asked if he knew of any medicine being given to, or made for him on his way to the tomb, before he was cured, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how many years ago he came to this tomb, he replied, "Two years ago last Assumption."

When asked the month, he replied, "The month of Pentecost."

When asked the day he came home cured, as he said, he replied, "It was a Sunday."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "In the morning."

When asked how long he saw him healthy and without that infirmity, he replied, "I always saw him healthy after that."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked his age, he replied, "I think I'm sixty."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

EADEM DIE²⁷⁹

CI

Joannes filius Busin^a de villa Teez, Vesprimiensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Clericus Gede, consanguineus meus, qui modo fuit ante vos, habuit infirmitatem, et etiam in illa infirmitate factus fuit sicut truncus, et non poterat ire sine scabellis; postquam audivimus, quod ista sancta Margaretha faciebat miracula, ipse fecit se portari ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et tornavit ad domum sanus».

Interrogatus, cuiusmodi infirmitatem habuit dictus Gede, respondit: «Acutam»

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod non poterat ire sine scabellis, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi cum oculis meis».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore stetit, quod non poterat ire sine scabellis, ut dixit, respondit: «Per tres annos».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus Gede fecerit se portari ad dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego audiui eum ascendere currum et remansi domi, et due sue filie et filius duxerunt eum».

Interrogatus de nominibus dictarum filiarum suarum, respondit: «Margaretha et Ginga».

Interrogatus de nomine filii, respondit: «Un».

Interrogatus, si aliqui alii sociaverunt eum tunc, quando venit ad dictum sepulcrum respondit: «Uga, filia Texe et Julia²⁸⁰ filius suus et Mattheus, filius Micho de eadem villa».

Interrogatus, quot diebus stetit dictus Gede ad revertendum domum sanus, ut dixit, respondit: «Duodecim dies in eundo, stando et redeundo».

^a recte Eusin

²⁷⁹ September 3.

ON THE SAME DAY²⁷⁹

101

John, the son of Eusin of the village of Teez, of the diocese of Veszprém, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing of this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "The cleric Gede, my relative, who has just been before you, had an infirmity, and it made him just about doubled-up, and he couldn't move without blocks; after we heard that this saint Margaret was doing miracles, he had himself carried to the tomb of this saint Margaret, and he came home cured."

When asked what kind of infirmity the said Gede had, he replied, "A severe one."

When asked how he knew that he could not go without blocks, as he said, he replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked how long it was that he could not go without blocks, as he said, he replied, "For three years."

When asked how he knew that the said Gede had himself carried to the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "I heard him getting up on the wagon, and I stayed at home, and his son and two daughters took him."

When asked the names of the said two daughters, he replied, "Margaret and Ginga."

When asked the son's name he replied, "Un."

When asked if any others accompanied him at the time, when he came to the said tomb, he replied, "Uga, the daughter of Texa, and Julia²⁸⁰ his son, and Matthew, the son of Micho, from the same village."

When asked how many days Gede stayed before coming home cured, as he said, he replied, "Twelve days, counting going, staying, and coming back."

²⁸⁰ Probably, Gyula.

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus Gede rediit domum sanus, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi eum venire cum baculo in pedibus suis».

Interrogatus, ubi erat, quando vidit eum venientem cum baculo, ut dixit, respondit: «In platea dicte ville».

Interrogatus, si aliqui erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Fabianus, filius Joannis et Joannes, filius dicti Fabiani et multi alii concurrerunt ad eum, sed non recordor de nominibus eorum».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dictus Gede rediit domum sanatus, ut dixit, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «De mense ascensionis».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «In meridie».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore vidit eum postea sanum, respondit: «Usque ad hodie».

Interrogatus, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi, quando venit ad sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Nihil scio».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dicta virgo Margaretha mortua est, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam sexaginta annos».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Pauper, quia depredatus sum».

Interrogatus, si est liber, vel servus, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus vel rogatus, respondit: «Non»,

Nicolaus, ecclesie sancti Petri clericus et Martinus de suburbio castri Bude et Martinus Rubini interpretes fuerunt in dictis predictis.

When asked how he knew that the said Gede came home cured, as he said, he replied, "I saw him coming on his feet, with a stick."

When asked where he was, when he saw him coming with a stick, as he said, he replied, "In the square of the said village."

When asked if there were any present at the time, he replied, "Fabian, the son of John, and John, son of the said Fabian, and many others ran to meet him, but I don't remember their names."

When asked how many years ago the said Gede returned home cured, as he said, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the month, he replied, "In the month of Ascension."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "At midday."

When asked how long he saw him healthy after that, he replied, "To this very day."

When asked if any medicine had been given to, or made for him, when he came to the tomb before his cure, as he said, he replied, "I don't know of any."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I think I'm sixty."

When asked if he were rich, or poor, he replied, "Poor, because I was robbed."

When asked if he were free, or servant, he replied, "Free."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

Nicholas, cleric of the church of Saint Peter, and Martin from the suburb of Buda Castle, and Martin Rubini were the interpreters in the foregoing depositions.

EADEM DIE.²⁸¹

CII

Petrus, presbyter ecclesie sancti Jacobi de Guarcon,²⁸² Strigoniensis diocesis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Ego vidi quemdam puerum, qui vocatur Stephanus, filius domini comitis Budo²⁸³ de Gaya, Strigoniensis diocesis, qui habebat spiritum immundum, et ductus fuit ad sepulcrum virginis Margarethe, et ibi stetit per tres menses, et sanatus fuit, sed non bene, et quando fuit reversus domum, iterum volebat redire ad dictum sepulcrum, sed pater eius non permisit eum venire, cum nondum bene liberatus fuisset; postea ignorante patre, venit ad dictum sepulcrum, et stetit forte per tres dies, vel quatuor, et fuit bene sanatus et liberatus, et sequitur modo curiam istius regis».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod habebat spiritum immundum, ut dixit, respondit: «Quia vidi cum oculis meis eum volentem se precipitare in ignem, aliquando in aquam, aliquando patrem suum volebat percutere cum lapidibus; et etiam tollebat corporalia de altari meo, et iactavit in terram, et saltabat in ecclesia, sicut homo qui vexabatur a demonio, et hec omnia fecit me vidente in festo sancti Jacobi; et taliter ego scio, quod vexabatur a spiritu immundo».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore vexatus fuit a demonio, ut dixit, respondit: «Per annum et plus».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando fecit predicta, respondit: «Erat tunc festum ecclesie mee, et erant ibi tres presbyteri et dictus comes, pater illius pueri et bene viginti homines, qui associabant dictum comitem, et credo, quod erant ibi plus, quam ducenti homines».

²⁸¹ September 3.

²⁸² The locality Várkony still exists in Pozsony county.

ON THE SAME DAY²⁸¹

102

Peter, priest of the church of Saint James of Várkony,²⁸² of the diocese of Esztergom, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing of this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "I saw a certain boy called Stephen, son of the lord *Comes* Budo²⁸³ of Gaya, of the diocese of Esztergom, who had an unclean spirit, and he was taken to the tomb of the virgin Margaret, and stayed there for three months, and was cured, but not fully, and when he went back home, he wanted to come again to the said tomb, but his father didn't let him, although he hadn't been fully delivered; later, he came to the said tomb without his father's knowledge, and stayed maybe three days, or four, and he was well and truly healed and delivered, and he's now at the King's court."

When asked how he knew that he had an unclean spirit, as he said, he replied, "Because with my own eyes I saw him trying to throw himself on the fire, or sometimes into the water, and sometimes he tried to beat his father with rocks; and he even took the altar cloth from my altar and threw it on the ground, and leaped around in the church, like a man wracked by a demon, and he did all this in my sight on the feast of Saint James; and that's how I know that he was possessed of an unclean spirit."

When asked how long he was plagued by a demon, as he said, he replied, "For more than a year."

When asked who were present when he did the aforesaid things, he replied, "There was a feast at that time in my church, and three priests were there, and the said count, the boy's father, and a good twenty attendants on the said count. I think there were more than two hundred people there."

²⁸³ In witness account 103, he is called Boda.

Interrogatus de nominibus presbyterorum, respondit: «Presbyter Petrus ecclesie sancti Bartolomei de Cata, et alius Thomas, presbyter ecclesie sancti Martini de Pada, Joannes, presbyter ecclesie sancti Stephani de Curt».

Interrogatus de nominibus aliorum, qui erant tunc ibi, respondit: «Martinus de Gaya et Teber de Luce et Gato de Gaya, et multos alios possem nominare».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod ductus fuit ad sepulcrum predictum, respondit: «Vidi, quod captus fuit, et positus in curru, ut duceretur ad dictum sepulcrum, et duo servientes patris illius tenebant eum».

Interrogatus, in quo loco vidit hoc fieri, respondit: «In loco de Gaya».

Interrogatus de nominibus illorum, qui tunc venerunt cum dicto puero, respondit: «Thomas et Petrus de Gaya et Micho et Stephanus de Cares, qui sunt servientes dicti comitis et multi alii secum venerunt».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod stetit ibi per tres menses, ut dixit, respondit: «Hoc audiui a Micho, serviente dicti comitis».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod sanatus fuit, sed non bene, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi ipsum, quando ductus fuit ad sepulcrum, et erat in eo statu, quem dixi, et postquam venit domum, vidi eum in meliori statu; sed ad sepulcrum non fui secum».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, in quo loco tunc vidit eum, respondit: «In foro».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod secunda vice venit ad sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Hoc audiui a patre suo et a Gregorio presbytero, parochiano suo».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus puer sanatus sit apud dictum sepulcrum, respondit: «Dictus comes, pater illius pueri surrexit in predicatione et dixit, quod dictus filius suus sanatus erat apud sepulcrum sancte Margarethe».

Interrogatus, ubi fiebat tunc dicta predicatio, respondit: «In Gaya, et frater Andreas, subprior in Jaurino de ordine predicatorum predicabat ibi».

When asked the names of the priests, he replied, "Peter, the priest of the church of Saint Bartholomew of Káta, and another, Thomas, priest of the church of Saint Martin in Padány, and John, priest of the church of Saint Stephen in Kürt."

When asked the names of others who were there at the time, he replied, "Martin of Gaya and Teber of Lucs and Gato of Gaya, and I could name many others."

When asked how he knew that he was taken to the aforesaid tomb, he replied, "I saw him seized and put on the wagon, to be led to the said tomb, and two of his father's servants were holding him."

When asked where he saw this happening, he replied, "In a place in Gaya."

When asked the names of those who came at that time with the said boy, he replied, "Thomas and Peter of Gaya, and Micho, and Stephen of Karcza, who are servientes of the said count, and many others came with them."

When asked how he knew that he stayed there for three months, as he said, he replied, "I heard it from Micho, serviens of the said count."

When asked how he knew that he was cured, but not fully, as he said, he replied, "I saw him, when he was taken to the tomb, and he was in the condition I said, and when he came home, I saw him improved; but I wasn't with them at the tomb."

When asked who were present, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked where he saw him at that time, he replied, "In the marketplace."

When asked how he knew that he went a second time to the tomb, as he said, he replied, "I heard it from his father and from Gregory, his parish priest."

When asked how he knew that the said boy was cured at the said tomb, he replied, "The said count, the boy's father, stood up at the time of the sermon and told that his son had been cured at the tomb of saint Margaret."

When asked where the said sermon took place, he replied, "In Gaya, and Brother Andrew, the sub-prior of the Dominican order in Győr, was preaching there."

Interrogatus de nominibus aliorum, qui tunc erant ibi, respondit: «Thomas, presbyter ecclesie sancti Andree de villa Latus et presbyter Gregorius eiusdem ville de Gaya».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus Stephanus sequitur curiam regis, respondit: «A patre suo, aliter nescio, quia non vidi postea eum».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod ita sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Unus annus et plus».

Interrogatus, de quo mense audivit, quod bene sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Ultima die mensis Augusti, sicut mihi videtur».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Quadam die Lune».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Post missam».

Interrogatus, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi, postquam ductus fuit ad sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Triginta, sicut credo, et undecim anni sunt, quod ego sum presbyter».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non»

Predictus testis deposuit latino sermone.

EADEM DIE²⁸⁴

CIII

Joannes presbyter ecclesie sancti Stephani de Curt, diocesis Jauriensis, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Vidi quendam filium comitis Boda, qui vocatur Stephanus, sanari apud sepulcrum sancte Margarethe, qui ante vexabatur a demonio».

²⁸⁴ September 3 or 4.

When asked the names of the others, who were there at the time, he replied, "Thomas, the priest of the church of Saint Andrew in the village of Latus, and Gregory, the priest of the same town of Gaya."

When asked how he knew that the said Stephen was a courtier of the King, he replied, "From his father, that's all I know, because I haven't seen him since."

When asked how many years ago he was so cured, as he said, he replied, "More than a year ago."

When asked in what month he heard that he had been fully cured, as he said, he replied, "On the last day of August, I think."

When asked the day, he replied, "On a Monday."

When asked the time of day, he replied, "After mass."

When asked if any medicine had been given to, or made for him after he was taken to the tomb, before he was cured, as he said, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "Thirty, I think, and I have been a priest for eleven years."

When asked if he had been coached, or suborned, he replied, "No."

The aforesaid witness gave his deposition in Latin.

ON THE SAME DAY²⁸⁴

103

John, priest of the church of Saint Stephen in Kürt, of the diocese Győr, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I know nothing of this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "I saw a certain son of Count Boda, called Stephen, who was plagued by a demon, cured at the tomb of saint Margaret."

Interrogatus, si aliqua verba dicta fuerunt apud dictum sepulcrum pro dicto puero, antequam sanaretur, ut dixit, respondit: «Multe persone orabant pro dicto puero, et rogabant beatam Margaretham, quod sibi faceret misericordiam».

Interrogatus, que fuerunt ille persone, que ita orabant pro dicto puero, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio eas nominare».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus puer, antequam esset liberatus, vexaretur a demonio, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi oculis meis».

Interrogatus, si vidit dictum puerum facientem aliqua, per que videretur esse demoniacus, respondit: «Vidi, quod voluit percutere patrem suum cum lapidibus, et percutiebat mulieres, que erant in ecclesia, et vela de capitibus earum trahebat, et vidi quod ipse volebat se proicere in ignem, et volebat ire ad proiciendum se in aquam, et tunc pater suus fecit eum capi».

Interrogatus, ubi erant tunc, quando dictus puer ita faciebat, respondit: «In Gaya, in domo Gregorii, presbyteri illius ville».

Interrogatus, in quo die fuerunt predicta, respondit: «In festo sancti Petri».

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt tunc presentes, respondit: «Comes Teber, comes Martinus, comes Cucoe et Gensa presbyter ecclesie sancti Michaelis de Petor, de aliis non recordor».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore fuit sic demoniacus, ut dixit, respondit: «Per annum».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod dictus puer ita sanatus fuit apud dictum sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Non computavi annos».

Interrogatus de mense, quo sanatus fuit, respondit: «In Augusto».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «In hora misse».

Interrogatus, si postquam ita sanatus fuit, ut dixit, habuit illam infirmitatem, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi, postquam venit ad dictum sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «Non».

When asked if any words had been spoken at the said tomb on behalf of the said boy before he was cured, as he said, he replied, "Many people were praying for the said boy, and they were asking the blessed Margaret to show him mercy."

When asked who those people were, who were praying in this way for the said boy, as he said, he replied, "I don't know their names."

When asked how he knew that the said boy was plagued by a demon before he was cured, as he said, he replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked if he saw the said boy doing anything, by which he might be said to be demon-possessed, he replied, "I saw him trying to hit his father with stones, and he hit women who were in church, and dragged the veils off their heads, and I saw him trying to throw himself on a fire and to go off and throw himself into water, and it was then his father had him seized."

When asked where they were at the time, when the said boy was acting in this fashion, he replied, "In Gaya, in the home of Gregory, the priest of that town."

When asked on what day the aforesaid things happened, he replied, "On the feast of Saint Peter."

When asked who were present at the time, he replied, "Count Teber, Count Martin, Count Cucoe, and Gensa, the priest of the church of Saint Michael in Petor; I don't remember the others."

When asked how long he was demon-possessed in this way, as he said, he replied, "For a year."

When asked how many years ago the said boy was cured in this way at the said tomb, as he said, he replied, "I haven't counted the years."

When asked the month, in which he was cured, he replied, "In August."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "At the hour of mass."

When asked if, after he was so cured, as he said, he suffered from that ailment, he replied, "No."

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam quadraginta annos».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

Dominicus presbyter ecclesie sancte crucis de calidis aquis interpres fuit in dicto predicto.

EADEM DIE²⁸⁵

CIV

Elisabeth bigina, que stat in Strigonio, iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nescio de hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Scio, quod soror Misa, bigina de Strigonio²⁸⁶ venit ad istud sepulcrum, et ego veni secum, et sanata fuit de infirmitate, quam habebat, nec postea habuit illam infirmitatem».

Interrogata, cuiusmodi infirmitatem habebat, respondit: «Exibat sanguis de corpore suo, et non poterat surgere de lecto».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod habebat predictam infirmitatem, respondit: «Vidi hoc».

Interrogata, quanto tempore habuit predictam infirmitatem, respondit: «Per tres annos».

Interrogata, quomodo venit ad dictum sepulcrum, quando sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «In curru».

Interrogata, si alie persone venerunt secum tunc, respondit: «Ego et Osanna bigina de Strigonio».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod sanata fuit ad sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi, quod postea non exivit sanguis de corpore suo».

²⁸⁵ September 3 or 4.

²⁸⁶ Witness 98.

When asked if any medicine had been given to, or made for him after he went to the said tomb, before he was cured, he replied, "No."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked his age, he replied, "I think I'm forty."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

Dominic, priest of the church of Holy Cross at Felhévíz was the interpreter in the foregoing deposition.

ON THE SAME DAY²⁸⁵

104

Elizabeth, a Beguine, resident in Esztergom, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I don't know about it."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "I know that Sister Misa,²⁸⁶ a Beguine of Esztergom, came to this tomb, and I came with her, and she was cured of an ailment she had, and didn't have it afterwards."

When asked what kind of ailment she had, she replied, "There was blood coming out of her body, and she couldn't get out of bed."

When asked how she knew that she had the aforesaid ailment, she replied, "I saw it."

When asked how long she had the aforesaid ailment, she replied, "For three years."

When asked by what means she came to the said tomb, when she was cured, as she said, she replied, "In a wagon."

When asked if other people came with her at that time, she replied, "Myself and Sister Osanna, a Beguine from Esztergom."

When asked how she knew that she had been cured at the tomb, as she said, she replied, "I saw the blood wasn't coming from her body afterwards."

Interrogata, si aliqua verba dixit dicta Misa apud sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «Stabat apud sepulcrum et dicebat: ‚Sancta Margaretha, habeas misericordiam de me’».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando dicebat predicta verba et sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Multi erant presentes, quos nescio nominare».

Interrogata, si aliqua medicina data, vel facta fuit sibi, postquam venit ad dictum sepulcrum, antequam sanaretur, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod sanata fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Credo, quod sint quinque anni, sed nescio bene».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «In die Lune».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Post missam».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam triginta annos».

Interrogata, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Pauper».

Interrogata, si est serva, vel libera, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

Predictus presbyter Dominicus interpres fuit in dicto predicto.

DIE SABBATHI DUODECIMA INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM.

CV

Osanna bigina de Strigonio iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Audivi, quod fuit bona domina et sancta et faciebat magnam penitentiam».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Vidi cum oculis, quod ceci illuminati sunt, et zoppi erecti sunt».

When asked if the said Misa spoke any words at the tomb, before she was cured, she replied, "She stood at the tomb and said, 'Holy Margaret, have mercy on me.'"

When asked who were present, when she spoke the aforesaid words and was cured, as she said, she replied, "There were many there, but I can't give their names."

When asked if any medicine was given to, or made for her, after she came to the said tomb, before she was cured, she replied, "No."

When asked how many years ago she had been cured, as she said, she replied, "I believe it's been five years, but I'm not sure."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the day, she replied, "A Monday."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "After mass."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I think I'm thirty."

When asked if she was rich, or poor, she replied, "Poor."

When asked if she were servant or free, she replied, "Free."

When asked if she had been coached, or suborned, she replied, "No."

The aforesaid priest, Dominic, was the interpreter in the foregoing deposition.

ON SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER 12

105

Osanna, a Beguine of Esztergom, took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I have heard that she was a good and holy lady, and she did heavy penance."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "I have seen with my own eyes the blind given sight and the lame raised up."

Interrogata, ubi vidit hoc, respondit: «Ante monasterium istius sancte Marie de insula».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi ceci et claudi, quos vidit illuminari et erigi, ut dixit, respondit: «Non cognosco eos, qui sunt de ultra silvas, nisi unum de Sorlou, Strigoniensis diocesis, quem ante cognoscebam,²⁸⁷ qui habebat pedem curvum et qui modo sanus est».

Interrogata de nomine pueri, respondit: «Nescio nomen eius».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod sanus est modo, respondit: «Nescio si modo sanus sit, sed tertius annus est, quod sanatus fuit».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod sanatus fuit, ut dixit, modo est tertius annus, respondit: «Elisabeth^{a288} bigina de Strigonio dixit mihi».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod habebat pedem curvum, respondit: «Quia non poterat ire sine scabellis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod non poterat ire sine scabellis, respondit: «Elisabeth^b bigina de Strigonio mihi dixit».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando vidit cecos illuminari et zoppos erigi, ut dixit, respondit: «Cina bigina et Echete bigina de Strigonio et multi alii, sed nescio nomina illorum».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod vidit predicta, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio, quot anni sunt, sed vadam domum et interrogabo».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «In vespere».

Interrogata, si aliqua verba dicta fuerunt per dictos claudos et cecos, qui ita sanati fuerunt, ut dixit, orando, respondit: «Non audivi». Item dixit: «Anno isto vidi quemdam mutum, qui sanatus fuit, et audivi eum loqui».

Interrogata de nomine illius muti, respondit: «Nescio, quia aliunde ductus fuit».

^a Predicta Osanna *ms.*

^b Osanna *ms.*

²⁸⁷ Just as before, it probably refers to Transylvania.

When asked where she saw this, she replied, "In front of the monastery of this Holy Mary on the Island."

When asked who those blind and lame were, whom she saw being given sight and raised up, as she said, she replied, "I don't know them, they are from beyond the woods,²⁸⁷ except one from Salló in the diocese of Esztergom, whom I knew before, and who had a crooked leg and is now healthy."

When asked the boy's name, she replied, "I don't know it."

When asked how she knew that he was now healthy, she replied, "I don't know if he's healthy now, but it's been three years now since his cure."

When asked how she knew that he was cured, as she said, three years ago, she replied, "Elizabeth,²⁸⁸ a Beguine from Esztergom, told me."

When asked how she knew that he had a twisted foot, she replied, "Because he couldn't go without crutches."

When asked how she knew that he could not go without crutches, she replied, "Elizabeth, the nun from Esztergom, told me."

When asked who were present when she saw the blind being given sight and the lame raised up, as she said, she replied, "The Beguine Cina and the Beguine Echete from Esztergom, and many others, but I don't know their names."

When asked how many years ago she saw the aforesaid things, as she said, she replied, "I don't know how many years ago, but I'll go home and ask."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "vespers."

When asked if any words were spoken by the said blind and lame people, who were cured in this way, as she said, by prayer, she replied, "I didn't hear." She also said, "This year I saw a certain mute, who was cured, and I heard him speaking."

²⁸⁸ The manuscript says Osanna, but as she is the witness, she must be referring to Elizabeth, as below.

Interrogata, si ante cognoscebat eum, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod esset mutus, respondit: «Multi dicebant et specialiter illi, qui duxerunt eum».

Interrogata de nominibus illorum, respondit: «Nescio, quia fuerunt de remotis partibus».

Interrogata de loco, ubi sanatus fuit, respondit: «In curia fratrum, ante refectarium».

Interrogata, ubi audivit eum loqui, ut dixit, respondit: «In eodem loco».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt presentes, quando sanatus fuit et audivit eum loqui, ut dixit, respondit: «Dicta Cina bigina et multi alii, quorum nomina nescio».

Interrogata, si vidit eum, postquam sanatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Non».

Interrogata de mense, quando hoc fuit, respondit: «In octava trinitatis, aliter nescio de mense».

De die dixit [...] ^a

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Inter nonam et vespas».

Interrogata, si scit, quod Misa bigina aliquam infirmitatem habuit, postquam mortua est ista virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Sic, quia sanguis exibat de corpore suo, et quando ascendit currum causa veniendi ad sepulcrum sancte Margarethe, statim sanata fuit».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod sanguis exiret de corpore dicte Mise, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi cum oculis meis».

Interrogata, quanto tempore habuit illam infirmitatem, respondit: «Ego nescio bene, sed credo quod minus quam per unum annum».

Interrogata, si presens erat, quando dicta Misa sanata fuit, quando ascendit dictum currum, ut dixit, respondit: «Ipsa dixit mihi statim, quando rediit a sepulcro».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod dicta Misa dixit sibi, quod sanata erat, ut dixit, respondit: «Non recordor, sed credo, quod sunt quinque anni».

^a *vacat*

When asked the name of that mute, she replied, "I don't know it, because he was brought from elsewhere."

When asked if she knew him before, she replied, "No."

When asked how she knew he was a mute, she replied, "Many said he was, and in particular those who brought him."

When asked their names, she replied, "I don't know, because they were from far-away parts."

When asked the place where he was cured, she replied, "In the brothers' courtyard, in front of the refectory."

When asked where she heard him speaking, as she said, she replied, "In the same place."

When asked who were present, when he was cured and she heard him speak, as she said, she replied, "Cina, the said Beguine, and many others, whose names I don't know."

When asked if she saw him after he was cured, as she said, she replied, "No."

When asked the month this happened, she replied, "On the eighth day of Trinity, that's all I know about the month." She had told the day [...].

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "Between nones and vespers."

When asked if she knew that the Beguine Misa had any infirmity after this virgin Margaret died, she replied, "Yes, because blood issued from her body, and when she got up on a cart to come to saint Margaret's tomb, she was instantly cured."

When asked how she knew that blood was issuing from the body of the said Misa, as she said, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked how long she suffered from that infirmity, she replied, "I'm not sure, but for less than a year, I think."

When asked if she were present when the said Misa was cured, when she got up on the cart, as she said, she replied, "She told me about it herself, the moment she returned from the tomb."

When asked how many years ago the said Misa told her that she had been cured, as she said, she replied, "I don't remember, but I think it was five years ago."

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, ad cuius invocationem sanata fuit, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, si dicta Misa habuit postea dictam infirmitatem, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot annorum est ipsa testis, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam triginta quinque annos».

Interrogata, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Satis habeo pro me».

Interrogata, si est libera, vel serva, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

Dominus Martinus prior sancti Michaelis de insula interpres fuit in dicto predicto.

EADEM DIE²⁸⁹

CVI

Elena, uxor Martini de aquis calidis²⁹⁰ iuravit ut supra.

Interrogata super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogata, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Filius Bontii, qui habet nomen Benedictus, venit ex scholis post vesperas, et mater sua dedit sibi manducare, et posuit eum ad lectum, et dixit matri sue, quod ipsa signaret eum et diceret ‚Ave Maria‘, sed nescio, si fecerit crucem et dixerit ‚Ave Maria‘, et pater suus sedit, et voluit cenare, et nondum habebat ante scutellam, et cecidit murus, et petre ceciderunt longe a lecto, ubi iacebat puer, et postea petre cooperuerunt assides et lectum, ubi iacebat puer, et nesciebat, ubi esset puer, et credebant, quod ossa non possent in-

²⁸⁹ September 12.

²⁹⁰ This miracle is included in the *Legenda vetus*, 103 n. 83.

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the day, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked at whose invocation she was cured, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked if she said Misa had the same ailment afterwards, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how old she, the witness, was, she replied, "I think I'm thirty-five."

When asked if she was wealthy or poor, she replied, "I have enough for myself."

When asked if she were free or servant, she replied, "Free."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

Lord Martin, prior of St. Michael's of the Island was the interpreter in the aforesaid statement.

ON THE SAME DAY²⁸⁹

106

Elena, wife of Martin of Felhévíz,²⁹⁰ took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, she replied, "I know nothing about this."

When asked if she wanted to say anything about miracles, she replied, "The son of Bontius, who is called Benedict, came from school after vespers, and his mother gave him something to eat and put him to bed; and he told his mother to make the sign of the cross over him and say the *Ave Maria*, but I don't know if she did make the sign of the cross and say the *Ave Maria*; and his father sat down, wanting his dinner, and he did not yet have his plate before him when the wall fell down, and stones fell all about the bed where the boy was lying, and after that, the stones covered the bench and the bed where the boy was lying, and he didn't know where the boy was, and they thought they wouldn't be able to find a bone in the boy's body, and they dragged him from the stones

venire in ipso puero, et traxerunt eum de lapidibus cum cappis, et nulla ossa eius habebant animam, et mortuum portaverunt in curiam, et venerunt ibi multi homines et multe femine, et dicebant: ‚Iste surget, quando isti qui mortui sunt iam fuerunt septem anni, surgent’; et sic stetit usque ad mediam partem noctis, et postea vidimus, quod habebat animam circa forcellam pectoris, et non vidimus, quod ipse haberet animam in alia parte corporis sui, et pater suus venit sequenti die in mane ad sepulcrum sancte Margarethe virginis, et quando venit ad domum, (puer) locutus fuit et dixit: ‚Non faciatis mihi malum’, et illa die surrexit et ambulavit, et dixit, quod nullum malum habebat, et dixit, quod darent sibi ad manducandum de una gallina».

Interrogata, quot annorum erat tunc dictus Benedictus, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, unde est dictus Bontius, pater dicti pueri, respondit: «De calidis aquis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dictus puer venerat ex scholis, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi hoc oculis meis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod mater dicti Benedicti dederat sibi comedere in dicta hora, respondit: «Vidi hoc».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod posuit eum ad iacendum, respondit: «Vidi hoc, quia eram secum in eadem domo».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dictus Benedictus dixit tunc matri sue, quod signaret eum et diceret ‚Ave Maria’, respondit: «Audiui eum, quia eram secum in eadem domo».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod petre predicte cooperuerunt assides et lectum, ubi iacebat dictus puer, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi oculis meis».

Interrogata, si aliquae persone sedebant tunc cum patre suo, quando volebat cenare, ut dixit, respondit: «Sic, mater illius pueri, Elisabeth et Agnes sorores eius; et ego non sedebam adhuc».

Interrogata, qui erant illi, qui credebant, quod ossa non possent inveniri in ipso puero, ut dixit, respondit: «Cedre et Blasius et Laurentius et multi homines, et femine erant ibi, quos nescio nominare propter tristitiam, quam habebam, quia ego sum soror patris istius pueri».

on cloaks, and no bones were alive within him, and they carried him dead to the courtyard, and many men and women gathered there and said, 'He will get up, when those get up who have been dead for seven years'; and he remained that way until the middle of the night, and then we saw that there was life in him around the fork of his breast, and we saw no life in him in any other part of his body, and the next morning his father went to the tomb of the holy virgin Margaret, and when he came home, the boy spoke and said, 'Don't hurt me,' and on that day he rose up and walked around, and said that he had no distress, and that they should give him some chicken to eat."

When asked how old the said Benedict was at that time, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked where the said Bontius, father of the said boy, was from, she replied, "From Felhévíz."

When asked how she knew that the said boy had come from the school, as she said, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked how she knew that the mother of the said Benedict had given him something to eat at that hour, she replied, "I saw it."

When asked how she knew that she had put him to bed, she replied, "I saw it, because I was with her in the same house."

When asked how she knew that the said Benedict told his mother at that time to make the sign of the cross over him and say an *Ave Maria*, she replied, "I heard him, because I was with him in the same house."

When asked how she knew that the aforesaid stones covered the bench and the bed where the said boy was lying, as she said, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked if any persons were sitting at that time with his father, when he wanted to eat, as she said, she replied, "Yes, the boy's mother, and his sisters Elizabeth and Agnes; I myself was no longer sitting there."

When asked who they were, who thought that no bones would be able to be found in the boy, as she said, she replied, "Cedre and Blasius and Lawrence and many other men and women

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod predicti homines credebant, quod non possent inveniri ossa in ipso puero, respondit: «Ego audiui eos, quod ipsi dicebant hoc».

Interrogata, unde sunt illi homines, quos propriis nominibus nominavit, respondit: «Omnes sunt de calidis aquis».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi, qui traxerunt dictum puerum cum cappis de lapidibus, ut dixit, respondit: «Andreas, Michael et Cedre et Laurentius».

Interrogata, unde sunt, respondit: «De calidis aquis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod traxerunt eum de lapidibus, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi hoc oculis meis».

Interrogata, si tetigit tunc dictum puerum, respondit: «Non, quia non dimittebant me ire ad eum».

Interrogata, si lapides vel ligna fecerunt aliquam rupturam in aliqua parte corporis sui, respondit: «Nullam».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod nulla ossa eius habebant animam, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi hoc».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi, qui portaverunt eum mortuum in curtem, ut dixit, respondit: «Andreas et Giurch».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod portaverunt eum mortuum, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi hoc».

Interrogata, ubi est illa curtis, respondit: «Illa curtis est patris ipsius pueri».

Interrogata, qui fuerunt illi multi homines et femine, qui venerunt illuc, et dicebant: 'Iste surget, quando surgent illi, qui mortui sunt iam sunt septem anni', respondit: «Giurch et Mouthonus de aquis calidis et alii, quos nescio nominare».

Inrerrogata, quomodo scit, quod dixerunt predicta verba, respondit: «Audiui eos».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod sic stetit dictus puer usque ad mediam partem noctis, respondit: «Ego vidi hoc».

Interrogata, si alique alie persone erant ibi, quando stabat sic dictus puer, respondit: «Sic, Nicolaus, Blasius, Stephanus de calidis aquis».

Interrogata, que fuerunt alie persone, que viderunt, quod postea habuit animam circa forcillam dicti pectoris, ut dixit, respondit: «Predicti Nicolaus, Blasius et pater et mater et sorores pueri».

who were present. I can't give their names because of the sadness I was feeling, because I'm the sister of the boy's father."

When asked how she knew that the aforesaid people believed that bones would not be able to be found in the boy, she replied, "I heard them saying it."

When asked where those people were from, whose first names she had given, she replied, "They are all from Felhévíz."

When asked who they were, who dragged the said boy from the stones with mantles, as she said, she replied, "Andrew, Michael, and Cedre and Lawrence."

When asked where they were from, she replied, "From Felhévíz."

When asked how she knew that they dragged him from the stones, as she said, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked whether she touched the said boy, she replied, "No, because they didn't let me go to him."

When asked if the stones or beams ruptured him in any part of his body, she replied, "None."

When asked how she knew that there was no life in any of his bones, as she said, she replied, "I saw it."

When asked who they were who carried him dead into the courtyard, as she said, she replied, "Andrew and Giurch."

When asked how she knew that they carried him dead, as she said, she replied, "I saw it."

When asked where that courtyard is, she replied, "It's the yard of the boy's father."

When asked who those many men and women were, who came there and said, 'He'll rise when they rise who have been dead seven years,' she replied, "Giurch and Mouthonus from Felhévíz, and others I can't name."

When asked how she knew that they said the aforesaid things, she replied, "I heard them."

When asked how she knew that the said boy remained in that condition until the middle of the night, she replied, "I saw it."

When asked if any others were present when the boy remained in that condition, she replied, "Yes, Nicholas, Blasius, Stephen, all from Felhévíz."

Interrogata, ubi erat dictus puer, quando viderunt, quod habebat animam, ut dixit, respondit: «Adhuc iacebat in curte».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod pater illius pueri venit sequenti die in mane ad sepulcrum, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi oculis meis».

Interrogata, qui erant ibi ad sepulcrum tunc, respondit: «Nescio, quia remansi ad casam».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dictus puer loquutus fuit, et dixit: ‚Non faciatis mihi malum’, quando venit pater suus a dicto sepulcro, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego audiui eum».

Interrogata, ubi erat dictus puer, quando dixit verba predicta, respondit: «Ante domum in curte».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando dictus puer dixit verba predicta, respondit: «Elena, uxor Petri de aquis calidis et uxor Petri de Pocche et mater [pueri] et [...]»^{a 291}

CVII²⁹²

[...] respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, qui erant presentes, quando mater dicti pueri aperuit oculos dicti pueri, et viderat quod mortuus erat, ut dixit, respondit: «Nescio nominare eos».

Interrogata, que fuerunt alie mulieres, que promiserunt ieiunare in pane et aqua, si beata Margaretha sanaret dictum puerum, ut dixit, respondit: «Agnes et Ancoh, sorores dicti pueri et Elena, mater mea et Margaretha, soror Bontii».

Interrogata, in quo die promiserunt ieiunare, respondit: «Feria quarta».

Interrogata, quanto tempore promiserunt ieiunare, respondit: «Usque ad mortem suam».

^a *vacat*

²⁹¹ The end of this deposition and the beginning of the next one are missing.

²⁹² The witness is probably the daughter of the previous witness Elena (or perhaps of the other Elena, wife of Peter, mentioned at the end of the previous deposition).

When asked who the others were who saw that afterwards he had life in him around the fork of his chest, as she said, she replied, "The aforesaid Nicholas, Blasius, and the boy's father and mother and sisters."

When asked where the said boy was when they saw there was life in him, as she said, she replied, "He was still lying in the courtyard."

When asked how she knew that the boy's father went the next morning to the tomb, as she said, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked who were there present at the tomb on that occasion, she replied, "I don't know, because I stayed at home."

When asked how she knew that the said boy spoke and said, 'Don't hurt me,' when his father came back from the said tomb, as she said, she replied, "I heard him."

When asked where the said boy was, when he spoke the aforesaid words, she replied, "In front of the house, in the yard."

When asked who were present, when the said boy spoke the aforesaid words, she replied, "Elena, wife of Peter of Felhévíz, and the wife of Peter of Pocche and the boy's mother and...[...]"²⁹¹

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[...] she replied, "I don't know."

When asked who were present, when the mother of the said boy opened the said boy's eyes and saw that he was dead, as she said, she replied, "I don't know their names."

When asked who the other women were, who promised to fast on bread and water, if the blessed Margaret cured the said boy, as she said, she replied, "Agnes and Ancoh, sisters of the said boy, and Elena, my mother, and Bontius's sister Margaret."

When asked on what day they promised to fast, she replied, "Wednesday."

When asked how long they promised to observe the fast, she replied, "Unto death."

Interrogata, quomodo (hoc) scit, respondit: «Audiui hoc ab eis, et ante me fui^a».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod dictus puer stetit sic usque ad vespervas, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi hoc cum oculis meis».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod mater dicti pueri post vespervas cepit clamare eum nomine proprio, et quod puer aperuit oculos tunc, et non poterat sibi dare responsum per totam illam diem, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi oculis meis».

Interrogata, in qua hora sequentis diei dictus puer incepit loqui, ut dixit, respondit: «Ante vespervas».

Interrogata, qui erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Femine predictae, quae promiserunt ieiunare pro eo».

Interrogata, quomodo scit, quod hora vespertina dixit matri suae: ‚Da mihi de pane’, et dederunt sibi, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego portavi sibi peponem, et dedi sibi comedere de manibus meis».

Interrogata, qui erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Predictae feminae, quae promiserunt ieiunare pro eo».

Interrogata, quantum distat domus sua a domo dicti Bontii, respondit: «Una via vadit inter domum meam et domum suam».

Interrogata, si postquam ivit ad domum dicti Bontii, patris dicti pueri, ut dixit, rediit ad domum suam, antequam dictus puer comederet de dicto pane, respondit: «Non, sed semper ibi remansi».

Interrogata de nomine dicti pueri, respondit: «Benedictus Bontii».

Interrogata, quot annos habebat tunc dictus puer, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod domus cecidit, et predicta fuerunt, ut dixit, respondit: «Tres anni».

Interrogata de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata de die, respondit: «Die Lune».

Interrogata de hora diei, respondit: «Tenebrae erant».

^a recte fuerunt

When asked how she knew this, she replied, "I heard it from them, and they were in front of me."

When asked how she knew that the said boy remained in this condition until vespers, as she said, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked how she knew that the said boy's mother began after vespers to call his name, and that the boy then opened his eyes and could not reply to her for that whole day, as she said, she replied, "I saw it with my own eyes."

When asked at what hour of the next day the said boy began to speak, as she said, she replied, "Before vespers."

When asked who were present at that time, she replied, "The aforesaid women who promised to fast on his behalf."

When asked how she knew that at the hour of vespers he said to his mother, "Give me bread," and they gave it to him, as she said, she replied, "I brought him his supper and fed him with my own hands."

When asked who were present at the time, she replied, "The aforesaid women, who promised to fast on his behalf."

When asked how far her house was from that of the said Bontius, she replied, "A road stands between my house and his."

When asked if, after she went to the house of the said Bontius, the boy's father, as she said, she returned to her own house, before the said boy ate the said bread, she replied, "No, I stayed there all the time."

When asked the name of the said boy, she replied, "Benedict, son of Bontius."

When asked how old the said boy was at that time, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked how many years ago the house collapsed and the aforesaid events took place, as she said, she replied, "Three years."

When asked the month, she replied, "I don't know."

When asked the day, she replied, "A Monday."

When asked the hour of the day, she replied, "It was dark."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, she replied, "I don't know."

Interrogata, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogata, quot annorum est, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam quindecim annos».

Interrogata, si pater eius est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Pauper».

Interrogata, si est serva, vel libera, respondit: «Libera».

Interrogata, si fuit docta, vel rogata, respondit: «Non».

Predictus presbyter Dominicus interpres fuit in dicto predicto.

DIE DOMINICA SEXTA^{a 293}
INTRANTE SEPTEMBREM.
CVIII

Dominus Alexander de genere Calsi,²⁹⁴ Vesprimiensis diocesis iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Non curavi de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Ego eram in carceribus inter Teutonicos in Austria, in loco, qui habet nomen Falkungurb,²⁹⁵ et stabam in fundo cuiusdam turris, sicut in inferno, in maxima catena, et quidam missus, quem ego mandabam prefectis meis in Hungaria, venit, et dixit mihi: ‚Non timeatis, vos habetis novam sanctam in Hungaria, sanctam Margaretham, filiam Bele regis, que facit multa miracula, manus aperit et pedes, et gambas elongat, et facit oculos, et totum regnum vadit ad eam, et ego ivi; et postea ego habui magnam spem in ea, et servi sibi, in dicendo ‚Pater noster‘ et rogando ipsam, et postea apparuit mihi quedam puella in nocte in dicta turri, et non dormiebam, nec

^a quarto *ms.*

²⁹³ September 4 in the manuscript, but that September 6 fell on a Sunday.

When asked how old she was, she replied, "I think I'm fifteen."

When asked if her father were rich or poor, she replied, "Poor."

When asked whether she were servant or free, she replied, "Free."

When asked if she had been coached or suborned, she replied, "No."

The aforesaid priest Dominic was the interpreter in this deposition.

ON SUNDAY, SEPTEMBER²⁹³

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Lord Alexander of the Cals kindred,²⁹⁴ of the diocese of Veszprém, swore as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I have taken no interest in this."

When asked if he wanted to speak about miracles, he replied, "I was in prison among the Germans in Austria, in a place called Falkenberg,²⁹⁵ and I was in a dungeon of a certain tower, just as if I were in hell, and loaded with chains; and a messenger, whom I used to send to my overseers in Hungary, came and said to me, "Don't be afraid, you have a new saint in Hungary, Saint Margaret, the daughter of King Béla, who is doing many miracles, straightening hands and feet, lengthening legs and restoring sight, and the whole kingdom is going to her, including myself."

And after I had great faith in her, and served her by saying the *Pater Noster* and addressing requests to her; and later there ap-

²⁹⁴ On the Kadar-Kalász kindred, see Karácsonyi, *Magyar nemzetségek*, vol. II, 279–80 [733–35]. According to another opinion, he was of the Káloz family, see Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza*, IV, 651.

²⁹⁵ He fell into captivity in the 1270s, during the wars of Ladislaus IV with the Habsburgs, and was held in Falkenberg near Krms.

vigilabam, et erat vestita de una magna camisa alba, magna et ampla, sine mantello et dixit mihi: 'Tantam spem habeas in ista sancta Margaretha, sicut in sancta Elisabeth';²⁹⁶ et postea mortuus fuit ille, qui tenebat me in carceribus per homines illius terre, tamquam canis, et dederam sibi trecentas marcas et ipse adhuc petebat quatuor centum; et uxor sua incontinenti dimisit me venire, postquam fuit mortuus, sine aliqua pecunia».

Interrogatus de nomine illius, qui detinebat eum in carceribus dictis, respondit: «Habebat nomen Rapot».

Interrogatus de nomine predicti nuncii, respondit: «Eunicius».

Interrogatus, si aliqui erant secum in dicto carcere, quando dicta puella apparuit sibi, respondit: «Sic, duo homines de terra illa, Leopoldus et Gotofredus».

Interrogatus, si scit, quod predicti duo homines viderunt, vel audiverunt tunc predictam puellam, de qua dixit, respondit: «Nescio, nolo mentiri».

Interrogatus, per quot dies stetit in dicto carcere, postquam vidit dictam puellam, que sibi dixit predicta verba, respondit: «Ille Rapot, qui tenebat me in carcere, postea in quinta, vel sexta die mortuus fuit sicut canis, et incontinenti uxor sua traxit me de carcere, et dimisit me».

Interrogatus de nomine dicte uxoris illius Rapot, respondit: «Nescio, sed postquam femine habent maritum, perdunt proprium nomen, et habent nomen uxor, vel domina talis viri».

Interrogatus, quanto tempore stetit in dicto carcere, respondit: «Per tres annos».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod sic liberatus fuit, ut dixit, respondit: «Modo est tertius annus».

Interrogatus de mense, in quo liberatus fuit, respondit: «Recte in epiphania».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Die Veneris».

Interrogatus de hora diei, respondit: «Mane ante missam».

²⁹⁶ On Saint Elizabeth of Hungary see *Introduction*, 14 n. 30.

peared to me in the night a certain girl in the said tower. I was neither asleep nor awake. She was clad in a large white semite; large and billowing it was, with no hood. And she said to me, 'Have as much faith in this saint Margaret as you have in Saint Elizabeth'²⁹⁶; and after that he who was keeping me in prison died like a dog at the hands of the people of that land. I had given him three hundred marks and he was asking four hundred more; but his wife at once sent me away, the minute he was dead, without any money needing to be paid."

When asked the name of the man who kept him in the said prison, he replied, "His name was Rapot."

When asked the name of the aforesaid messenger, he replied, "Eunicius."

When asked if there were any with him in the said prison, when the said girl appeared to him, he replied, "Yes, there were two men of that land, Leopold and Gottfried."

When asked if he knew that the aforesaid men saw or heard the aforesaid girl at that time, he replied, "I don't want to lie. I don't know."

When asked how many days he remained in that prison after he saw the said girl, who spoke to him the aforesaid words, he replied, "That Rapot, who was holding me prisoner, died like a dog five or six days later, and immediately his wife brought me out of prison and sent me away."

When asked the name of the aforesaid Rapot's wife, he replied, "I don't know; but after a woman marries, she loses her own name and takes the name so-and-so's wife, or Lady so-and-so."

When asked how long he remained in the said prison, he replied, "Three years."

When asked how long it was since he had been released, as he said, he replied, "It's now the third year."

When asked the month of his release, he replied, "Right at Epiphany."

When asked the day, he replied, "Friday."

When asked the hour of the day, he replied, "In the morning, before mass."

Interrogatus de presentibus, quando liberatus fuit, respondit: «Omnes parentes illius Rapoti».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dieta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Dives et nobilis, et modo sum ambaxator pro rege nostro ad regem Sicilie»²⁹⁷

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Quadragenta».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».
Predictus testis deposuit latinis verbis.²⁹⁸

DIE LUNE DUODECIMA INTRANTE OCTOBREM. CIX

Andreas de calidis aquis de Buda iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita, et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Non steti in domo ista, unde nihil scio de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Ego eram in casa mea in sero, et audiui clamorem, et exivi de casa, et vidi homines, qui ibant ad domum Bontii de calidis aquis, quia domus eius ceciderat, et ego ivi ad domum suam, et invenimus puerum de illo Bonticino subtus terram usque ad genua, et traximus eum de subtus terra, et ego solus portavi eum ante domum illius Bontii, et vidi, quod per duas vices flatus motus fuit, et tornavi ad casam, et multi homines et femine venerant ibi, et nescio quid postea factum fuerit».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod hoc fuit, respondit: «Credo, quod sunt tres anni».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Nescio».

²⁹⁷ He was the ambassador of King Ladislaus IV to the King of Naples, Charles I, and was the one who brought home Isabelle of Anjou, the wife of Ladislaus the Cuman (cf. p. 282 n. 93 to the *Acts*).

When asked who were present when he was released, he replied, "All the close relatives of that Rapot."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't remember."

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, "Rich and noble, and recently I was our King's ambassador to the King of Sicily."²⁹⁷

When asked how old he was, he replied, "Forty."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

The aforesaid witness gave his deposition in Latin.²⁹⁸

ON MONDAY, OCTOBER 12

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Andrew of Budafelhévíz took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I didn't stay in that house, so I don't know anything about this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "I was in my house one evening, when I heard a shout, and I went out of the house and saw people going to the house of Bontius of Felhévíz because his house had fallen in. I went to his house, and we found a child of that Bontius under the earth up to his knees, and we dragged him out from under the earth, and I carried him on my own in front of the house of that Bontius, and I saw twice there was the motion of breathing, and I returned to my house, and many men and women had come there, and I don't know what happened after that."

When asked how many years ago this happened, he replied, "Three, I think."

When asked the month, he replied, "I don't know."

²⁹⁸ There were only two who gave their testimonies in Latin, he and Peter the priest, witness 102.

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Nescio». De hora diei dixit.

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt illi homines et femine, quos vidit euntes ad domum dicti Bontii, quando ipse exivit de domo sua, respondit: «Non recordor».

Interrogatus de nomine pueri, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt illi alii, qui invenerunt secum dictum puerum subtus terram usque ad genua, ut dixit, respondit: «Michael et Fulco, de aliis non recordor».

Interrogatus, unde sunt predicti Michael et Fulco, respondit: «De villa de calidis aquis».

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt illi, qui traxerunt dictum puerum de subtus terra, respondit: «Predicti Michael et Fulco».

Interrogatus, qualiter traxerunt dictum puerum de subtus terra, respondit: «Cum cappis».

Interrogatus, si dictus puer habebat aliquam rupturam in aliqua parte sui corporis, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, si tota domus predicti Bontii tunc ceciderat, respondit: «Quedam pars».

Interrogatus, de quo erat facta illa pars, que ceciderat, respondit: «De petris et de terra».

Interrogatus, qui fuerunt presentes, quando traxerunt dictum puerum de subtus terra et petris, respondit: «Multi homines et femine, sed nescio eos nominare».

Interrogatus, si aliqui erant presentes, quando per duas vices motus erat flatus in gutture dicti pueri, ut dixit, respondit: «Multi erant presentes, sed nescio, si viderunt hoc».

Interrogatus de nominibus illorum, respondit: «Nescio nominare».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Nescio, sed ante adventum Tartarorum eram iuvenis».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Non sum dives».

Interrogatus, si est liber, vel servus, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si est doctus, vel rogatus, respondit «Non».

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't know." He had already spoken about the hour of the day.

When asked who the men and women were, whom he saw going to the house of the said Bontius, when he himself left his house, he replied, "I don't recall."

When asked the boy's name, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked who those others were, who together with him found the said boy buried in the earth up to his knees, as he said, he replied, "Michael and Fulco, I don't remember the others."

When asked where the aforesaid Michael and Fulco came from, he replied, "From the village of Felhévíz."

When asked who they were, who hauled the said boy out from under the earth, he replied, "The aforesaid Michael and Fulco."

When asked how they hauled the said boy out from under the earth, he replied, "On cloaks."

When asked if the said boy had any breakage in any part of his body, he replied, "No."

When asked if the whole house of the said Bontius had collapsed at that time, he replied, "Part of it."

When asked what the part that fell was made of, he replied, "Stone and earth."

When asked who were present, when they hauled the said boy out from under the earth and stones, he replied, "Many men and women, but I don't know their names."

When asked if any were present when the said boy's breath moved twice in his throat, as he said, he replied, "There were many present, but I don't know if they saw this."

When asked their names, he replied, "I don't know their names."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I don't know, but I was a young man before the arrival of the Tartars."

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, "I'm not rich."

When asked if he were free or servant, he replied, "Free."

When asked how long ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

EADEM DIE²⁹⁹

CX

Michael de calidis aquis iuravit, ut supra.

Interrogatus super vita et conversatione predictae virginis Margarethe, respondit: «Nihil volo dicere de hoc».

Interrogatus, si aliquid vult dicere super miraculis, respondit: «Sero erat, et ego audiui clamorem ad domum Bontii de aquis calidis, et ivi illuc, et solarium domus dicti Bontii ceciderat super puerum ipsius Bontii, et ego et Andreas et Fulco traximus eum cum cappis de petris et terra, que erant alte usque ad pectus super dictum puerum, et ipse Andreas portavit dictum puerum mortuum foras ante domum, et postea recessit, et ego steti ibi per illam noctem, et pater dicti pueri clamabat ad sanctam Margaretham, quod resuscitaret filium suum, et in aurora ipse pater venit ad sepulcrum istius sancte Margarethe, et quando ipse tornavit, puer parlabat».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod ista fuerunt, respondit: «Credo, quod sint tres anni».

Interrogatus de mense, respondit: «Non habeo in mente».

Interrogatus de die, respondit: «Non recordor». De hora diei dixit.

Interrogatus de nomine dicti pueri, respondit: «Benedictus».

Interrogatus, qui erant presentes, quando ipse et predicti Andreas et Fulco traxerunt dictum puerum de petris et terra, ut dixit, respondit: «Gunigh, et multi alii homines et femine, quos nescio nominare».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus Andreas portavit dictum puerum mortuum foras, ut dixit, respondit: «Ante me fuit».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus puer esset mortuus, respondit: «Vidi eum».

Interrogatus, si tetigit eum tunc, respondit: «Sic».

Interrogatus, in qua parte corporis tetigit eum tunc, respondit: «In manu, et erat frigidus».

²⁹⁹ October 12.

ON THE SAME DAY²⁹⁹

110

Michael of Felhévíz took the oath, as above.

When asked about the life and behavior of the aforesaid virgin Margaret, he replied, "I don't want to say anything about this."

When asked if he wanted to say anything about miracles, he replied, "It was late, and I heard a shout around the house of Bontius of Felhévíz, and I went there, and the terrace of the said Bontius's house had fallen onto Bontius's boy, and Andrew, Fulco, and I pulled him with cloaks from the earth and stones, which were piled high over the said boy up to his chest, and Andrew carried the said boy, dead, out in front of the house, and after that he went away. I stayed there throughout that night, and the said boy's father kept crying out to saint Margaret to bring his boy back to life, and at dawn the father himself went to the tomb of saint Margaret, and when he came back, the boy was speaking."

When asked how many years ago this happened, he replied, "Three, I think."

When asked the month, he replied, "I have no recollection of it."

When asked the day, he replied, "I don't remember." He had already spoken about the hour.

When asked the said boy's name, he replied, "Benedict."

When asked who were present, when he himself and the aforesaid Andrew and Fulco hauled the said boy from the stones and earth, as he said, he replied, "Gunigh, and many men and women whose names I don't know."

When asked how he knew that the said Andrew carried the boy, dead, out of the house, as he said, he replied, "He was in front of me."

When asked how he knew that the said boy was dead, he replied, "I saw him."

When asked if he touched him at that time, he replied, "Yes."

When asked on what part of the body he touched him, he replied, "On the hand, and he was cold."

Interrogatus, si caro dicti pueri rupta erat in aliqua parte corporis sui a dictis lapidibus, vel terra, respondit: «In facie habebat parvam rupturam in maxilla».

Interrogatus, si de illa ruptura exiverit sanguis, respondit: «Non».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod pater dicti pueri clamabat ad sanctam Margaretham, quod resuscitaret filium suum, ut dixit, respondit: «Ego steti ibi».

Interrogatus, qua hora noctis fuit, respondit: «Ante auroram».

Interrogatus, qui erant tunc presentes, respondit: «Giurch et Fulco, et Blasius et Andreas».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod pater dicti pueri in aurora iverit ad sepulcrum sancte Margarethe, ut dixit, respondit: «Vidi eum, quando ivit».

Interrogatus, quomodo scit, quod dictus puer loquebatur, quando pater suus rediit, respondit: «Ego stabam ibi, et audiui».

Interrogatus, cuiusmodi verba dicebat tunc dictus puer, respondit: «Non intellexi verba, sed clamabat».

Interrogatus, in quo loco erat tunc dictus puer, respondit: «Ante domum in eodem loco, in quo prius positus fuit».

Interrogatus, qui erant tunc presentes, quando puer loquebatur, ut dixit, respondit: «Fulco, Andreas, Blasius et Giurch, quos ego nominavi et multi alii de villanis illius ville».

Interrogatus de nominibus, respondit: «Nescio nominare».

Interrogatus, quid est de dicto puero, respondit: «Ille puer vivit».

Interrogatus, quot annorum est, respondit: «Credo, quod habeam triginta annos».

Interrogatus, si est servus, vel liber, respondit: «Liber».

Interrogatus, si est dives, vel pauper, respondit: «Sum dives».

Interrogatus, quot anni sunt, quod mortua est dicta virgo Margaretha, respondit: «Nescio».

Interrogatus, si fuit doctus, vel rogatus, respondit: «Non».

Predictus presbyter Dominicus interpretis fuit in dictis predictis.

When asked if the flesh of the said boy had been broken in any part of his body, by the said stones or by the earth, he replied, "He had a small rupture on his jaw."

When asked if blood came from that rupture, he replied, "No."

When asked how he knew that the said boy's father cried out to Saint Margaret to bring his boy back to life, as he said, he replied, "I was standing there."

When asked at what hour of the night this happened, he replied, "Before dawn."

When asked who were there at the time, he replied, "Giurch and Fulco, and Blasius and Andrew."

When asked how he knew that the father of the said boy went at dawn to the tomb of Saint Margaret, as he said, he replied, "I saw him, when he went."

When asked how he knew that the said boy was speaking when his father returned, he replied, "I was standing there, and I heard him."

When asked what sort of words the said boy spoke at that time, he replied, "I couldn't understand the words, but he was crying out."

When asked where the said boy was at the time, he replied, "In front of the house, in the same place in which he was first laid."

When asked who were there at the time when the boy spoke, as he said, he replied, "Fulco, Andrew, Blasius, and Giurch, whose names I gave, and many other inhabitants of that village."

When asked their names, he replied, "I don't know their names."

When asked how things were with the said boy, he replied, "That boy is alive."

When asked how old he was, he replied, "I think I'm thirty."

When asked if he were servant or free, he replied, "Free."

When asked if he were rich or poor, he replied, "I'm rich."

When asked how many years ago the said virgin Margaret died, he replied, "I don't know."

When asked if he had been coached or suborned, he replied, "No."

The aforesaid priest Dominic was the interpreter in the foregoing depositions.

IV

CORRESPONDENCE RELATING TO MARGARET'S MEDIEVAL CANONIZATION ATTEMPTS

INTRODUCTION: THE SURVIVAL OF THE SOURCES

BENCE PÉTERFI

The sources published in this present volume had partly been known for centuries—another part of them, however, remained unknown not only for today’s researchers but even for the Dominican Order and for the Hungarian clergy that attempted again and again to bring about Margaret’s canonization in the early modern and modern period.¹ Here I begin with a short overview of these freshly discovered sources, then, by analyzing the older documents I shall try to highlight how the old and the new sources are closely related to each other.

The hitherto unknown charters, which are now accessible also online,² all survived in the archive of the Orsini family, in the part that is kept in the Archivio Storico Capitolino in Rome, which part had probably formed a distinct group once. Otherwise it would be difficult to explain how each of the documents related to the repeated attempts of Margaret’s canonization always ended in the Orsini family archive. The Orsini charters appeared only in a local publication of the Abruzzi region of Italy,³ some in an abbreviated, some in a longer regesta format, thanks to the work of Cesare de Cupis, but a publication of this nature was practically impossible for interested scholars to find.⁴

It is quite odd that the original of the earliest charter (IV/1) was in Italy at all, since this order to start the canonization process was sent to the archbishop of Esztergom, to the bishop of Vác and

¹ For a summary of her proposed canonization processes in the Middle Ages, see Klaniczay, “Efforts at the Canonization of Margaret of Hungary.”

² http://www.archiviocapitolinorisorsedigitali.it/scheda_archivio_doc.php?IDA=71 (last accessed 2 May 2016).

³ The seat of one branch of the Orsini family is Bracciano, in the Abruzzi mountains.

⁴ For more details, see the notes to each charter.

to the Cistercian abbot of Zirc and thus should have been kept in the kingdom of Hungary, at the place of its addressees. And, as we know, this letter did indeed reach its addressees and was the catalyst for collecting the miracles of Margaret of Hungary.

Meanwhile the undated document sent by Emeric, bishop of Várad (Oradea), and the chapter of Várad, which could have been written between 1305 and 1314 (IV/6), aimed at securing the pope's intercession, hence, if it reached its destination it should have survived in the collections of the Holy See. The same is true for the charters written by the chapter of Buda⁵ during the years 1440–1460 and authenticated by public notaries (V/1–11). Because of the abovementioned factors, we can be sure that in the case of the sources kept in the Orsini family archive we are dealing with a conscious collecting of documents. Yet since the references on the back of the charters that indicate the previous archival location of the manuscripts are almost completely missing, we cannot determine the possible original size of this group of sources.

All together we have six original documents: four of them are in excellent condition,⁶ whereas the other two charters are seriously damaged.⁷ In order to provide a safe reconstruction and a precise reading of these two latter charters an UV light scan was necessary.

In all six cases the texts were written on parchment. The papal order of the year 1272 was originally a closed one (*litterae clausae*); the same can be presumed of the two charters issued by the same Pope Innocent V within a few days' time of each other, that are known today only in copies (IV/2–3). The charter jointly issued by Emeric, bishop of Várad, and the chapter of Várad, uniquely—when compared to the other five charters—had initially

⁵ The chapter of Buda itself was situated in Óbuda in the Middle Ages. The name precedes the times when a new city with the name of the older one (i.e., today's Óbuda) was founded after the plunderings of the Mongols in the late 1240s on a hill next to the river Danube, on the opposite side of Pest.

⁶ Charters nr. IV/1, nr. IV/6, nr. V/1–9.

⁷ Charters nr. V/10–11.

two bulls pending on it, one from the bishop and one from the chapter. During the tempestuous centuries that followed both seals were lost, together with the seal cord, and, in the case of the letter of Bishop Emeric, the two parchment ribbons used for attaching the bull. Counting both the originals and the copied texts we are dealing with thirteen documents altogether—since one of them (V/8) contains seven other transcriptions (V/1–7). The charter issued by Pope Gregory X, bearing its precise date (IV/1), as well as the undated charter of Bishop Emeric and the chapter of Várad (Oradea) (IV/6), were both written for the purpose of promoting the canonization of Princess Margaret.

It is certain that these charters entered the Orsini archive before the reorganization of the Orsini documents, and among them they form a rather peculiar group, since none of the documents mention the Orsinis nor do they relate to any procedure that can be connected to any member of the Orsini family. How and why did these texts nevertheless end up in the Orsini archive? The most obvious answer must be sought in the role the Orsini family fulfilled in the history of the Holy See over the centuries: they gave three popes (Celestine III [1191–1198], Nicolas III [1277–1280], Benedict XIII [1724–1730]), thirty-three cardinals and thirty members of the Roman Senate.⁸

We must bear in mind that centuries ago there were no strict rules about handling documents related to important offices and positions, thus it often happened that a pope, a cardinal or a notary of the Holy See retained official documents among his private papers. Examples are not lacking from the history of canonizations either. Thus in the case of Saint Hyacinth (†1257), a medieval Dominican friar from Poland, the entire documentation put together for his canonization (which took place in 1594) came to light only in 1857 from a private owner, who came into possession of it through an ancestor of his who 250 years earlier had

⁸ Guendalina Ajello Mahler, “The Orsini Family Papers at the University of California, Los Angeles: Property Administration, Political Strategy, and Architectural Legacy,” *Viator* 39 (2008): 297 n. *.

worked as protonotary for the Holy See. As this example shows, documents could easily go astray, especially before the foundation of the papal congregation (*Sacra Rituum Congregatio*), which after 1588 administered the canonization processes, and the foundation of the congregational archive in 1624.⁹ If we are to believe the Franciscan friar Luke Wadding (1588–1657), several letters written in the 1460s requesting the canonization of John of Capistrano did not even reach the Holy See, because the Franciscan brother who was carrying them fell ill during his journey to Rome, turned back, and died shortly after; but before leaving Italy, he entrusted the documents he had with him to a nobleman from Assisi, who safeguarded them but did not forward them. Wadding himself discovered the documents in the possession of the descendants of this nobleman more than a hundred and fifty years later.¹⁰

Our sources could have entered the holdings of the Orsini family archive in a somewhat similar way, although probably among less extraordinary circumstances, through the personal papers of an Orsini holding some important papal office. So if we accept the hypothesis that our charters once formed a unity, the earliest date for their entering the Orsini archive would be the time around the 1460s, during the canonization attempts made by King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) (IV/8–9).

On the other hand, we cannot overlook the fact that during the office of the third Orsini pope, Benedict XIII, who was himself a Dominican, there were attempts to get Margaret of Hungary canonized.¹¹ Documents relating to the Jesuit novice Stanisław

⁹ Ronald C. Finucane, *Contested Canonizations: The Last Medieval Saints, 1482–1523* (Washington: The Catholic University of America, 2011), 7–8 (the case of Jacek of Poland [†1257]). Cf. idem, “Saint-making at the end of the sixteenth century: How and why Jacek of Poland (†1257) became St. Hyacinth in 1594,” *Hagiographica* 9 (2002): 207–58.

¹⁰ Stanko Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran* (Budapest–New York: CEU Press, 2000), 86–87.

¹¹ To cite only a few examples: The Archive of the Archbishop in Esztergom, Archivum Ecclesiasticum Vetus nr. 1030, as well as Némethy and Fraknói, *Adatok Árpád-házi Boldog Margit ereklyéinek történetéhez*, 267, Bőle, *Árpád-házi Boldog Margit*, 7–8.

Kostka (1550–1568), canonized in 1726 during the pontificate of Benedict XIII, can also be found in the Orsini archive. From the years from the 1650s until the 1670s canonization requests had to be directed to Cardinal Virginio Orsini.¹² This is not so surprising if we consider that he was at that time Cardinal Protector of the kingdom of Poland.¹³ If we presume that the charters regarding the case of Margaret of Hungary in the Orsini archive were put together only in the second part of the seventeenth century or even later, for example during the pontificate of Benedict XIII, the question arises: if at that time data and charters were discovered that were crucial for the canonization of Margaret, why do we have no news of this discovery; why are there no references made to it in the sources we have from the eighteenth century?

To the question regarding the provenance we can now give more precise answers, based on the data from our recently found sources. It can be reasonably supposed that this group of charters arrived in Italy in a very similar way to the canonization documents related to Stanisław Kostka and finally ended in the Orsini Archive. This, however, did not happen in the early modern period but prob-

Further data can be found in the central archive of the Dominican order: Archivio Generale dell'Ordine Domenicano, Rome, IV/200, X/1932/1, XIII/79410 (olim. XIII/164B). For the latter see Béla Iványi, "A Szent Domonkos-rend római központi levéltára. Részletek a magyar dominikánus provincia múltjából" [The central archive of the Dominican order in Rome: Episodes from the past of the Hungarian Dominican province], *Levéltári Közlemények* 7 (1929): 8 n. 17.

¹² Concerning the documents related to the canonization attempts of Kostka that were kept in the Orsini archive (1651, 1657, 1669–1670, 1674), see Wanda Wyhowska de Andreis, ed., *Repertorium rerum Polonicarum ex Archivo Orsini in Archivo Capitolino Romae*, partes 1–3, *Elementa ad fontium editiones* 3, 7, 10 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae, 1961–1962, 1964), *passim*; Wanda Wyhowska de Andreis, ed., Valerianus Meysztowicz and Carolina Lanckorońska (reds.), *Collectanea e rebus Polonicis Archivi Orsini in Archivo Capitolino Romae*, partes 1–2 (Rome: Institutum Historicum Polonicum Romae 1964, 1968), *passim*.

¹³ Cf. Irene Fossi, "Il cardinale Virginio Orsini e la 'protezione' del regno di Polonia (1650–1676). Note e documenti dall'Archivio Orsini," in Ester Capuzzo, Bruno Crevato-Selvaggi, and Francesco Guida, eds., *Per Rita Tolomeo. Scritti di amici sulla Dalmazia e l'Europa centro-orientale* (Rome: Società Dalmata di Storia Patria, 2014), vol. 2, 231–44.

ably already in the 1460s. Thanks to recent research, in the case of the earliest charter we hold now direct proof that it was already in the Orsini Archive certainly before the sixteenth century. How the fifteenth-century (and earlier) sources ended in the family archive can be explained by a hitherto unnoticed fact—which was, however, published more than hundred years ago. The key figure in this issue was not one of those members of the Orsini family who came to the territory of the kingdom of Hungary during the Middle Ages,¹⁴ but a certain Latino Orsini (†1477), who was a cardinal in the mid-fifteenth century and a person of great influence at the Holy See.¹⁵ We know that in March 1460 King Matthias entrusted Cardinal Orsini with the task to settle and protect his affairs in the Roman curia. This probably means that we are dealing here with an early example of a cardinal-protector, an office still in the making at that time.¹⁶ This fact leaves no doubt that this is how the charters relating to the canonization of Margaret of Hungary came to Cardinal Orsini—and this is also where they remained; and because their private

¹⁴ Cf. Antonín Kalous, *Plenitudo potestatis in partibus? Papežští legáti a nunciové ve střední Evropě na konci středověku (1450–1526)* [Papal legates and nuncios in Central Europe at the end of the Middle Ages] (Brno: Matice moravská, 2010), 299–301, nr. 40 (Orso Orsini), 371 no. 66 (Roberto Latino Orsini), etc.

¹⁵ Cf. Conradus Eubel et al, eds., *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi sive summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series* [Castles, churches and hospices. Studies on the Middle Ages], 8 vols. (Monasterii: Sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergianae–Patavii: Il Messagero di S. Antonio, 1913–1978), vol. 2, passim.

¹⁶ 22 March, 1460, s. l. [Ragusa/Dubrovnik], the city of Ragusa to Cardinal Orsini: „Serenissimus dominus noster Mathias rex Hungarie etc., ut accepimus, reverendissimam dominationem vestram in protectorem rerum suarum in curia delegit, que patrociniū suum liberalissime eius oratoribus pollicita est.” József Gelcich, Lajos Thallóczy, eds., *Ragusa és Magyarország összeköttetéseiinek oklevéltára. Diplomatarium relationum reipublicae Ragusanae cum regno Hungariae* (Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia Tört. Bizottsága, 1887), 619 n. 371. I plan to do further research and publish an analysis of Latino Orsini's activity in the 1460s, especially of his network of connections that related him to the kingdom of Hungary. About the office of cardinal-protector see Péter Tusor, “A magyar koronabíborosi és bíborosprotektori „intézmény” kialakulása és elhalása a XV–XVI. században [The institution of Hungarian crown-cardinals and cardinal-protectors in the 15–16th centuries],” in Tibor Neumann, ed., *Várak, templomok, ispotályok. Tanulmányok a középkorról* [Castles, churches, and hospices. Studies on the Middle Ages] (Budapest–Piliscsaba: Argumentum, 2004), 291–310.

family archive was not open to the public, they remained unknown for researchers for centuries. None of the figures who renewed the attempts at Margaret's canonization in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries had any knowledge of their existence.¹⁷

These findings acquire major importance if we recall that in the seventeenth and eighteenth centuries ecclesiastical researchers were very thorough when it came to collecting records relating to canonization procedures, and the 1630s and 1640s witnessed the greatest expansion of this material. Within a few years' time the historical documentation was significantly enlarged, before it became practically "frozen." It was thanks to the Bollandist fathers that at this time our charters IV/2–4 appeared in print. In 1643, they printed in the *Acta Sanctorum* these particular charters, the text of which came from a fourteenth-century codex that was previously kept in Böddeken, then in Paderborn, and is now in Brussels, as well as the Legend written by Garinus de Giaco.¹⁸

Following the edition of the Bollandists, their contemporaries and later their successors reprinted again and again these texts without, understandably enough, ever referring to the earlier editions. The only exception was the monumental enterprise of August Potthast.¹⁹ The source edition published after Potthast, *Monumenta*

¹⁷ In a future publication, I will also address the question what other precise data confirm that the two earliest of the charters, those not written during the reign of King Matthias (IV/1 and IV/6), were already in the holdings of the Orsini family at least before the mid-sixteenth century.

¹⁸ For the tradition of the report of Umberto Bianchi and Master de la Corra transcribing the two earlier mandates of Pope Gregory X (charters IV/2–4), see the introductory notes of charter IV/2. The unique manuscript of the *Legenda vetus* of Margaret of Hungary also contains the three letters in somewhat different wording.

¹⁹ Charter nr. IV/2–3: August Potthast, ed., *Regesta Pontificum Romanorum inde ab a(nno) post Christum natum MCXCVIII ad a(nnum) MCCCIV* (Berlin: Rudolph de Decker, 1874; reprint: Graz: Akademische Druck- und Verlagsanstalt, 1957), vol. 2, 1706, nr. 20126; 1707, nr. 20130 [with the earlier editions except for the work of Georgius Pray, *Vita S. Elisabethae viduae landgraviae Thuringiae, ducis Saxoniae, Hassiae principis et comitis palatinae, nec non B. Margaritae virginis quarum illa Andreae II. haec Belae IV. Hungariae regum filia erat* (Tyrnavia: Typis Collegii Academici Societatis Jesu, 1770), 231–35]. Since charter nr. IV/4 was not issued by a pontiff, it was omitted by Potthast.

Romana ecclesiae Vesprimiensis, also considered it sufficient to republish the text of the *Acta Sanctorum*,²⁰ which publication served as the basis of the collection of records put together during the 1943 canonization process of Margaret of Hungary. That is to say, in this latter case the text was taken over twice (at least).²¹

At the turn of the 1630s and 1640s it was not only the Bollandists' efforts that signaled an important development in the research on Margaret's life and miracles. Between 1639 and 1643 serious efforts were made by the pope to get this holy princess canonized. During these attempts a serendipitous discovery led to new material: a copy of the witness accounts and the acts of the 1276 papal investigation was discovered in 1641, hidden in Margaret's coffin, together with copies of the four thirteenth-century charters published here (IV/2–4). At the same time the Dominican scholar Sigismondo Ferrari (1589–1647) made significant additions to the material on Margaret in his work published in 1637.²² As much as it was possible, he tried to gather all information related to Margaret and he even wrote a new Life on the basis of the data he collected; he also obtained the legend of Margaret that was written in Hungarian and had it translated for himself.²³ Ferrari followed his sources when he quoted a chronicle, a history of the Domini-

²⁰ *A veszprémi püspökség római oklevéltára/Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, edita a Collegio Historicorum Hungarorum Romano [et al.], 4 vols. (Budapest: Franklin, 1896–1907), vol. 1, 160–62, no. 197 (charter nr. IV/2–3), 384, no. 199 (cf. below charter nr. IV/4).

²¹ *Inquisitio iussu sanctissimi domini nostri Pii Papae XII peracta de vita Beatae Margaritae ab Hungaria sanctimonialis ordinis praedicatorum deque cultu ei praestito* (Sectio historica 30 [Città del Vaticano]: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1943), 5–7, Doc. I, nr. 2–3, 158–59, Doc. I, nr. 4 (only refers to the edition by *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis*)

²² Sigismundus Ferrarius, *De rebus Hungaricae provinciae ordinis praedicatorum* (Vienna: Typis Matthaei Formicae, 1637), 220–390.

²³ Cf. Ilona M. Nagy, "Das neulateinische Nachleben einer mittelalterlichen muttersprachlichen Legende. Die ungarischsprachige Margit-Legende in der Margit-Biographie Ferraris," in Astrid Steiner-Weber, gen. ed., *Acta Conventus Neo-Latini Upsalensis/ Proceedings of the Fourteenth International Congress of Neo-Latin Studies (Uppsala 2009)*, 2 vols. (Leiden and Boston: Brill, 2012), vol. 2, 735–44.

can order, which stated that in the fall of 1306, on All Saints' Day (October 31), a certain friar, Andrew of Hungary, was made archbishop of Antivari by Pope Clement V while staying in Bordeaux, where he had been sent by the (not named) king of Hungary in order to promote the canonization of Margaret of Hungary.²⁴

Chronologically, this piece of information fits neatly with what we read in the *Descriptio Europae Orientalis*, a work that can be dated to ca. 1308, written by a French Dominican or perhaps Franciscan friar, who was also informed about the mission of this friar from Hungary. The description was discovered only in the beginning of the twentieth century.²⁵ A more recent contribution is the undated request of Emeric, the bishop of Várad and the chapter of Várad (IV/6).²⁶

Another important fact: Antonius Sartori, who played a major role in the attempt to obtain the canonization of Margaret between 1639 and 1643, certainly knew (although we are ignorant from what sources²⁷) that during the papacy of Urban VI, around

²⁴ "In provincia Ungarie fuerunt: [...] frater Andreas Ungarus fuit factus archiep[iscopu]s Antibariensis per dominum Clementem papam V. anno Domini MCCCVI. circa festum Omnium Sanctorum Burdigalis in curia, ubi erat pro canonisatione sancte Margarete filie quondam regis Ungarie nomine Belle obtinenda missus a rege Ungarie procurator, cuius in hac parte cooperatus est interventus." Thomas Kaeppeli, ed., Stephanus de Salaniaco, Bernardus Guidonis, *De quatuor in quibus Deus Predicatorum ordinem insignivit*, Monumenta ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum historica 22 (Rome: Istituto storico domenicano, 1949), 102–103.

²⁵ "A dicto domino rege vngarie, Bella, nati sunt duo filii videlicet, rex stephanus et virgo margareta, cuius cononizacio[!] nunc petitur." Olgierd Górka, ed., *Anonymi descriptio Europae Orientalis "Imperium Constantinopolitanum, Albania, Serbia, Bulgaria, Ruthenia, Ungaria, Polonia, Bohemia" anno MCCCVIII exarata* (Cracow: Sumptibus Academiae Litterarum, 1916), 52. To substantiate his claim that the anonymous author could have been related to the Dominicans, Górka points to his being well-informed about the issue regarding Margaret of Hungary. Ibid., XI–XII.

²⁶ The reason why the letter by the bishop of Várad and the chapter of Várad became part of the procedure might be found in a now lost letter of Pope Gregory X in which he might have included Lodomer, the bishop of Várad, in the second round of investigations (cf. IV/2).

²⁷ "1380. circa expeditur bulla b. Urbano VI ad instantiam Elisabethae senioris Hungariae Reginae pro nova commissione ad effectum Canonisationis." Bőle, *Árpádházi Boldog Margit*, 6.

the year 1379, there was another initiative from Hungary to canonize this Arpadian princess—the relating document was eventually discovered and published by Otfried Krafft only a few years ago (IV/7).²⁸

It was once more Ferrari who, relying on a letter of Jakab Némethi, a Jesuit father from Pressburg, mentions two letters from King Matthias petitioning again for the canonization of Margaret (IV/8 and 9) that were at that time in the possession of the Jesuits in Pressburg as part of Matthias's Humanist-style epistolarium (the so-called Codex Héderváry), written in elegant Latin.²⁹ Furthermore, in his already mentioned history of the order, Ferrari also published the Margaret officium, dated around 1463.³⁰

King Matthias's letter addressed to Pope Pius II and the one to the collegium of cardinals was published several times after their discovery in the mid-seventeenth century. Unlike with the thirteenth-century charters, in the case of these two documents this book of letters was read several times after Jakab Némethi and the reprints did not make use of one or other previous publication but instead they used again and again the original manuscript.

These two letters of Matthias Corvinus, however, gave no information about what was going on around Margaret's tomb and at the place where she had lived—in what her cult consisted, if pilgrims came, what miracles happened, and if there was any official recording of these cult phenomena. This silence was broken by the recent discovery of the miracles recorded in the documents issued by the chapter of Buda (V/1–9).

Not only did the charters that were kept safely in the family archive of the Orsinis pass quickly into oblivion, but the same fate

²⁸ Otfried Krafft, "Árpád-házi Szt. Margit szentté avatási perének 1379-es újrafelvétele" [A renewed canonization procedure of Saint Margaret of Hungary in 1379], *Századok* 140 (2006): 455–64; cf. Klaniczay, "Efforts at the Canonization of Margaret of Hungary."

²⁹ Facsimile: *Héderváry-kódex. Mátyás király leveleskönyve a Héderváry család egykori könyvtárából* [The Héderváry codex. The book of correspondence of King Mathias from the one-time library of the Héderváry family] (Budapest: MOL, 2008).

³⁰ Sigismundus Ferrarius, *De rebus Hungaricae provinciae*, 342–51.

befell the petition of Rudolf I (IV/5), which likewise remained outside of canonization tradition, but which further attests that the attempts at Margaret's canonization in the 1270s had a strong international backing. Certain printed sources (Ferrari's work and the *Acta Sanctorum* by the Bollandists) and manuscripts (Codex Héderváry), on the other hand, became widely used, that is, when the more recent researchers kept reaching back to the earlier originals. Thanks to this, although the original copy of the thirteenth-century witness accounts had been lost, its other medieval copy—or a copy made in mid-seventeenth century—was copied twice during the eighteenth century (1729, 1780). The 1729 copy was made in connection with another attempt to get Margaret canonized. Thus the text of the canonization acts from 1276 survived the vicissitudes of centuries. In the wake of printing, the already known sources receded into the background: the Brussels manuscript that formed the basis of the Bollandists' edition became completely forgotten.

It can be seen from this overview that the history of the medieval canonization attempts and the handling of particular sources became part of the historiographical canon in a short time after their discovery in the middle of the seventeenth century, and thus became perfectly "canonized"—unlike their protagonist, Margaret of Hungary.



Fig. 1. Saint Margaret of Hungary. Colored woodcut, before 1473.
Christian Museum of Esztergom. Photo: Attila Mudrák

MANDATE OF POPE GREGORY X ORDERING THE
EXAMINATION OF MARGARET'S MIRACLES^a

Rome, May 4, sine anno [1272]

Venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopo Strigoniensi,¹ episcopo Waciensi² et dilecto filio abbati de Bokon³ ordinis Cisterciensis Vesprimiensis diocesis [...] ^b

Gregorius episcopus, servus servorum Dei⁴ venerabilibus fratribus archiepiscopo Strigoniensi, episcopo Waciensi et abbati de Bokon ordinis Cisterciensis Vesprimiensis diocesis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Testes legitimos,⁵ quos super vita, conversatione et miraculis recolende memorie Margarite virginis sanctimonialis monasterii Virginis Gloriose de insula Danubii Ordinis Predicatorum Vesprimiensis diocesis debetis recipere, prius ab eis prestito iuramento diligenter examinare curetis et de omnibus, que dixerint, interrogetis eosdem, quomodo sciunt, quo mense, quo die, quibus presentibus, quo loco, ad cuius invocationem et quibus verbis interpositis et de nominibus illorum, circa quos miracula [esse] facta dicuntur, et si eos ante cognoscebant, et quot diebus ante viderunt eos infirmos, et quanto tempore fuerunt infirmi, et quanto tempore visi sunt sani,

^a Archivio Storico Capitolino (Rome), Archivio Orsini, Pergamene, n. inv. 273 (old signature: II. A. XI. no. 8). Edited by Bence Péterfi. With writing on the verso of the folio; there is also an eighteenth-century note on the back: *Commissio examinationis episcopo Strigoniensis super vita et miraculis Margarithae virginis. Gregorius XII*. Old and current signatures (see above) are recorded in an eighteenth or nineteenth-century and a modern hand. Several inscriptions made possibly by later hands on the back were erased. Original, intact, slightly spotted parchment. Originally letters close, the seal and the cord have been lost. Excerpt: Cesare de Cupis, "Regesto degli Orsini e dei Conti Anguillara," *Bollettino della Società di Storia Patria Anton Ludovico Antinori negli Abruzzi* II/21 (1909) agosto [puntata 23], 156. Online access (with an Italian excerpt of the charter based on Cesare de Cupis): <http://archiviocapitolinorisorsedigitali.it/> (wrongly dated to May 4, 1406).

^b Written in a contemporary hand on the verso.

¹ On Philip, son of Ivachin of the Türje kindred, archbishop of Esztergom (1262–1272), see Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 81, 302.

MANDATE OF POPE GREGORY X ORDERING THE EXAMINATION OF MARGARET'S MIRACLES

Rome, May 4, sine anno [1272]

To the venerable brothers, the archbishop of Esztergom,¹ the bishop of Vác² and our beloved son the abbot of Bakony³ of the Cistercian Order in the diocese of Veszprém [...]

Gregory, bishop, servant of the servants of God,⁴ extends greetings and apostolic benediction to the venerable brothers, the archbishop of Esztergom, the bishop of Vác and the abbot of Bakony of the Cistercian Order in the diocese of Veszprém.

The legitimate witnesses,⁵ whom you should receive about the life, behavior and miracles of the virgin nun Margaret of venerable memory of the monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the Danube Island, of the Order of the Preachers in the diocese of Veszprém, are to be received [in the following manner]: first they are to swear an oath, and then you should take care to examine them diligently and in everything they say question them how they know about it, in what month [the events happened], on what day, in whose presence, at what place, at whose invocation, and with

² Philip, from an unknown family, was bishop of Vác (1262–1277): *ibid.*, 97, 302.

³ The ruins of the Cistercian abbey of “Bokon” or Bakony, i.e., in the Bakony forest/mountains, is situated nowadays in the territory of Zirc, Hungary. The identity of the abbot remains unknown. In 1287 the abbot was Gregorius. Cf. Ferenc L. Hervay, *Repertorium historicum ordinis Cisterciensis in Hungaria* (Rome: Editiones Cistercienses–Budapest: Soc. Sancti Stephani, 1984), 208–209, 212.

⁴ Pope Gregory X (September 1, 1271–January 10, 1276)

⁵ This *formula* was first used in 1232 at the start of the canonization investigation of Saint Elizabeth of Hungary. Cf. Klaniczay, “Proving sanctity,” 123–24; Fritz Schillmann, *Die Formularsammlung des Marius von Eboli*, vol. 1 (Rome: W. Regenberg, 1929), 280 n. 2156; for its history, see Thomas Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht. Das Kanonisationsverfahren im europäischen Spätmittelalter* (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna: Böhlau, 2004), 538–39, as well as Otfried Krafft, *Papsturkunde und Heiligsprechung. Die päpstlichen Kanonisationen vom Mittelalter bis zu Reformation. Ein Handbuch* (Cologne–Weimar–Vienna: Böhlau, 2005), *passim*.

et quo loco sunt oriundi et interrogentur de omnibus circumstantiis diligenter, et circa singula capitula fiant, ut expedit, questiones predictae et sic series testimonii et verba testium fideliter redigantur in scriptis.

Datum Lateranensi, IIII Nonas Maii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

2

MANDATE OF POPE INNOCENT V TO THE
CANONS UMBERTO BIANCHI AND DE LA CORRA^a

Rome, May 14, sine anno [1276]

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei⁶ dilectis filiis magistro Uberto Blanco, capellano nostro Placentino⁷ et de la Corre,⁸ doctori decretorum, Sanctorum Apostolorum Veronensis ecclesiarum canonicis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

^a Original lost, transcribed in the report of the papal legates sent to Pope John XXI (charter IV/4, q.v. for the abbreviations, provenience of manuscripts etc.): *Bo* fol. 154^r, *Br* fol. 85^v–86^r *M* fol. 179^{r-v}. The first edition was based on the Brussels manuscript (*Br*): *Acta Sanctorum* Januarii II, coll. 899–900, reedited by Fraknoi, *MRV*, 160–61 (with minor errors).

⁶ Pope Innocent V (January 21–June 22, 1276).

⁷ Mentioned as a canon in Piacenza in August 1270, he was at the same time a papal chaplain and canon in Piacenza in March 1273 until September 1278. His last appearance as a papal chaplain (without mentioning any prebendal stall in Piacenza) comes from May 1282, during the pontificate of Pope Honorius IV (1285–1287). The investigation in the kingdom of Hungary concerning the case of Margaret of Hungary was not his only commission abroad: in September 1278 it was he, among others, who was delegated to resolve the problems around the election of the bishop of Magdeburg. It is supposedly he who as a papal chaplain was made bishop of Limassol (Cyprus), i.e., for a suffragan bishopric of Nicosia, in May 1280. A certain Ubertus in the Nicosia archbishopric is said to be dead at the end of January 1291; Pietro Maria Campi, *Dell'istoria ecclesiastica di Piacenza*, 3 vols. (Piacenza: Giovanni Bazachi, 1651–62), vol. 2, 234–35, 306; Jean Guiraud, ed., *Les registres de Grégoire X (1272–1276). Recueil des bulles de ce pape* (Paris: Thorin et fils–Albert Fontemoing, 1892–1898), 81–82, no. 21–15; Jules Gay, ed., *Les registres de Nicolas III (1277–1280). Recueil des bulles de ce pape* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing–Editions de Boccard,

what wording used, as well as about the names of those in whose presence the miracles are said to have happened; and whether they knew those persons before, and how many days previously they saw them ill and for how long they were ill, and for how long they were seen to be healthy, and what was their place of origin; they are to be questioned with great care about all the circumstances, and the said questions should be collected into separate chapters, as each unfolds; and in this way the series of testimonies and the words of the witnesses are to be recorded faithfully in writing.

Given at the Lateran palace on the 4th of May, in the first year of our pontificate.

2

MANDATE OF POPE INNOCENT V TO THE CANONS UMBERTO BIANCHI AND DE LA CORRA

Rome, May 14, sine anno [1276]

Innocent, bishop and servant of servants of God,⁶ sends greetings and apostolic blessing to his beloved sons, *magister* Umberto Bianchi, our chaplain, canon of Piacenza,⁷ and doctor of law de la Corra, canon of the church of the Holy Apostles in Verona.⁸

1898–1932), 55–56, no. 184; 162, no. 426–27; 283, no. 635; François Olivier-Martin et al., eds., *Les registres de Martin IV (1281–1285). Recueil des bulles de ce pape* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing–Editions de Boccard, 1901–1935), 18, no. 25; 34 no. 86; 56–57, no. 151; Ernest Langlois, ed., *Les registres de Nicolas IV. Recueil des bulles de ce pape* (Paris: Ernst Thorin, 1886–1893), 595, no. 4027; For his alleged career in Cyprus cf. also Conradus Eubel et al., eds., *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi sive summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series*, 8 vols. (Monasterii: Sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergianae–Patavii: Il Messaggero di S. Antonio, 1913–1978), vol. 1, 365 (not citing the piece of information referring to Bianchi but giving otherwise the list of archbishops of Nicosia), 367.

⁸ Mentioned as vicar of Manfredo Roberti, bishop of Verona, in 1262. From at least 1264 he was a canon of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Chiesa dei Santi Apostoli) in Verona. His activity in 1268 as vicar general of the said bishop of Verona who was appointed to be the rector of the March of Ancona, the Duchy of Spoleto and Massa Trabaria for a short time is the best documented period of de la Corra's career. His

et quo loco sunt oriundi et interrogentur de omnibus circumstantiis diligenter, et circa singula capitula fiant, ut expedit, questiones predictae et sic series testimonii et verba testium fideliter redigantur in scriptis.

Datum Lateranensi, IIII Nonas Maii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

2

MANDATE OF POPE INNOCENT V TO THE
CANONS UMBERTO BIANCHI AND DE LA CORRA^a

Rome, May 14, sine anno [1276]

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⁶ Pope Innocent V (January 21–June 22, 1276).

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Given at the Lateran palace on the 4th of May, in the first year of our pontificate.

2

MANDATE OF POPE INNOCENT V TO THE CANONS UMBERTO BIANCHI AND DE LA CORRA

Rome, May 14, sine anno [1276]

Innocent, bishop and servant of servants of God,⁶ sends greetings and apostolic blessing to his beloved sons, *magister* Umberto Bianchi, our chaplain, canon of Piacenza,⁷ and doctor of law de la Corra, canon of the church of the Holy Apostles in Verona.⁸

1898–1932), 55–56, no. 184; 162, no. 426–27; 283, no. 635; François Olivier-Martin et al., eds., *Les registres de Martin IV (1281–1285). Recueil des bulles de ce pape* (Paris: Albert Fontemoing–Editions de Boccard, 1901–1935), 18, no. 25; 34 no. 86; 56–57, no. 151; Ernest Langlois, ed., *Les registres de Nicolas IV. Recueil des bulles de ce pape* (Paris: Ernst Thorin, 1886–1893), 595, no. 4027; For his alleged career in Cyprus cf. also Conradus Eubel et al., eds., *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi sive summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series*, 8 vols. (Monasterii: Sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergianae–Patavii: Il Messaggero di S. Antonio, 1913–1978), vol. 1, 365 (not citing the piece of information referring to Bianchi but giving otherwise the list of archbishops of Nicosia), 367.

⁸ Mentioned as vicar of Manfredo Roberti, bishop of Verona, in 1262. From at least 1264 he was a canon of the Church of the Holy Apostles (Chiesa dei Santi Apostoli) in Verona. His activity in 1268 as vicar general of the said bishop of Verona who was appointed to be the rector of the March of Ancona, the Duchy of Spoleto and Massa Trabaria for a short time is the best documented period of de la Corra's career. His

Dudum ex parte⁹ clare memorie regis Hungarie,¹⁰ felicitis recordationis Gregorio pape, predecessori nostro fuit humiliter supplicatum, ut cum omnipotens Dominus, qui salutis nostre causam misericorditer in sanctis suis mirabiliter operans, quos coronat in celo, frequenter etiam honorat in mundo, et ad eorum memoriam *signa facit atque prodigia*,¹¹ per que pravitas hereticorum confunditur et fides catholica roboratur, meritis recolende memorie Margarithe virginis sororis seu sanctimonialis monasterii Virginis Gloriose de insula Danubii Ordinis Predicatorum, Vesprimiensis diocesis cuius corpus in eodem monasterio requiescit, tot et tanta miracula operetur, quod ipsius inter ceteros non invocare suffragia sit indignum, ipsam aggregare sanctorum cathalogo dignaretur.¹²

Verum licet quos honorat divina dignatio, humana devotio prompto affectu debeat honorare, quia tamen providentia producere predecessorem ipsum festinum in certis et lentum inveniri decebat in dubiis, ut procederet tramite tutiori, bone memorie archiepiscopo Strigoniensi¹³ et venerabili fratri nostro episcopo Waciensi,¹⁴ et dilecto filio abbati de Bacon¹⁵ ordinis Cisterciensis predicte diocesis suis sub certa forma dedit litteris in mandatis, ut de veritate morum et virtute signorum operibus videlicet ipsius et miraculis secundum datam eis a Deo providentiam et interrogatoria, que ipsis sub bulla iam dictus predecessor interclusa transmissit, diligentius

name is written alternatively as "de la Corre" or "de la Corra"; we chose the latter as the more frequently occurring. His first name is not recorded. Giambattista Biancolini, *Notizie storiche delle chiese di Verona*, 8 vols. (Verona: Alessandro Scolari, 1749–1771), vol. 1, 128, vol. 2, 505–10, vol. 5/1, 156–58; Wolfgang Hagemann, "Studien und Dokumente zur Geschichte der Marken im Zeitalter der Staufer. V. Montegiorgio (III.)," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Archiven und Bibliotheken* 55–56 (1976): 96–158, esp., 103–106, 120–21, no. 116; 130–31, no. 118–19; 133–37, no. 121–26; 156–57, no. 160.

⁹ For the *formula* cf. Wetzstein, *Heilige vor Gericht*, 537–38 (originally with incipit *Cum sicut ex parte*). In the so-called Pseudo Marinus formulary it is right before the *Testes legitimos* formula used in charters n. 1 and n. 3. Fritz Schillmann, *Die Formularsammlung des Marius von Eboli*, vol. 1 (Rome: W. Regenber, 1929), 280 n. 2155–2156.

Long time ago⁹ a humble request had been made to our predecessor, Pope Gregory of blessed memory, from the part of the king of Hungary of illustrious memory.¹⁰ Namely: as Omnipotent God, who works mercifully and marvellously through his saints for the sake of our salvation, and often honors already in the world those whom He crowns in heaven, and to their remembrance *performs signs and miracles*¹¹ through which the perversity of heretics is confounded and the Catholic faith is strengthened; because He through the merits of the virgin Margaret of venerable memory, sister and nun in the monastery of the Glorious Virgin on the island of the Danube, of the Order of the Preachers in the diocese of Veszprém, whose body rests in the same monastery, performs so many and so great miracles that it would be unfitting that she not be invoked among the other saints, [therefore the king besought that] she be deemed worthy to be added to the catalog of saints.¹²

Now it is true that those whom divine favor honors, human devotion should also honor with ready love. Yet, because, under providence's guidance, our predecessor deemed fit to proceed quickly in matters that were certain and cautiously in those that were in doubt, so that he might proceed by a more secure path, therefore he gave to the archbishop of Esztergom of good memory¹³ and to our venerable brother, the bishop of Vác,¹⁴ and to our beloved son the abbot of Bakony¹⁵ of the Order of the Cistercians in the said diocese, in his letters sent under a precise form, [the task] that they should inquire carefully about the force and the truthfulness of her signs, that is, about Margaret's works and miracles, according to the wisdom given them by God and in line with the interrogatory questions which our said predecessor sent them included in his bull; and

¹⁰ King Stephen V (1270–1272).

¹¹ Cf. Deut. 6:21–2, Deut. 28:46.

¹² The supplication of King Stephen V is lost.

¹³ He died at the end of 1272. See p. 711 n. 1.

¹⁴ See p. 711 n. 2.

¹⁵ See p. 711 n. 3.

inquirentes, sibi, que invenirent, per suas litteras apostolicarum litterarum seriem continentes fideliter intimarent.¹⁶

Demum autem dicto archiepiscopo, re adhuc integra permanente, nature debitum persolvente memoratus predecessor venerabilem fratrem nostrum Waradiensem episcopum¹⁷ in huiusmodi negotio subrogavit. Iidem vero episcopi et abbas ad inquirendum super iis processum habentes, inquisitionem, quam super hoc fecerunt, eidem predecessori remittere suis interclusam litteris curaverunt.¹⁸ Sed, quia per inquisitionem ipsam de premissis plena instructio non poterat pervenire, nos in omni et presertim in tam solemnem et arduum negotium nube omnino propulsa dubii et soliditate certitudinis et claritatis plenitudine procedere cupientes discretionem vestram per apostolica scripta mandamus, quatenus iuxta interrogatoria, que vobis sub bulla nostra mittimus interclusa, super premissis iterato diligenter inquirere studeatis, illam adhibitori diligentiam in predictis, quod depositiones testium, quos super hec recipere, ac alia, que in eorum elucidatione vos reperire contigerit, illa prout secundum verba singulorum testium, per que deposita fuerint seriose, diffuse ac explicite eo ordine, quo illa protulerint, conscripturi, tam lucide tamque clare nobis per vestras litteras tenorem continentes presentium cum eisdem interrogatoriis nuntietis, quod ex eis nullo dubio consurgente in huiusmodi negotio procedere auctore Domino secure conscientia valeamus.

Datum Lateranensi, II Idus Maii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

¹⁶ See charter no. 1.

¹⁷ Lodomer, bishop of Várad (Oradea) (1268–1279). Zsoldos, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, 99, 322–23.

whatever they should find, they should faithfully report to him in their letters, following the format of the apostolic letters.¹⁶

Subsequently, however, after the said archbishop passed away leaving the matter still open, our aforementioned predecessor called to this task our venerable brother the bishop of Várad (Oradea)¹⁷; and the same bishops and the abbot proceeded to make investigation about these things; and the inquiry which they made over this they took care to send to our predecessor, included in their letters.¹⁸ But because through that inquiry it was impossible to receive full information about the aforesaid issues, therefore, wishing to proceed in everything, but especially in such a solemn business, with all cloud of doubt dispelled and with firm certainty and clear understanding, we are entrusting to your discretion through this apostolic missive that you should seek diligently to inquire again into the aforesaid matters, following the interrogatory points which we are sending to you included in our bull. You should show such diligence in the abovementioned matters that the depositions of the witnesses whom you receive on these matters, as well as other information which you happen to learn in the course of their explanations, and the words of each witness, are written down, in a serious and detailed and straightforward way, just as they were uttered and in the same order in which they were offered, and report so lucidly and so clearly in your letters to us, keeping to the guidelines of the letters and also to the same interrogatory questions, that from these issues no doubt should arise and that we may be able to proceed with a clear conscience in this business which the Lord is working.

Dated at the Lateran palace, the 14th of May, in the first year of our papacy.

¹⁸ The protocols of this first examination do not survive, but the essence of their inquiry is preserved in the list of miracles attached to the *Legenda vetus*, see the text earlier in this volume.

3

MANDATE OF POPE INNOCENT V TO THE
CANONS UMBERTO BIANCHI AND DE LA CORRA^a

Rome, May 25, sine anno [1276]

Innocentius episcopus, servus servorum Dei dilectis filiis, Uberto Blanco, capellano nostro Placentino et de la Corre, decretorum doctori decretorum, Sanctorum Apostolorum Veronensis ecclesiarum canonicis salutem et apostolicam benedictionem.

Testes legitimos, quos super vita et conversatione et miraculis recolende memorie Margarete, virginis sanctimonialis monasterii Virginis Gloriose de insula Danubii Ordinis Predicatorum Vesprimiensis diocesis debetis recipere, prius ab eis prestito iuramento diligenter examinare curetis et de omnibus, que dixerint, interrogetis eosdem, quomodo sciunt, quo tempore, quo mense, quo die, quibus presentibus, quo loco, ad cuius invocationem et quibus verbis interpositis et de nominibus illorum, circa quos miracula [esse] facta dicuntur, et si eos ante cognoscebant, et quot diebus ante eos viderint eos infirmos, et quanto tempore fuerint infirmi, et quanto tempore visi sunt sani, et de quo loco sunt oriundi, et interrogentur de omnibus circumstantiis diligenter, et circa singula capitula fiant, ut expedit, questiones predictae et sic series testimonii et verba testium, prout seriose ac diffuse prolata fuerint, fideliter redigantur in scriptis.

Datum Lateranensi, VIII Kalendas Iunii, pontificatus nostri anno primo.

^a Original lost, transcribed in the report of the papal legates sent to Pope John XXI (charter IV/4, q.v. for the abbreviations, provenience of manuscripts etc.): *Bo* fol. 154^r–155^r, *Br* fol. 86^r, *M* fol. 179^v–180^r. First edition based on the Brussels manuscript (*Br*): *Acta Sanctorum* Ianuarii II, coll. 899–900 (with minor errors), reedited by Fraknói, *MRV*, 161–62.

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MANDATE OF POPE INNOCENT V TO THE
CANONS UMBERTO BIANCHI AND DE LA CORRA

Rome, May 25, sine anno [1276]

Innocent, bishop and the servant of the servants of God, sends greetings and apostolic benediction to his beloved sons, *magister* Umberto Bianchi, our chaplain, canon of Piacenza, and de la Corra, doctor of law and canon of the church of the Holy Apostles in Verona.

The legitimate witnesses, whom you are to receive concerning the life, conduct, and miracles of the virgin Margaret of revered memory, nun of the Glorious Virgin of the monastery on the island of the Danube, of the Order of the Preachers in the diocese of Veszprém, after they have first taken an oath, you are to examine diligently, and about anything they say you should ask them: how they know those things, in what time they happened, in what month, on what day, in whose presence, where, at whose invocation and with what words; and also about the names of those people around whom the miracles were said to have happened, and whether they knew them before, and for how many days previously they saw the persons ill, and for how long they were ill, and for how long they were seen healthy [after the miracle], and what is the place of their origin. And they should be questioned carefully about all circumstances, and it should be arranged into single chapters, as it unfolds and develops, [as] a series of witness-accounts; the aforesaid questions and the words of the witnesses should be recorded faithfully in writing, with all the sincerity and detail with which they were narrated.

Dated at the Lateran palace, May 25, in the first year of our papacy.

REPORT OF UMBERTO BIANCHI AND
DE LA CORRA TO POPE JOHN XXI^a

Sine loco, sine dato [ca. autumn 1276]

Sanctissimo patri, domino Iohanni, Dei gratia sacrosante Romane ecclesie supremo pontifici,¹⁹ Ubertus Blancus, eius devotissimus capellanus licet indignus et magister de la Corra decretorum doctor, Sanctorum Apostolorum Veronensis canonicus pedum oscula beatorum. Noverit sanctitas vestra nos a felicis memorie predecessore vestro²⁰ litteras recipisse in hac forma [2] [3].²¹

Cupientes igitur predictum mandatum²² reverenter exequi, ut tenemur, ad dictum monasterium personaliter accedentes cum omni diligentia inquisitionem fecimus super vita, conversatione et miraculis recolendae memorie predictae virginis Margarete, sanctimonialis monasterii antedicti, prout inferius continetur.²³ Depositiones testium, quos super hec recepimus, et alia, que in eorum elucidatione recepimus, seriose, diffuse ac explicite eo ordine, quo illa fuerunt deposita coram nobis, per manum publicam Bertholdi

^a Original lost but the text survived in three lines of tradition with slightly different wording: 1) appended to the fifteenth century copy of the *Legenda vetus* previously kept in Bologna (Archivio di San Domenico, cod. A, fol. 154^v–155^r = Bo) and more recently transferred to the Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana: Ms. Vat. Lat. 15237, cf. Preface notes 15–17; 2) a copy from the fourteenth century in Brussels (Bibliothèque royale de Belgique, Manuscrit no. 3178 [old signature: 7503-18], fol. 85^v–86^r = Br) as well as from another fifteenth-century codex in Münster (Landesarchiv Nordrhein-Westfalen Abteilung Westfalen, Münster, Handschrift des Vereins für Geschichte und Altertumskunde Westfalens, Abteilung Münster, Hs. 3, fol. 179^r, 180^r = M); both contain the *Legenda minor* (BHL 5332) of Margaret of Hungary after the report of Umberto Bianchi and Master de la Corra (Br fol. 86^r–88^v, M fol. 180^r–191^v). 3) The text is also appended to the two eighteenth-century copies (in Gyulafehérvár/ Alba Iulia Gy and in Rome/ Santa Sabina S) of the seventeenth-century transcription of the *Acts*, the former of which served Vilmos Fraknói for the edition which is reprodu-

4

REPORT OF THE CANONS UMBERTO BIANCHI
AND DE LA CORRA TO POPE JOHN XXI

Sine loco, sine dato [ca. autumn 1276]

To the most holy father and lord, John, by the grace of God supreme pontiff of the holy Roman Church,¹⁹ Umberto Bianchi, his most devoted, albeit unworthy chaplain, and *magister* De la Corra, doctor of law, canon of the church of the Holy Apostles in Verona, send kisses to his blessed feet.

Let your Holiness know that we received a letter from your predecessor of blessed memory,²⁰ in this form: [2] [3]²¹

Thus, wishing to carry out reverently the aforementioned instruction,²² as we are bound, we went in person to the said monastery, and completed the inquest with the utmost care about the life, behavior and miracles of the aforesaid virgin Margaret of revered memory, nun of the aforesaid monastery, as is contained below.²³ The depositions of the witnesses whom we received about these matters, and other information that we learned in the course of their explanations, we had faithfully recorded in writing by the

ced in this volume (cf. n. 103–104 to the Preface). It is the Bologna manuscript (*Bo*) that preserved the original text the best (see, e.g., the Hungarian place names) therefore it was chosen to be the base of the present critical amendment of the first edition, based on the Brussels manuscript (*Br*): *Acta Sanctorum*, Januarii II. col. 900 (with minor errors), also reproduced by Fraknói, *MRV*, 161–62. A full critical edition of these pontifical letters will be published in the near future.

¹⁹ Pope John XXI (September 8, 1276–May 20, 1277).

²⁰ Pope Innocent V (January 21–June 22, 1276).

²¹ The bulls of Pope Innocent V are inserted here, dated to May 14 and May 25, 1276 (charter no. 2 and no. 3 in the present volume).

²² This refers to the bull inserted in the letter.

²³ I.e., the *Acts*.

de Bosant notarii²⁴ fideliter in scriptis redactis sub sigillis nostris vestre sanctitati duximus intimandum.^a

Copiam nichilominus omnium eorum, que vestre sanctitati transmittimus, de verbo ad verbum nichil addentes vel diminuentes sub sigillis predictis, una cum litteris felicitis memorie Innocenti quinti, predecessoris vestri nobis missis.^b

5

LETTER OF RUDOLF OF HABSBURG,
KING OF THE ROMANS²⁵ TO THE POPE^c

Sine loco, sine dato [in the first months of 1277]²⁶

[G]randis^d adest matri ecclesie causa letitie, multa ei materia iocunditatis advenit, habet enim, unde Domino canticum novum cantet, unde immense laudis ymnum referat Deo suo, habet plebs catholica, sonoris iubilet vocibus et letis animis iocundetur. De orto siquidem fidei²⁷ Christiane sponsa egrediens floride virginitatis flosculis in-

^a Another version of the ending from the early modern copies of the *Acts: Depositiones testium, quos super hec et alia, que in eorum elucidatione recepimus, seriose coram nobis fideliter in scriptis redacta sub sigillis nostris duximus santitati vestre intima. Gy S.*

^b The last paragraph is missing from *Bo*, but is present in *Br*, *M*.

^c Gusztáv Wenzel, *Árpádkori Uj Okmánytár. Codex Diplomaticus Arpadianus* (Pest 1860–Budapest 1889), vol. IV, 166–67.

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hand of the public notary Berthold of Bosant,²⁴ seriously, explicitly and in a detailed form, in the order in which they were presented to us, and collected them under our seals, so that they could be sent to your Holiness. Nonetheless a copy of everything that we are sending to your Holiness, word for word, adding or subtracting nothing, under the abovementioned seals, together with the letters your predecessor of blessed memory, Innocent V, had sent us [...]

5

LETTER OF RUDOLF OF HABSBURG,
KING OF THE ROMANS²⁵ TO THE POPE

Sine loco, sine dato [in the first months of 1277]²⁶

Great is the reason to rejoice for the Mother Church, a major cause for joy has arrived, because the catholic congregation has something from which it can sing a new song to the Lord, bring to its God a great hymn full of praise, and rejoice with clear voice and happy hearts. Because from the garden of the Christian faith²⁷ a bride comes, adorned

MTA, 1893), vol. 2, 553 n. 232. The addressee of the letter is unclear: the popes of this period had very short reigns and it also happened that the papal throne remained empty for months. Pope John XXI (1276–1277) died on May 20, 1277, and his successor, Nicholas III (1277–1280), was elected only on November 25, 1277.

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de Bosant notarii²⁴ fideliter in scriptis redactis sub sigillis nostris vestre sanctitati duximus intimandum.^a

Copiam nichilominus omnium eorum, que vestre sanctitati transmittimus, de verbo ad verbum nichil addentes vel diminuentes sub sigillis predictis, una cum litteris felicitis memorie Innocenti quinti, predecessoris vestri nobis missis.^b

5

LETTER OF RUDOLF OF HABSBURG,
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signita, ex regali quoque progenie trahens originem nuper meruit eterni regis regale solium accensis introire lampadibus sponsoque altissimo copulari, Sancta videlicet Margareta, incliti socii nostri et amici, karissimi regis Ungarie²⁸ amita, per quam exoratus pius opifex Iesus Christus multa miraculosa prodigia operatur, in gentibus et signis evidentibus plebem in fide corroborat et confirmat. Super cuius quidem canonizatione votiva ad instantiam incliti regis predicti, cuius litteras super eo recepimus, una cum ipso paternitatem vestram piissimam humili prece deposcimus et devota, quatenus eiusdem Sancte Margarete virginis, que veluti prefulgida margarita in terris choruscat miraculis, gloriosis meritis provocati ipsam dignemini cathologo sanctorum ascribere, condignis a populo per mundi climata honore et gloria venerandam.

6

PETITION OF EMERIC, BISHOP OF
VÁRAD (ORADEA), TO THE HOLY SEE^a

Sine loco, sine dato [ca. 1305–1314]

Sanctissimo patri ac domino C[lementi]²⁹ divina disponente providentia sacrosancte Romane ecclesie summo pontifici Aymericus divina miseratione minister et episcopus ecclesie Waradiensis to-

^a Archivio Storico Capitolino (Rome), Archivio Orsini, Pergamene n. inv. 225 (old singature: II. A. IX. no. 53.). On the back, in a contemporary hand: *Testimonium domini Aemeric* [originally *Aemorici*, corrected later] *episcopi Waradiensis et capituli eiusdem*. On the back, in a later, early modern hand: *Connumeratio inter virgines Margarithe filie Bele regis Ungarie*, old and current signature in modern hands. The back was partially erased with some inscriptions. Original, intact parchment. Originally it had two seals which have now been lost. Online access: <http://archiviocapitolinorisorsedigitali.it/> (dated between 1305 and 1314, providing wrongly II. A. IX. n. 54 as the old signature—with an excerpt of the charter in Italian based on aids by Pietro Presutti). Edited by Bence Péterfi.

²⁸ Ladislav IV (the Cuman), king of Hungary (1272–1290).

with the flowers of her blossoming virginity, and even originating from a royal stem, who had recently deserved to enter the royal house of the eternal king, with all the candles lit, and join her heavenly bridegroom: namely saint Margaret, the aunt of our illustrious ally and best friend, the king of Hungary²⁸; at her request the pious creator Jesus Christ works many wonderful miracles among the peoples and with evident signs strengthens and confirms them in their faith. Concerning her desired canonization, on the urging of the abovementioned illustrious king, whose letter we received upon this subject, we together with him beseech you, most pious father, with a humble and devoted plea, to deign to include this virgin saint Margaret—who like a shining pearl gleams with her miracles on earth—into the catalog of saints, moved by her glorious merits, so that people the world over would venerate her with wholly deserved honor and glory.

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tumque collegium sive capitulum eiusdem ecclesie omnimodam reverentiam et pedum oscula beatorum.

Celestis altitudo consilii ac divine potentie supereminens magnitudo idcirco sanctorum diversos ordines velut quedam luminaria super ecclesie candelabrum posuit, ut admiranda virtus operum divinatorum clarius elucescat, et *Deus in sanctis suis mirabilis*³⁰ ostendatur. Hinc est, quod *Lucifer ille matutinus, qui nescit occasum*, et *qui resurgens ab inferis humano generi serenus illuxit*,³¹ nove lucis radio terram Ungarie celitus illustravit, dum virginem Margaretam, filiam quondam domini Bele incliti regis Ungarie sub custodia pariter et disciplina fratrum predicatorum enutritam divine benedictionis munere sic prevenit, ut eam non solum in vita candore virginitatis et regularium virtutum exercitiis decoraret, verum etiam quampluribus miraculorum prodigiis redderet gloriosam.

Cum igitur vita predictae virginis et miracula per inquisitores a Sede Apostolica deputatos cum testimoniis fidedignorum diligenter fuerint conscripta, nec lucernam tam preclaram ac celesti lumine radiantem deceat occultari, sanctissime paternitatis vestre gratiam vestris provoluti pedibus flagitamus, quatenus prenominatam virginem, quam *lumen verum de lumine vero*,³² tot virtutum floribus et miraculorum fulgoribus fecit esse coruscam, sanctarum virginum kathalogo annumerare velitis, ut quemadmodum sanctissima ipsius anima in eterni thalamo sponsi feliciter creditur exaltata, sic et corpus eius virgineum stirpe generosi sanguinis procreatum de loco pulveris ad locum altiorem cum debita reverentia transferatur.

³⁰ Ps. 67:36.

³¹ The Latin cites the wording of the Easter hymn, the Exultet: "Flammas eius Lucifer matutinus inveniatur, ille, inquam, Lucifer, qui nescit occasum, Christus Filius tuus, qui regressus ab inferis humano generi serenus illuxit."

tire college, that is, chapter of the same church, extend every manner of reverence and kisses to his blessed feet.

The height of heavenly reason and the transcendent greatness of divine power has placed the various orders of saints as lights on the candelabrum of the Church in order that the admirable virtue of divine deeds might shine the more brightly and that *God* may be seen *glorious in his saints*.³⁰ Hence *the Morning Star, which never sets* and which, *returning from the dead, shed his serene light on all mankind*³¹ illuminated from heaven with a beam of new light the land of Hungary when it so endowed the virgin Margaret—daughter of the late lord Béla, glorious king of Hungary, raised under the guardianship and discipline of the Friars Preachers—with the gift of divine benediction that it not only adorned her during her lifetime with the beauty of virginity and the exercise of the virtues prescribed by her Order, but as well rendered her glorious with a multitude of miraculous signs.

Since the life and miracles of the abovementioned virgin have been carefully written down by the inquisitors sent by the apostolic see, together with the testimonies of trustworthy persons, and because such a bright and celestially illuminated lantern ought not to be hidden, we beseech your grace, most holy father, falling at your feet, to enlist the abovementioned virgin, whom *the True Light from the True Light*³² made to shine with the flowers of so many virtues and with the brightness of miracles, into the catalog of saintly virgins, so that, as her most holy soul is believed to be exalted happily in the wedding-bed of her eternal Spouse, so also her virgin body, born of noble stock, may be translated with due reverence from the dust to a higher place.

³² The Latin wording recalls the Credo: *Deum de Deo, Lumen de Lumine, Deum verum de Deo vero*; God from God, Light from Light, true God from true God.

MANDATE OF POPE URBAN VI FOR A NEW INQUEST ON MARGARET OF HUNGARY^a

Rome, June 1, sine anno [1379]

Iudici

Dignum et debitum esse censemus,³³ *ut quos Deus coronat et honorat in celis propter merita sanctitatis, nos veneracionis officio laudemus et glorificemus in terris, cum ipse^b potius laudetur et glorificetur in ipsis, qui est 'laudabilis et gloriosus in secula',³⁴ quique ut sue 'virtutis potenciam'³⁵ mirabiliter manifestet et nostre 'salutis causam'³⁶ misericorditer operetur, fideles suos, quos coronat in celo, frequenter etiam honorat in mundo ad eorum memoriam 'signa faciens atque prodigia',³⁷ per que pravitas confundatur heretica et fides catholica roboretur. Sed licet sit pium et debitum veneracioni sanctorum intendere ac eos colendis^c in terris populis exhibere, decet tamen et expedit, in hiis talem maturitatis adhibere cautelam, quod nulla fallat incertitudo iudicium nec ignorancia facti iudicantis sollertiam circumscribat, que tanto periculosiora forent in talibus, quanto in maioribus erraretur, sed providencia multa preambula et diligenti maturitate servata, veritas exquisita solícite deducatur in lucem et de dubiis sententia eliciatur indubia et certitudo habeatur et sumatur certior in incertis.*

^a The edition of the Latin text, with an analysis: Otfried Krafft, "Árpád-házi Szt. Margit szentté avatási perének 1379-es újrafelvétele" [A renewed canonization procedure of Saint Margaret of Hungary in 1379], in *Századok* 140 (2006): 455–64. The original manuscript: Biblioteca Apostolica Vaticana, Vatican City, Vat. Lat. 6772, fol. 20^r.

^b ipsa ed.

^c recte colendos.

³³ The text in italics in the Latin is a literal borrowing from the mandate concerning the investigation on Thomas Aquinas, starting with *Cum secundum*, published by Angelus Walz, "Historia canonizationis S. Thomae de Aquino," in Sadoc Szabó O. P., ed., *Xenia Thomistica, a plurimis orbis Catholici viris eruditissimis praeeparata, quae Sancto Thomae Aquinatis doctori communi et angelico anno ab eius canonizatione sexcentesimo devotissime offert reverendissimus pater frater Ludovicus Theissling*, 3 vols. (Rome: Typis polyglottis Vaticanis, 1925), vol. 3, 165–67.

7

MANDATE OF POPE URBAN VI FOR A NEW
INQUEST ON MARGARET OF HUNGARY

Rome, June 1, sine anno [1379]

To the Judge,

We deem it worthy and due³³ that we should praise and glorify on the earth with the service of veneration those whom God crowns and honors in heaven because of the merits of their sanctity, since through them especially He is praised and glorified, who is *worthy of praise and glorious for ever*,³⁴ and who, in order that He might show in marvelous wise the *might of His power*³⁵ and might work compassionately for the *cause of our own salvation*,³⁶ often honors even in the world those of His worshippers whom He crowns in heaven, by making *signs and wonders*³⁷ to their memory, that through these the baseness of the heretic may be confounded and the Catholic faith strengthened. Yet even if it is pious and right that the veneration of saints should be promoted and they should be set before the peoples so that they might venerate them on the earth, nevertheless it is proper and expedient to show in these matters such caution and due measure that no uncertainty would jeopardize judgment nor any ignorance of what happened hinder the judge's skill—what would be all the more dangerous in such matters, the more important the things in which error is made. Instead, the truth should be brought into the light after it has been scrutinized with great care, and out of the dubious things a judgment free of doubt arrived at; and there should be all the more certainty in matters which were uncertain when great foresight is shown and careful measure observed.

³⁴ Dan. 3:56: *laudabilis et gloriosus in saecula.*

³⁵ Eph. 6:10: *potentia virtutis.*

³⁶ Heb. 5:9: *causa salutis.*

³⁷ Deut. 6:22: *fecitque signa atque prodigia.*

³⁸*Nuper siquidem ex parte carissime in Christo filie nostre Elizabeth senioris regine Ungarie*³⁹ *illustris etiam cum frequenti et pluries repetita instantia fuit coram nobis et fratribus nostris expositum, quod olim recolende memorie Margarita filia clare memorie Bele regis Ungarie dum vixit sanctitatis nitore emicuit, vita et conversatione resplenduit, et multis et magnis miraculis tam ante quam post eius obitum coruscavit, et adhuc in insula leporum Vesprimien-sis diocesis, ubi eiusdem Margarite corpus requiescit, dignoscitur coruscare. Quare pro parte dicte regine fuit nobis humiliter supplicatum, ut de predictae Margarite vita et miraculis inquisitione premissa, si inveniremus premissa veritate fulciri, eandem Margaritam sanctorum cathalago ascribere dignaremur, ipsamque faceremus per universas orbis ecclesias venerari.*

Licet autem premissa, si veritate nitantur, *nostrum et fratrum nostrorum predictorum corda multa iocunditate reficiant et labiorum vitulum immolemus*⁴⁰ *Altissimo, qui 'bases columpnarum'*⁴¹ *fidei nostre fundavit et stabilivit supra 'firmam petram,'*⁴² *attendentes tamen huiusmodi negocium tam arduum tamquam*^a *sublime inscrutabile fore mortalibus et profunde ipsorum sensibus abditum, cum nullus in humanis agens possit archana celestia perscrutari et vix queamus absque difficultate [et] labore veridice investigare terrena, et propter hoc Romana ecclesia consueverit in tanto negotio cum exacta diligencia multaque maturitate procedere; considerantes insuper, quod tu in loco, ubi predicta miracula facta dicuntur, vicinus existis, ad*^b *presens habere poteris plenam certitudinem de eisdem, huiusmodi prefate regine supplicationibus inclinati, circumspec-*

^a recte colendos.

^b recte ac.

³⁸ From this point the italics in the Latin text follows the mandate concerning Nicolas of Tolentino, beginning with *Pater luminum*, as published by Nicola Occhioni, ed., *Il processo per la canonizzazione di S. Nicola da Tolentino* (Rome: École française de Rome, 1984), 3–4.

³⁹ Elisabeth Piast (1305–1380), daughter of the Polish king, Wladislas (Łokietek), widowed wife of Charles I of Anjou, king of Hungary (1310–1342), who maintained a great influence as “queen mother,” beside her son Louis I of Anjou, king of Hungary (1342–1382).

Since³⁸ recently it was presented to us and to our brothers from the part of our dearest daughter in Christ, Elisabeth, the illustrious elder queen of Hungary,³⁹ with frequent and many times repeated earnestness, that Margaret of venerable memory, former daughter of King Béla of Hungary of illustrious memory, while she lived, radiated with the splendor of sainthood and reflected it with her life and behavior, and shone with numerous and great miracles both before and after her death, and to the present time is acknowledged to shine on the Island of Hares in the diocese of Veszprém where the body of the same Margaret rests: for this reason a request was humbly made to us from the part of the said queen that, after an inquest was first conducted about the life and miracles of the abovementioned Margaret, if we found that the previously said things are truly based, we should deem worthy to inscribe the same Margaret into the catalog of saints, and should cause her to be venerated through all the churches in the world.

Assuredly, then, the aforementioned, if they are found to be based in truth, would restore the hearts of us and our abovementioned brothers with immense joy, and with our lips we would *immolate a calf to the Highest One*⁴⁰ who has founded the *sockets of the pillars*⁴¹ of our faith and placed them onto a *solid rock*⁴²; yet we must take into account that a task of this sort, as difficult as it is sublime, would be hard for mortals to penetrate and deeply hidden from their senses, because none among human beings can fathom the secrets of heaven and we can hardly investigate even earthly matters according to the truth without difficulty and effort; for which reason the Roman Church is used to proceed in such a task with the utmost care and ripe deliberation. Taking into consideration, furthermore, that you live near to the place where the abovementioned miracles are said to have happened, and being present there you will be able to have full certainty about them, we, being inclined to the stated request of the abovementioned

⁴⁰ Lev. 1:5 *immolabitque vitulum*, Lev. 9:8, *immolavit vitulum* etc.

⁴¹ Exod. 38:17: *bases columnarum*

⁴² Matt. 7:24, Luke 6:48, Luke 8:6, Luke 8:13: *supra petram*

tioni tue, *de qua* in hiis et aliis specialem *in Domino fduciam* obtinemus, *per apostolica scripta* comictimus^a et *mandamus, quatinus* adiunctis et in hoc tibi assistentibus venerabilibus fratribus nostris Stephano patriarcha Ierusalemis, ⁴³ qui in illis partibus commoratur ad presens, et [...] Quinqueecclesiensi⁴⁴ ac [...] Vesprimiensi⁴⁵ episcopis, tu et idem patriarcha ac episcopi tecum *in loco seu locis*, in *quibus expedire videritis, de vita et conversacione* prefate Margarite ac *miraculis predictis et de circumstanciis omnibus huiusmodi negocium tangentibus iuxta formam, quam tibi sub bulla nostra mictimus interclusam*, auctoritate predicta *inquiratis diligencius veritatem, et que super hiis repperitis in scriptis redacta fideliter sub sigillis vestris per viros ydoneos ad sedem apostolicam destinetis, ut nos per huiusmodi inquisitionem vestram ad laudem divini nominis et honorem ac firmamentum fidei et consolacionem fidelium populorum dirigente Domino actus nostros securius et consulcius in ipso negotio procedere valeamus.*

Datum Rome apud sanctum Petrum Kalendas Iunii, pontificatus nostri anno secundo.

^bHic sequi debet forma examinandi⁴⁶ testium et est clausa sicut forma iuramenti, et ideo in principio eius infra litteram cum magna littera sic rubricatur in nigro tamen atramento, sicut in dicta iuramenti forma, videlicet:

^a recte committimus.

^b The text from this point until the end of the letter is in another hand, in smaller letters and hastily written.

⁴³ Possibly the Augustinian friar István Frankói who was archbishop of Kalocsa (1367–1382) at the time. Cf. Conradus Eubel et al., ed., *Hierarchia Catholica medii et recentioris aevi sive summorum pontificum, S. R. E. cardinalium, ecclesiarum antistitum series*, 8 vols. (Monasterii: Sumptibus et typis librariae Regensbergianae – Patavii: Il Messagero di S. Antonio, 1913–78), vol. 1, 276, and Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, vol. 1, 65.

⁴⁴ Probably Valentinus, that is, Bálint Alsáni, bishop of Pécs (1374–1408); cf. Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, vol. 1, 73, and Eubel, *Hierarchia*, vol. I.2., 410.

⁴⁵ Possibly Benedek Himházi, bishop of Veszprém (1379–1387); Engel, *Magyarország világi archontológiája*, vol. 1, 78.

queen, by way of an apostolic letter entrust and commission this to your circumspection, about which we have a special trust in our Lord in these as well as other matters, so that, with our venerable brothers Stephen, the patriarch of Jerusalem,⁴³ who is at the moment staying in those parts, and [...] the bishop of Pécs⁴⁴ and [...] the bishop of Veszprém⁴⁵ joined with you and assisting you in this task, you and that patriarch and the bishops together with you may seek more diligently with the aforesaid authority the truth, in that place or places where you will consider it most useful, concerning the life and behavior of the abovementioned Margaret and about the aforesaid miracles as well as about all circumstances that pertain to this matter, according to the format which we send you attached under our bull. And what you find about these matters you should truthfully record in writing and send under your seal by way of suitable persons to the apostolic see, so that with the help of your inquest, being more certain and better advised, we may proceed in this issue to the praise of the divine name and to the honor and strengthening of the faith and to the comfort of the faithful nations, with the Lord guiding our actions.

Written in Rome, at Saint Peter's, on the 1st of June in the second year of our papacy.

Here is to follow the form of examining the witnesses;⁴⁶ it has the format of an oath, and therefore below the letter at its beginning with capital letters should be written in black ink, as in the said form of oath, the following heading:

⁴⁶ Here reference is made to the actual text of this form, with *quem infra* being written above the lines. Its text is copied in the same codex a little later, Vat. lat. 6772, fol. 24r, where, as its title attests, it refers to the canonization processes of Elzéar de Sabran (1351 and 1365): "Forma iuxta quam testes legitimos examinabitis super vita et miraculis quondam Elizarii comitis Ariani et domini baronie Ansoysii de provincia provincie oriundi. Debito ab eis prius prestito iuramento ..." The wording is similar in the more or less contemporary form referring to the wife of Elzéar, Dauphine; cf. Jacques Cambell, *Enquête pour le procès de canonisation de Dauphine de Puymichel Comtesse d'Ariano* (†26.XI.1360) (*Apt et Avignon, 14 Mai–30. Octobre 1363*) (Turin: Bottega d'Erasmus, 1978), 7–8.

Forma examinacionis testium. Et non plus; postea littera in alia linea statim incipitur sic:

Testes examinandos per vos super vita, conversacione, miraculis et sanctitate recolende memorie Margarite et cetera, examinabitur diligenter, a quibus inter alia sub debito prestiti iuramenti petitis, si prece, precio vel auctoritate producti sunt, et de causa sciencie, loco, tempore, miraculorum speciebus, ad cuius oracionem vel preces et invocacionem, et quomodo ista sciunt et ceteris circumstantiis, vide Summam Hostiensis⁴⁷ vel Speculum Iuris.⁴⁸ Ad hoc modicum tamen aliud continet, quam hic sic expressum, et finit, quod omnia in forma publica per tabellionem apostolicum in scriptis redacta et eorum sigillis munita mittat^a publica instrumenta ad sedem apostolicam aliis penes se propter viarum pericula reservatis.

8

LETTER OF KING MATTHIAS CORVINUS
TO POPE PIUS II^b

Sine loco, sine dato [ca. 1462–1464]

Sanctissimo in Christo patri et domino domino Pio⁴⁹ divina providentia sacrosancte Romane ac universalis ecclesie summo pontifici, domino nostro clementissimo.

^a recte mittant

^b Manuscript: Magyar Nemzeti Levéltár, Országos Levéltár, Mohács előtti Gyűjtemény, Diplomatai Levéltár (henceforth DL), No. 50404 (Codex Héderváry), fol. 21^v–22^v no. 28 (above the text, in an early modern hand: *Rex pro b[eata] Margarete canonizatione rogat pontificem*; reprint: *Héderváry-kódex. Mátyás király leveleskönyve a Héderváry család egykori könyvtárából*. (Budapest: MOL, 2008), ibidem, Diplomatai Fényképgyűjtemény, No. 290245 (original: Főszékesegyházi Könyvtár, Esztergom, Ms. II. 393. [Epistolae Matthiae Corvini et Vladislai II. regum Hungariae]), 40–41 (copy from the sixteenth century). First edition of the Latin text: Sigmundus Ferrarius, *De rebus Hungaricae provinciae ordinis praedicatorum* (Viennae: Typis Matthaei Formicae, 1637), 380–81. The text reproduced here is taken from *Mátyás király levelei. Matthiae Corvini Hungariae regis epistolae exterae*, ed. Vilmos Fraknói, 2 vols. (Budapest: MTA, 1893–1895; reprint, [Budapest]: Nap, 2008), vol. 1, 143–45, no. 43 (based on Codex Héderváry).

The form to examine the witnesses. And nothing more; and then the letter should begin immediately after on the next line, in the following way:

The witnesses to be examined by you about the life, behavior, miracles, and sanctity of Margaret of venerable memory etc. you will examine carefully. You will ask them, among other things, under the binding form of the oath they swore, whether they were influenced to come forward by any request, money, or authority, and how they came to know what they know, where and when the miracles took place and what sort they were, at whose prayer, request, or invocation, and how they know these things, and about all other circumstances; see the *Summa Hostiensis*⁴⁷ or the *Speculum Iuris*.⁴⁸ And in this way if there is anything more than what was expressed here, at the end everything should be written down, in public format, by a papal notary and, secured by their seals, should be sent as a public document to the apostolic see, all other documents being retained in their safekeeping because of the dangers of the roads.

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To the most holy lord and father in Christ, Pius,⁴⁹ by divine providence supreme pontiff of the sacrosanct Roman and universal Church, our most clement lord.

⁴⁷ Henricus de Segusio, Cardinalis Hostiensis, *Summa Aurea* (Lugduni: Apud Haeredes Jacobi Juntae, 1548).

⁴⁸ Probably the work of Guillelmus Durandus the elder, *Speculum Iudiciale, illustratum et repurgatum a Giovanni Andrea et Baldo degli Ubaldi* (Basel: Apud Ambrosium et Aurelium Frobenios fratres, 1574; reprint Aalen: Scientia Verlag, 1975).

⁴⁹ Pope Pius II, Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini (August 19, 1458–August 14, 1464).

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⁴⁹ Pope Pius II, Enea Silvio Bartolomeo Piccolomini (August 19, 1458–August 14, 1464).

Beatissime pater et domine, post humilem nostri commendationem ad pedum oscula beatorum. Inter multa ardua negotia, quibus nunc maxime urgemur, et de iis etiam solliciti sumus, que ad honorem divine maiestatis et sacre religionis pertinent incrementum. Immo quodammodo magis inpresentiarum nobis veniunt in mentem ea, que devotionis sunt, quam in otio domestice quietis. Proinde non erit mirandum, si hoc potissimum tempore vestre sanctitati ea suggererimus, que plus pacis tranquillitati, quam castrensibus negotiis convenire videntur. Verum, ut apertius intelligi possit, quod intendimus, paulo altius repetito initio summam tamen breviter proponemus. Est quedam insula Danubio circumflua, in conspectu huius civitatis nostre Budensis, que olim leporum, postea Beate Marie insula dicta est. In ea insula monasterium extitit sanctimonialium Ordinis Predicatorum, quod quidem monasterium quondam rex Bela predecessor noster fundaverat, et in eodem filiam suam nomine Margaretam Deo virginem dedicarat. Ea Margareta vite honestate ac sanctis operibus tantam celitus gratiam promeruerit^a, ut tam in corpore, quam post obitum magnis et evidentibus miraculis corruscarit, quemadmodum adhuc multorum fidedigna testimonia comprobant, et paulo post eius mortem a diversis Romanis pontificibus vel deputati vel missi inquisitores, examinatis inde pluribus idoneis testibus et tota proficiente Hungaria, comperisse ac scriptum reliquisse dinoscuntur. Sed, ut fit, regum pariter et rerum frequenti mutatione susceptæ rei consummatio vel prorogata fuit, vel neglecta.

Nunc igitur beatitudini vestre in eo quam humillime ac studiosissime supplicamus, quatenus rem hanc intermissam et sibi forsitan divinitus, ut alia multa et preclara, iam dudum servata per se aut per suos recognoscere dignetur. Et cum intellexerit omnia, que ad id opportuna et necessaria fuerint, satis constare, et ita placuisse Altissimo, divine exinde benignitatis affluentiam apostolice auctoritatis preconio et solempni publicatione declaret. Faciet in hoc

^a recte promeruit.

Most blessed father and lord, after humbly recommending ourselves we send kisses to your blessed feet. Amongst the many weighty issues that keep us occupied nowadays we are concerned also about those things that belong to the honor of divine majesty and to the growth of holy religion; indeed, in a certain manner those things that pertain to devotion come to our mind much more in the present circumstances than during the idleness of domestic peace. Hence it will be no wonder that especially in this time we turn to your Holiness regarding those issues that are seemingly more suitable to the tranquility of peacetime than to the business of war-camps. Yet, so that it may be clearer what we intend, we will go a little more deeply into the beginning, before presenting a short summary of this matter.

There is a certain island surrounded by the Danube, in sight of our city of Buda, which was once called the Island of Hares, and later the Island of the Virgin Mary. On this island there is a monastery of the nuns of the Order of the Preachers, which was founded by our predecessor, the late King Béla, and in which he dedicated to God his virgin daughter, called Margaret. This Margaret has earned such grace from heaven through the purity of her life and her saintly deeds, that both in life and after her death she has shone with great and evident miracles, as even now the trustworthy testimonies of many persons prove, and as the inquisitors who were entrusted or sent by various Roman popes not long after Margaret's death, after that they had examined numerous suitable witnesses and with the whole of Hungary confessing [her miracles], are known to have learnt and committed to writing. But, as often happens, because of the frequent changes of kings and circumstances, the completion of this initiative had been either postponed or neglected.

Thus now, we beseech your Holiness most humbly and most earnestly to deign to take into consideration again, either by yourself or through your associates, this issue which had been put on hold but which perhaps may have been reserved by divine providence, like so many other honorable deeds, for your very self; and after your Holiness has understood that everything which was suit-

vestra sanctitas rem gloriosam et nobis ac nostris omnibus optatissimam, immo quod vel primum vel solum in talibus ponderandum est, multorum devotioni et saluti profuturam ac omnipotenti Deo plane acceptam, qui accensam lucernam non vult abscondi, sed illuminandi causa in edito poni⁵⁰ et se in sanctis suis precipit laudari, qui et beatitudinem vestram diu felicem servet ecclesie sue regimini et augmento.

Datum.

9

LETTER OF KING MATTHIAS TO THE COLLEGIUM OF CARDINALS^a

Sine loco, sine dato [ca. 1462–1464]

Collegio cardinalium ex parte domini regis.^b

Scripsimus sanctissimo domino nostro pro elevatione corporis seu canonisatione Beate virginis Margarete, olim Bele regis predecessoris nostri filie, sanctimonialis quondam Ordinis Predicatorum in monasterio Sancte Marie de insula iuxta civitatem nos-

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^b Originally not part of the petition but inserted later by the compiler of the codex.

able and necessary to this matter is sufficiently ascertained and that the matter has pleased the Most High [we beseech you] to declare with your announcement of apostolic authority and a solemn public declaration the abundance of divine benevolence. By this act your Holiness will perform a glorious deed, so much desired by us and all of our people, and all the more, what is the first, or indeed the only consideration in such matters, one that will be conducive to the devotion and salvation of many and clearly acceptable to God omnipotent; who does not want the lighted lantern to be hidden, but to be placed in the high place in order to give light,⁵⁰ and who bids us that He be praised in his saints. May God keep your Holiness happy for long, for the guidance and furtherance of His church.

Date.

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LETTER OF KING MATTHIAS TO THE COLLEGIUM
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Sine loco, sine dato [ca. 1462–1464]

To the collegium of cardinals from the his lordship, the king.

We have written to our most holy lord regarding the elevation of the body, that is, the canonization of the blessed virgin Margaret, the daughter of the late King Béla, our predecessor, once a nun of the Order of Preachers in the monastery of the Virgin Mary on the Island surrounded by the Danube by our city of Buda,

⁵⁰ Matt. 5:14–15: “Non potest civitas abscondi supra montem posita, neque accedunt lucernam, et ponunt eam sub modio, sed super candelabrum, ut luceat omnibus, qui in domo sunt.”

vestra sanctitas rem gloriosam et nobis ac nostris omnibus optatissimam, immo quod vel primum vel solum in talibus ponderandum est, multorum devotioni et saluti profuturam ac omnipotenti Deo plane acceptam, qui accensam lucernam non vult abscondi, sed illuminandi causa in edito poni⁵⁰ et se in sanctis suis precipit laudari, qui et beatitudinem vestram diu felicem servet ecclesie sue regimini et augmento.

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tram Budensem Danubio circumflua, de cuius virginis sanctitate et miraculis multa et magna testimonia produci possunt. Proinde reverendissimas paternitates vestras quam diligentissime rogamus, quatenus rei tam honeste et pie ac salutifere promotionibus et suffragiis suis adesse velint. In quo nobis quidem et nostris plurimum, sed Deo longe amplius complacebunt.

about whose sanctity and miracles there can be produced many and great testimonies. Hence we most earnestly beseech you, most reverend fathers, that you agree to advance and support a matter which is so honorable, pious, and conducive to our salvation.

In this you will be most pleasing to us and to our people, but to God much more.

V

A NEW SERIES OF MIRACLES
AT THE TOMB OF BLESSED
MARGARET

INTRODUCTION TO THE CHARTERS¹

BENCE PÉTERFI

The fact itself that King Matthias Corvinus (1458–1490) at the beginning of his reign made attempts to get Margaret of Hungary canonized, has been well known for centuries.² The exact date of these two letters of request (IV/8–9 in the present edition) cannot be determined because the Codex Héderváry that preserves their earliest copy was a book of letters compiled according to Humanist literary taste, which, for stylistic reasons, dropped irrelevant information such as dates. The letter addressed to the head of the Church can be related chronologically to the pope's death, that is, the *terminus ante quem* is August 14, 1464. The *terminus post quem* was determined by the preeminent Hungarian historian, Vilmos Fraknói, in 1893 as the year 1462, probably based on the other documents in the Codex Héderváry that can be dated with more certainty. Even if there are editions of the letter where the editors supplied the date, it is certain that these deductions are only the result of scholarly speculation, added later to the let-

¹ In this introduction, I draw on my earlier paper: Bence Péterfi, “Újabb adalékok Árpád-házi Margit középkori csodáinak sorához” [New additions to the mediaeval miracles of St Margaret of Hungary], in *Micae mediaevales. Tanulmányok a középkori Magyarországról és Európáról*, ed. Zsófia Kádár, Gábor Mikó, Bence Péterfi, and András Vadas (Budapest: ELTE TDI, 2011), 83–105. I would like to thank Géza Érszegi, Bálint Lakatos, and Tibor Neumann for all their help in transcribing the Orsini charters. My one-week long research trip in July 2016 to Rome was supported financially by the Institute of History at the Hungarian Academy of Sciences.

² Géza Érszegi, “Letter of King Matthias to Pope Pius II regarding the canonization of Margaret, daughter of Béla IV, king of Hungary,” in *Matthias Corvinus, the King. Tradition and Renewal in the Hungarian Royal Court 1458–1490. Exhibition Catalogue* (Budapest History Museum March 19, 2008–June 30, 2008), ed. Péter Farbaký, Enikő Spekner, Katalin Szende, and András Végh (Budapest: BTM, 2008), 447–48.

ter addressed to Pope Pius II (1458–1464).³ The first edition of the text and the first attempt to date it both go back to the seventeenth-century Dominican, Sigismondo Ferrari, who himself took over the idea from a Jesuit father, Jakab Némethi, the discoverer of the book of letters—supposedly in the library of the Jesuit college of Pressburg (Bratislava). In the judgement of Némethi the two documents might have been sent to Rome through the intermediacy of Mark, bishop of Tinnin (Knin),⁴ around 1463–64.⁵ It would be an elegant solution to connect Bishop Mark's Roman mission with the business of Margaret's canonization, but there is no actual source that would support this hypothesis.⁶

This modest picture can be greatly enlarged. The eleven charters, written between 1446 and 1467 and preserved in the Orsini archives (V/1–11), offer a hitherto unknown side of the said canonization attempt, presenting a number of the miracles of Margaret of Hungary as recorded by the chapter of Buda. Each charter—except for the latest charter (V/11), which contains seven testimonies with one miracle in each—describes a single miraculous event. The very format is noteworthy, because in the kingdom of Hungary miracle stories are usually preserved in miracle accounts, redacted and collected into a single volume

³ Friedrich Steill, *Ephemerides Dominicano-sacrae. Das ist Heiligkeit und tugendvoller Geruch, der aus allen Enden der Welt zusammen getragenen Ehren-Blumen deß himmlisch-fruchtbahren Lust-Gartens Prediger Ordens*, 2 vols. (Dillingen: Johann Caspar Bencard, 1691–1692), vol. 1, 107–108.

⁴ Cf. Norbert C. Tóth, Richárd Horváth, Tibor Neumann, and Tamás Pálosfalvi, *Magyarországi világi archontológiája 1458–1526* [The secular archontology of medieval Hungary 1458–1526], vol. 1 (Budapest: MTA BTK TTI, 2016), 41.

⁵ Sigismundus Ferrarius, *De rebus Hungaricae provinciae Ordinis Praedicatorum* (Vienna: Typis Matthaei Formicae, 1637), 379–80, 382.

⁶ For Mark, Bishop of Tinnin, as envoy to Rome in 1463 cf. Vilmos Fraknói, *Mátyás király levelei. Mathiae Corvini Hungariae regis epistolae exterae*, 2 vols. (Budapest, MTA, 1893–1895; reprint [Budapest]: Nap, 2008), vol. 1, 125, 128–29 [vol. 1, 39 n. 30, 42–43 n. 33–34]. On the basis of the sources quoted by Ilona Király it cannot be said for certain that in 1464 King Matthias Corvinus sent Mark, bishop of Tinnin, to Pope Pius II, nor if the king sent another envoy after the death of Pius II to his successor, Paul II, regarding the issue of the canonization. Cf. Király, *Árpádházi Szent Margit és a Sziget*, 143.

or forming part of a larger work.⁷ In this introduction I leave out analysis of the narrative form⁸ or discussion of the miracles themselves. These newly discovered charters may not help to date more precisely the letters of King Matthias, but they do bring us to a better understanding of how a canonization attempt in the 1460s could have progressed: what kind of alliances were made in order to achieve success and what conflicts overshadowed them.

It is important to highlight the figures mentioned in charters, because their identification can bring us closer to understanding the circumstances among which the charters originated. The most information we have is—thanks to the work of József Köblös—about the canons and public notaries.⁹ The least-known group of people are the protagonists of the miraculous events themselves: sometimes they appear without being named, sometimes only their Christian name is given, and thus they are impossible to identify even by reference to other contemporary sources. Two nuns from the monastery on the Danube Island (the Island of

⁷ Gábor Sarbak, *Miracula Sancti Pauli primi heremite. Hadnagy Bálint pálos rendi kézikönyve, 1511* [The handbook of the Pauline Order by Bálint Hadnagy, 1511] (Debrecen: DTE BTK Klasszika-filológiai Tanszék, 2003); Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*, 94–130, 166–83.

⁸ The wording reflects the tradition of the *loca credibilia*, as the text reproduces the practice used at the place of authentication: the chapter sets into writing that the named persons presented themselves in front of them and made their testimonies. This traditional way of recording and authenticating legal records, although it was the received practice for centuries in the kingdom of Hungary, would not have had testimonial value in front of the Holy See. This explains why the public notaries felt the necessity to put their own signature as well on the original documents: the document that includes seven charters (V/8) bears the signature of both public notaries. For the *loca credibilia* see Ferenc Eckhardt, *Die glaubwürdigen Orte Ungarns im Mittelalter* (excerpt from *Mittheilungen des österreichischen Geschichtsforschung, Ergänzungsband 9/2*, Innsbruck: Wagner, 1914).

⁹ For the canons of the chapter of Buda, see József Köblös, *A budai, fehérvári, győri és pozsonyi káptalan archontológiája 1458–1526* [The archontology of the chapters of Buda, Fehérvár, Győr, and Pozsony] (Budapest: MOL, 1987); idem, *Az egyházi középrétteg Mátyás és a Jagellók korában. A budai, fehérvári, győri és pozsonyi káptalan adattárával* [The ecclesiastical middle ranks in the age of King Matthias Corvinus and the Jagellonians. With the database of the chapters of Buda, Fehérvár, Győr, and Pozsony] (Budapest: MTA TTI, 1994).

Hares) gave an account of their own illness and miraculous recovery (charters V/9–10), however these two depositions do not provide any clue to the nuns' identity.

Among the witnesses of the miracles we read of several people called *circumspecti* in the charters, probably burghers from Óbuda or servants of the nuns, who make the largest number of the witnesses.¹⁰ Interestingly, there is no mention of noblemen among the witnesses; we read only in charter V/5 that the four-year old girl, the beneficiary of the miracle, was of noble origin. Since we are told that the illness attacked the child in the monastery, we are probably dealing with the case of a noble child who was made to enter the monastery by her family.

We often come across the description "from the Island of Hares" in the text. We may suppose that this does not refer only to the monastery on the island but to a by now non-existent village that was nearby and did not bear any other name. This village¹¹ most likely owed its emergence to the nuns' settling on the island, and the servants who worked for the cloister presumably lived there. Probably all the people spoken of as "from the Island of Hares" were closely related to the nunnery. The case of Thomas Gályás (V/1–3) could not have been an exception: we meet him in legal sources as the nuns' attorney who protected them against all sorts of legal transgressions and quarrels regarding the ownership of land.¹² Two of the *circumspecti*, mentioned among the persons who did not live on the Island of Hares, were probably

¹⁰ For the definitions of social standing cf. András Kubinyi, "Budai és pesti polgárok családi összeköttetései a Jagelló-korban" [The family relations of the Buda and Pest burghers in the Jagellonian period] *Levéltári Közlemények* 37 (1966): 235–42.

¹¹ Cf. György Györffy, *Az Árpád-kori Magyarország történeti földrajza* [The historical geography of Hungary in the Arpadian era] (Budapest: Akadémiai, 1963–1998), vol. 4, 655; András Kubinyi, "Budapest története a későbbi középkorban Buda elestéig (1541-ig)" [The history of Budapest in the late Middle Ages until the fall of Buda] in *Budapest története a későbbi középkorban és a török hódoltság idején* [The history of Budapest in the late Middle Ages and during the Ottoman occupation], ed. László Gerevich and Domokos Kosáry (Budapest: Budapest Főváros Tanácsa, 1973), 29.

¹² For the career of each see the notes to the English translation of the charters.

also connected to the nuns: in 1473 we find among the tenants of the female community living on the Island of Hares the names of Clement Zubor and Matthew of Szeged, who are in all likelihood the same persons appearing in charter V/7. Another man, Barnabas Kapthas of Igal (V/7), figures once as the *officialis* on the nuns' land in Somogy county; he is once called an attorney, elsewhere a simple tenant.

Other connections relate certain persons to Óbuda, which locality itself had strong connection to the nunnery: Nicolas Patika is from there, and he must have been a member of a prominent burgher family. A similar background can be attributed to Gregory Bogdányi as well (V/2–3). Although Benedict Hideg of Óbuda does not figure in any miraculous event, only his wife (in V/2–3), it was he who had the Buda chapter transcribe the seven earlier charters in July 1462, at the request of Anne, the prioress (V/8). In all likelihood he knew the nuns' tenants and familiars, because occasionally he appears in the sources as intendant (*provisor curie*) of the nunnery on the Island of Hares. Similarly to Gályás, quite a few references survive about him acting as the nuns' attorney (*procurator*).

All in all, the majority of the persons figuring in the charters were connected either to the nunnery on the Island of Hares or to nearby Óbuda.

There are some exceptions, however: for example, Benedict, a Praemonstransian provost, who lived in the northern neighbourhood of the nuns on the Island of Hares. Another is Ladislás, the parish priest of Alkeszi, whose appearance is quite puzzling (V/11). It is certain that in earlier years he was a royal envoy and as such was close to the royal family.

The presence of the Óbuda burghers is all the more interesting, because the main landowner in this market-town since the mid-fourteenth century, beside the Buda chapter, was the queen of Hungary. Although the first part of King Matthias Corvinus's reign, the period before 1476, could count as a queenless period—apart from the time of his short marriage to Catherine Poděbrad (1463–1464), which ended with the queen's death in childbirth—the town nevertheless was not without its mistress: it belonged to

the king's mother, Elisabeth Szilágyi (†1483), even if the beginnings and the years in the 1460s of this ownership are unclear.

Elisabeth Szilágyi, however, had close connections not only with Óbuda but also with the nuns living on the Island of Hares. This is attested on one hand by the permission of the papal legate, according to which the Queen Mother could freely visit with her lady-in-waiting and her servants both the Clarissan convent at Óbuda and the nuns on the Island of the Hares,¹³ and on the other hand from the fact that it was at her and Matthias's request that at the turn of 1458–1459 Pope Pius II confirmed Anne in office after she had been nominated by two legates as prioress in charge of the convent on the Island of the Hares.

From the point of view of the nuns, the aspect of the papal confirmation that was most pleasantly surprising was not the unusually lengthy period of the prioress's office (a lifelong appointment) but rather that the nunnery on the Island of Hares was taken out of the jurisdiction of the Dominican Order, leaving the Order only with the right to hear the confessions of the nuns; but even the confessor had to be chosen by Elisabeth Szilágyi.¹⁴ The papal bull justified these orders with reference to the problems caused by the frequent changes of the Dominican friars entrusted to be confessors, changes that occurred quickly and unnecessarily, as well as the disturbances caused by their frequent visitations.

In fact, what the nuns regarded as an offence, must have been the practical outcome of the reforms emerging in the Dominican Order, which affected the communities of the Order in Hungary precisely from the middle of the 1450s.¹⁵ No doubt, the fre-

¹³ *MRV*, vol. 3, 220–21, no. 351.

¹⁴ *MRV*, vol. 3, 155–57, no. 261.

¹⁵ Farkas Gábor Kiss, "Latin és népnyelv a késő középkori magyarországi domonkos kolostorokban (Leonhard Huntbacher – Directio pedagogorum)" [Latin and vernacular in late-medieval Dominican convents in Hungary] *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 120 (2016): 225–47. In general: Sándor Láz, *Apácaműveltség Magyarországon a XV–XVI. század fordulóján. Az anyanyelvű irodalom kezdetei* [The education of nuns in Hungary at the turn of the fifteenth and sixteenth centuries: The beginnings of vernacular literature] (Budapest: Balassi, 2016), esp., 33–57

quent visitations to which they objected and the “conflicts” arose from this reform, and the nuns—just as any community trying to protect itself—were opposed to it. The nuns on the Island of Hares had a larger range of action thanks to their extensive land properties and to their ties to the royal court. It seems, however, that the reform found its way sooner or later into the nunnery on the Island of Hares as well, as attested by the fact that the Augustinian Regula was soon translated for them (1474).¹⁶ The dispute, nevertheless, between the Dominican Order and the nunnery over the latter’s incorporation was settled only much later. It was in May 1489, at the repeated requests of the Dominican Order, that the Pope finally gave the permission to the Order to reestablish their jurisdiction over the nunnery on the Island of Hares.¹⁷ It is still difficult to tell what the reason was, beside the king’s support, which allowed the nuns to avoid their being “reannexed” for such a long time.¹⁸ And if the nuns could always count on the support of the king of Hungary, in major issues, such as their affairs with the Holy See, the support of the Dominican Order must also have been welcome. But the conflict between them had probably greatly damaged their chances in securing the Order’s backing.

It cannot be doubted that in the attempts King Matthias Corvinus made to have Margaret of Hungary canonized he was motivated both by his personal and by his political interests. There

¹⁶ Sándor Láz, “Szent Ágoston regulájának 15. századi magyar fordítója. Váci Pál munkássága a 15. századi domonkos rendi reformban” [A fifteenth-century Hungarian translator of Saint Augustin’s Regula: The work of Paul Vaci in the fifteenth-century Dominican reform], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 109 (2005): 188–204. Cf. idem, “A Birk-kódex keletkezése. Alkotói szándékok és módszerek a XV. századi domonkos reformban” [The origin of the Birk Codex: Authorial motivations and methods in the 15th-century Dominican reform], *Irodalomtörténeti Közlemények* 110 (2006): 337–56.

¹⁷ Király, *Árpádházi Szent Margit és a Sziget*, 154–56; Harsányi, *A domonkos rend*, 105–107. In an overview of the medieval centuries of the Dominican order in Hungary by Lajos Implom (to be published soon), the conflict is described in detail.

¹⁸ *MRI*, vol. 3, 309, no. 460. The reintegration is well-attested by the fact that while according to the 1459 bull the prioress was to decide who might enter the precincts of the nunnery, in 1499 in a similar case it was the Dominican prior of the Order who gave permission to the prioress Sofia. Harsányi, *A domonkos rend*, 46.

was another issue Matthias supported during the first part of his reign regarding a mendicant order. It is quite likely that there was a personal interest on the part of the king in the canonization attempts of the Franciscan John Capistran (†1456).¹⁹ The successful canonization of Capistran would have meant a lot for the young king during the otherwise difficult early period of his reign, partly counterbalancing the popularity of his father, John Hunyadi (†1456), partly because of the popularity of Capistran himself and not the least because of the victorious battle fought at Nándorfehérvár (Belgrade) against the Ottoman Turks (1456). In the case of Margaret, the canonization of a princess venerated in Buda, the seat of the kingdom of Hungary, and, moreover, of a princess who belonged to the founding dynasty of the state, would have brought glory upon the king as well. From this perspective it is all the more interesting to note the provenance and date of Pope Pius II's bull mentioned above concerning the nunnery on the Island of Hares: it was written in Siena, on March 18, 1459.²⁰ The pope at this time was on his way to Mantua, where he planned to organize a summit together with all Christian rulers.²¹ In February 1459 the young King Matthias Corvinus sent his envoy, Albert Vetési, bishop of Veszprém, to the Pope in order to precede the envoy sent by the Hungarian supporters of Frederick III or by Frederick himself. For Frederick, the Holy Roman Emperor, was also invited to take the Hungarian throne at the beginning of 1459. Matthias's aim was to make sure his envoy, as representative of the sole and legitimate ruler of the kingdom of Hungary, appeared before the pope before the envoys of his rival.²²

¹⁹ Cf. Kornél Szovák, "King and Church, Matthias Corvinus and Religion," in *Matthias Corvinus, the King*, ed. Farbaký, Spekner, Szende, and Vêgh, 395.

²⁰ *MRV*, vol. 3, 155–57, no. 261.

²¹ Cf. Arturo Calzona, Francesco Paolo Fiore, Alberto Tenenti and Cesare Vasoli, eds., *Il sogno di Pio II e il viaggio da Roma a Mantova. Atti del Convegno internazionale, Mantova, 13–15 aprile 2000* (Florence: Leo S. Olschki, 2003).

²² Vilmos Fraknói, *Magyarország egyházi és politikai összeköttetései a római Szentszékekkel* [The ecclesiastical and political connections between Hungary and the Holy See] (Budapest: Szent István Társulat, 1901–1903), vol. 2, 114–16.

It seems that the issue regarding the nunnery on the Island of the Hares was presented at the same time as a most important concern of the new king. It is quite likely that Cardinal Latino Orsini was present all along in the itinerant²³ papal court,²⁴ and perhaps it was here, in Siena, that he received the letter of the king of Hungary via his envoy Vetési, in which King Matthias asked him to be the protector of his own affairs at the Holy See.²⁵ This event could have also served to prepare the ground for creating a supportive climate in the papal court for the canonization.

The king's request represents one of the earliest appearances of the office of the cardinal protector—at this time only in the making in the kingdom of Hungary. Although this source had been published for some time, in scholarly literature it went unnoticed. That the pope resided outside Rome was no hindrance to the functioning of the papal machinery, and as such, it did not cause a time gap for new canonizations either. Siena, the city that hosted the pope, made serious efforts to bring to completion a business so dear to them and supported by the Dominican Order as well: the canonization of Catherine of Siena. This happened right after the pope returned to Rome, at the end of July 1461.²⁶

We know also of a Hungarian envoy from May 1462 through whom King Matthias Corvinus tried to promote the canonization of John of Capestrano. Even if we cannot be sure whether the two petitions that urged the canonization of Margaret (IV/8–9) had left

²³ Dieter Brosius, "Das Itinerar Papst Pius' II," *Quellen und Forschungen aus italienischen Bibliotheken und Archiven* 55–56 (1976): 421–32, esp., 427–28.

²⁴ Cf. Fabrizio Nevola, "Ritual geography: Housing the papal court of Pius II Piccolomini in Siena (1459–60)," *Renaissance Studies* 20 (2006): 201–24.

²⁵ March 22, 1460, s. l. [Ragusa], the city of Ragusa to Cardinal Orsini: "Serenissimus dominus noster Mathias rex Hungarie etc., ut accepimus, reverendissimam dominacionem vestram in protectorem rerum suarum in curia delegit, que patrociniū suū liberalissime eius oratoribus pollicita est." József Gelcich and Lajos Thalóczy, eds., *Ragusa és Magyarország összeköttetéseinek oklevéltára. Diplomatarium relationum reipublicae Ragusanae cum regno Hungariae* (Budapest: M. Tud. Akadémia Tört. Bizottsága, 1887), 619 n. 371.

²⁶ Gerald Parsons, *The Cult of Saint Catherine of Siena: A Study in Civil Religion* (Aldershot: Ashgate, 2008), 24–25.

the royal chancery by this time, it is certain that the king supported both issues together for a short period.²⁷

It is worth noting that the charters transcribed in charter V/8 mostly come from the period between 1460 and 1462. It is quite likely that the original depositions from 1460 to 1462 were also sent along with the letters, but these probably did not come to the hands of Cardinal Orsini. Perhaps there was another impetus in attempting Margaret's canonization, which was the reason behind copying again the depositions sent earlier to Italy, and recording them in the official, authenticated way as well as supplementing them with new miracles collected in the autumn of 1465. These new miracles did not concern lay people but document the miraculous cures of two nuns living on the Island of Hares (V/9–10).

The relationship between the nuns and the court must have been mutually beneficial: the prioress Anne could surely rely on the support of King Matthias Corvinus and his mother, just as the royal pair could count on her support in confirming Matthias's position on the throne. (Of this latter, there was no need after Matthias was crowned king in 1464, but the canonization of a royal princess from the Arpad dynasty would have been a favorable outcome even after that.) The suspicion remains that it was partly because of the two parties that more was achieved than simply getting the miracles recorded, which was probably not an event without contemporary parallels. They went further and had the miracles officially recorded in charters, backed with the nuns' own testimonies as well as with the witness accounts of the persons from the Island of Hares and from Óbuda.

Nobody can, however, reasonably doubt that soon after her death Margaret of Hungary became extremely popular in the vicinity of the cloister, and that especially her tomb became a place of pilgrimage among the sick. The cult of the Arpadian princess and the fate of the nuns were soon inseparable from each other, a

²⁷ Andrić, *The Miracles of St. John Capistran*, 133–34; Szovák, "King and Church."

phenomenon attested quite spectacularly by those rare mentions from the first third of the fourteenth century, signs of spontaneous veneration, which call the female monastic community the inhabitants of the Saint Margaret nunnery, or call the island itself the Island of Saint Margaret. Due to the lack of sources we had hitherto almost no knowledge of this kind of local cult, directly manifest among the believers. The charters describing such miracles that survived in the Orsini archive are all the more important for this reason as well.

All these efforts bore fruit. The latest of the survived charters (V/11) relates that around Easter of 1467 news reached Hungary that the Holy See would give its *consensus* to reopen the canonization case of Margaret. Nevertheless, the Buda chapter and the public notaries continued to work even after receiving the news and kept recording further miracles. The use of the word *consensus* indicates that the Holy See seemed to have been persuaded, but the previous incidents and delays probably moved the promoters of Margaret's canonization to collect further material and, more importantly, to continue to secure more support in Rome. As a result, even the latest charter ended up in Italy (together with the earlier ones, or following them). Yet they did not have the desired impact. It cannot be excluded that some twists and turns in the quite checkered career of Latino Orsini had its share in the failure of the renewed canonization attempt.

As entry into the papal court already at that time needed countless efforts, it could happen that even minimal resistance could derail a major cause. The conflict between the nuns from the Island of Hares and the Dominican Order, an issue that reached the highest places, was perhaps such an obstacle.



Fig. 2. The Margaret Island in 1542. Etching of Enea Vico.

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA^a

[Óbuda], July 13, 1446

Nos, capitulum ecclesie Budensis¹ memorie commendamus per presentes, quod religiosus frater Fabianus organista de Cassovia² ac circumspecti Thomas Galyas,³ Valentinus Nemeth, Stephanus Palfy et Matheus Sebastiani⁴ de Insula Leporum coram nobis personaliter constituti, non coacti, nec compulsi, sed sponte et libere proposuerunt et iuxta conscientie eorum puritatem confessi extiterunt in hunc modum, quomodo in clauistro Beate Marie virginis in Insula Leporum erga scilicet sepulcrum olim inclite puelle Margarethe, filie condam illustris domini Bele Hungarie etc. regis quarti,^b que tandem in habitu moniali defuncta et ibidem sepulta extitisset, ad visum eorundem tale contigisset miraculum, quod cum circa festum Beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum⁵ proxime preteritum religiosus frater Gaspar, monachus dicti clauistri,⁶ qui in habitu seculari Aranwerew Gaspar⁷ vocabatur, in suo lecto repente in gravissimam incidisset contractionem manus scilicet et pedis, mox vo-

^a Transcribed in first place in the charter dated July 24, 1462 of the Buda Chapter. Cf. charter nr. 8 following.

^b Possibly corrected later.

¹ In the Middle Ages the Chapter of Buda itself was situated in Óbuda. The name precedes the times when a new city with the name of the older one (i.e., today's Óbuda) was founded after the sack of the Mongols in the late 1240s, on a hill next to the river Danube opposite Pest.

² Fabian of Košice cannot be identified. His place of origin, "Cassovia," is Košice in Slovakia (Hung., Kassa, Germ., Kaschau), where a Dominican convent was founded before 1303. See Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, "Kassa."

³ Thomas Gályás was among those who lived at the time on the Island of Hares and served as "procurator", i.e., representative (quasi as a lawyer) of the nuns in several cases, for instance, in 1442: DL 13678; 1447: DL 14097; 1448: DL 1014; 1458: DL 15282; 1459: DL 1468; and 1460: DL 731. In a charter issued on December 10,

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA

[Óbuda], July 13, 1446

We, the chapter of Buda,¹ commit to memory through the present charter that the pious brother Fabian organ player of Košice² and the prudent gentlemen Thomas Gályás,³ Valentine Németh, Stephen Pálffy, and Matthew, son of Sebastian⁴ from the Island of Hares, being present in person before us, neither forced nor compelled but freely and of their own accord declared and confessed, according to the purity of their conscience, how in the convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Island of Hares, by the tomb of the renowned girl Margaret, late daughter of the illustrious lord the former King Béla IV of Hungary etc., who died as a nun and was buried there, the following miracle happened in their sight: namely, that around the feast day of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul⁵ of the present year, the pious brother Gaspar, monk of the said monastery,⁶ who according to lay custom was called Aranyverő Gaspar,⁷ while in his bed was suddenly stricken with a

1458 he is mentioned as a *hospes* of the Island (sc. of Hares): presentibus [...] circumspectis [...] Thome (!) Galyas et Nicolao Magno hospitibus de eadem Insula. DL 429. His wife is said to be widow in 1467 (see charter no. 11, confession of lady Elisabeth, widow of Thomas Gályás).

⁴ Valentine Németh, Stephen Pálffy, and Matthew, the son of Sebestyén/Sebastian cannot be identified. They certainly lived in a village on the Isle of Hares which belonged to the nuns and remained nameless in the sources, but possibly served the nuns. They also made depositions on a miracle of Margaret of Hungary in 1460 (see charter V/2).

⁵ June 29, 1446.

⁶ Brother Gaspar cannot be identified. Along with Fabian of Košice (see n. 2) he may have been one of the Dominican friars delegated to the Island of Hares who were responsible for the spiritual care, etc. of the nuns.

⁷ "Aranwerew," archaic Hung. for *aranyverő* (*ötvös*), Eng. goldsmith.

tivus per alios de suo habitaculo erga sepulcrum dicte Margarithe adductus fuisset et ibidem depositus, tunc facta oratione resiliisset et integraliter sanus ad suam cellam Deo immensas gratias referens introivisset.

In cuius fassionis testimonium presentes litteras nostras patentes duximus concedendas.

Datum in festo Beate Margarethe virginis et martyris, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo quadragesimo sexto.

2

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA^a

[Óbuda], March 26, 1460

Nos, capitulum ecclesie Budensis memorie commendamus per presentes, quod circumspecti Nicolaus Pathyka, Gregorius Bogdani, domina Barbara, consors Benedicti Hydeg de Veteri Buda⁸ ac Valentinus Nemeth, Matheus Sebastiani, Thomas Galyas et Stephanus Palfy⁹ de Insula Leporum coram nobis personaliter constituti proposuerunt et iuxta conscientie eorum puritatem confessi extiterunt in hunc modum, quomodo in claustro Beate Marie virginis in Insula Leporum fundato, erga scilicet sepulcrum olim inclite puelle Margarethe, filie condam illustris domini Bele Hungarie etc. regis

^a Transcribed in second place in the charter of the Buda chapter dated July 24, 1462. Cf. charter nr. 8 following.

⁸ Lat. Vetus Buda (or very rarely Sicambria, based on the Trojan origin myth of the Franks), Hung. Óbuda (originally known as Buda before the foundation of today's Buda in the middle of the thirteenth century, but Óbuda/Vetus Buda regularly from the fourteenth century), Germ. Etzelburg (a name fabricated on the basis of the Song of the Nibelungs) or Altofén. See also n. 1.

⁹ Nicholas Pathyka (Patika in normalized form) and Gregory Bogdani/Bogdányi (evidently as hailing from [Duna]Bogdány) may have been members of well-to-do burgher families in Óbuda; their role in local politics, however, is scarcely documented. A certain Demetrius Patika was mayor of Óbuda between 1452 and 1453

most grave contraction, namely of his hand and foot; immediately after which he made a vow and was led by others from his dwelling to the tomb of the said Margaret and laid down there. Then, having uttered a prayer he sprang to his feet and, fully recovered, he returned to his cell, giving profuse thanks to God.

In witness of whose confession we have granted these our present letters patent.

Dated the feast day of the blessed Margaret, virgin and martyr, in the 1446th year of the Lord.

2

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA

[Óbuda], March 26, 1460

We, the chapter of Buda, commit to memory through the present charter that the prudent Nicholas Patika, Gregory Bogdányi, lady Barbara the wife of Benedict Hideg of Óbuda,⁸ and Valentine Németh, Matthew, son of Sebastian, Thomas Gályás, and Stephen Pál-fy⁹ from the Island of Hares, having presented themselves before us in person, declared and made confession, according the purity of their conscience, how in the convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary founded on the Island of Hares, at the tomb of the renowned girl Margaret, late daughter of the illustrious lord Béla IV, former King of Hungary etc., the following miracle took place in their

(DL 14583, DL 14640-1); Benedict Bogdani is recorded as juror at that time. For the position of Nicholas Patika and his wife in local society see DL 14451. Little is known about the lady Barbara, wife of Benedict Hydeg/Hideg of Óbuda, besides the fact that she and her husband were still alive in 1476 and had a son called Johannes (DL 17822). Like Thomas Gályás, Benedict Hideg, a resident of the queen's quarter in Óbuda (as recorded in 1458: DL 15679), was also employed by the nuns as legal representative in several cases (1451: DL 17474; 1462: DL 15787; 1463: DL 15389; 1464: DL 16047; 1465: DL 16262; 1466: DL 16421; 1467: DL 16580; etc.) or as *provisor curie* in the same period (1458: DL 429; 1461: DL 15608).

quarti^a ad visum eorundem tale contigisset miraculum, quod dum quedam puella demoniaca ad sepulcrum prefate puelle Margarethe in dicto clauastro habitum introduceretur, demonium ab eadem tunc clamitasset: »Nolite me introducere, quoniam ibi me seducetis.« Tandem adueniens iuxta ipsum sepulcrum, cingulus ferreus dicte puelle Margarethe, quem in suo nudo corpore in vita ferre solita extiterat,¹⁰ super collum demoniace applicatus fuisset, quo applicato clamasset super se habere onera celi et terre dicebatque: »Uris me, Margaretha.« Sicque eadem puella a demonio erga ipsum sepulcrum liberata ac tandem nullum sentiens impedimentum viro tradita fuisset, que et nunc viveret in confinibus Budensibus.

In cuius testimonium presentes nostras litteras duximus concedendas.

Datum feria quarta proxima post dominicam Letare, anno Domini millesimo quadrigentesimo sexagesimo.

3

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA^b

[Óbuda], July 2, 1460

Nos, capitulum ecclesie Budensis memorie commendamus, quod circumspecti Nicolaus Pathyka, Gregorius Bogdany, domina Barbara, consors Benedicti Hydeg de Veteri Buda et Thomas Galyas de Insula Leporum coram nobis personaliter constituti, non coacti, nec compulsi, sed sponte et libere proposuerunt et iuxta conscientie eorum puritatem confessi extiterunt in hunc modum, quomo-

^a Possibly corrected later.

^b Transcribed in third place in the charter of the Buda chapter dated July 24, 1462. Cf. charter nr. 8 following.

¹⁰ The iron belt was still being used in healing in the late seventeenth century in the circles of the Hungarian aristocracy: in 1689 a request was made to borrow it from the community (by then incorporated into the Poor Clare sisters in Pozsony/Bratislava) for the dying wife of Ferenc Batthyány. See Sándor Takáts, "Szent Margit asszony öve" [The belt of Lady Saint Margaret], in *Régi magyar nagyasszonyok* [Hungarian

sight: namely, that when a certain demon-possessed girl was being brought to the tomb of the abovementioned girl Margaret in the said cloister, then the demon shouted out of her: "Don't bring me here, because you will lead me away." When she was finally brought to that tomb, the iron belt of the said girl Margaret, which she had been wont to wear on her naked body during her lifetime,¹⁰ was placed on the neck of the possessed girl; and when it was placed there [the demon] cried out that he was carrying the weight of heaven and earth upon him, and repeated: "You are burning me, Margaret!" In this way the same girl was freed from the demon at that tomb, and at last, sensing no obstacle, she was given over to her husband, and now still lives in the confines of Buda.

To witness of which we have granted our present charter.

Dated the Wednesday after Letare Sunday, in the 1460th year of the Lord.

3

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA

[Óbuda], July 2, 1460

We, the chapter of Buda, entrust to memory that the prudent Nicolas Patika, Gregory Bogdáni, lady Barbara the wife of Benedict Hideg of Óbuda, and Thomas Gályás from the Island of Hares, present before us in person, neither forced nor compelled but of their own accord freely declared and made confession in the purity of their conscience how at the tomb of the virgin Margaret, daughter of the former illustrious King Béla IV of Hungary etc., on the Island of Hares the following miracle happened in their sight:

ladies of note in olden times], *Bibliotheca Vitae* (Budapest: Élet, 1914), 116–23. Cf. also Ildikó Horn, "Csáky Anna Franciska és a pozsonyi klarisszák" [Anna Franciska Csáky and the Poor Clare sisters in Pozsony], *Aetas* 3 (1992): 29 and 39 n. 12. The iron belt is kept nowadays in Esztergom: Főszékesegyházi Kincstár, inv. nr. 64.202.1. Cf. Pál Cséfalvay, ed., *A magyar kereszténység ezer éve/Hungariae Christianae Millennium* (Budapest: Magyar Katolikus Püspöki Konferencia, 2002), 33–34, nr. 2.23.

do erga sepulcrum virginis Margarethe, filie condam illustris Bele Hungarie etc. regis quarti^a in Insula Leporum ad visum eorum tale contigisset miraculum, quod cum quedam puella, cuius pes miro modo contractus fuerat, per honestam dominam Agatam,¹¹ matrem eiusdem puelle varia ad loca pro medicaminibus adinveniendis adducta fuisset, sed nequaquam herbarum virtutibus et indulgentiis ecclesiarum, nisi veniens ad sepulcrum dicte virginis Margarethe in insulam pretactam, ibique oratione facta sepulcrum ipsum circuiens ab omni pedum contractione^b sanata extitisset et Deo gratias referens ab inde sana recessisset.

In cuius testimonium presentes nostras litteras duximus concedendas.

Datum in festo visitationis Beate Marie virginis, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo.

4

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA^c

[Óbuda], May 1, 1461

Nos, capitulum ecclesie Budensis memorie commendamus per presentes, quod circumspecti Benedictus Danoczy de Zenthfalwa et domina Elena, consors eiusdem Benedicti ac domina Anestasia de eadem Zenthfalwa¹² coram nobis personaliter constituti, non coacti, nec compulsi, sed sponte et libere proposuerunt et confessi extiterunt in hunc modum, quod ad scitum eorum tale contigisset miraculum, quod cum religiosa domina Anna priorissa¹³ alieque

^a Possibly corrected later.

^b Corrected from *contradione*.

^c Transcribed in fourth place in the charter of the Buda chapter dated July 24, 1462; cf. charter nr. 8 following.

¹¹ Unidentified.

¹² Although the three people cannot be identified, these Danoczys (or Dánóczy or Dánóci) may have been relatives of Peter and Ambrosius Danoczy who some dec-

namely, that a certain girl, whose foot had been fearfully contracted, had been taken to diverse places by her mother, the respected lady Agata,¹¹ in order to find medicines; but the virtues of herbs and the indulgences of churches [had been] of no avail. It was only by coming to the tomb of the said virgin Margaret on the aforementioned island and there, after praying, by walking around that tomb that she was cured from all the contraction of her feet; and giving thanks to God she returned from there sound.

In testimony of which we have granted our present charter.

Dated the feast day of the Visitation of the Blessed Virgin Mary, in the 1460th year of the Lord.

4

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA

[Óbuda], May 1, 1461

We, the chapter of Buda, entrust to memory through the present charter that the prudent Benedict Danoczy of Szentfalva and lady Elena, wife of the same Benedict, and lady Anastasia from the same Szentfalva,¹² being present before us in person, neither forced nor compelled but of their own accord freely declared and confessed how according to their knowledge the following miracle took place: namely, that when the pious lady Anne, the prioress,¹³ and

ades later owned a house in Alhévíz, on the southern outskirts of Buda. Cf. András Végh, *Buda város középkori helyrajza* [The topography of Buda in the Middle Ages] (Budapest: BTM, 2006–2008), vol II, 128, nr. 448 (= DL 20319). Lady Anastasia cannot be identified. Szentfalva, or in an older form Szenterzsébetfalva (in the Latin: Zenthfalwa), was a southern suburb of Pest in the Middle Ages, not far from the Dominican convent of Pest, where a house of the Beguines was founded as well. Cf. Romhányi, *Kolostorok és társaskáptalanok*, “Pest.”

¹³ Anne (Anna), of unknown family, was prioress of the nuns between ca. 1458–1459 (cf. DL 15225) and 1478 (DL 18108). For more on her, see Péterfi, “Introduction.”

sorores sanctimoniales claustrum Beate Marie virginis de Insula Leporum pro quadam speciali earum necessitate quandam coronam virginis Margarethe, filie condam illustris domini Bele Hungarie etc. regis quarti,^a quam ipsa virgo Margaretha in habitu seculari ferre solebat,¹⁴ prefato Benedicto Danoczy pignori obligassent, ipseque Benedictus Danoczy in ladulam suam fortem et bene seratam reclusisset et tandem circa caput lecti sui posuisset, in quo lecto tunc prefata domina Elena, consors dicti Benedicti Danoczy unacum dicta domina Anastasia pernoctasset, tunc ipsa nocte ladula fortiter serata cum maximo strepitu ad auditum earundem mulierum post^b sese ter aperta fuisset, licet semper fortiter clauderetur. Qui quidem Benedictus Danoczy et domina Elena, consors eiusdem sentientes se ipsam coronam indignos apud se retinere, eisdem monialibus redimentibus statim sole^c elucescente restituissent.

In cuius testimonium presentes nostras litteras duximus concedendas.

Datum in festo Beatorum Philippi et Iacobi apostolorum, anno Domini millesimo quadrigentesimo sexagesimo primo.

5

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA^d

[Óbuda], December 27, 1461

Nos, capitulum ecclesie Budensis memorie commendantes tenore presentium significamus, quibus expedit universis, quod cum nos ad instantem et legitimam petitionem religiosarum et Deo devo-

^a Possibly corrected later.

^b *recte* per.

^c The word ending was corrected later to *e*.

^d Transcribed in fifth place in the charter of the Buda chapter dated July 24, 1462. Cf. charter nr. 8 following.

¹⁴ This mention of Saint Margaret's crown, kept in her convent, is an intriguing detail. In the light of this, the debates should be revisited concerning the so-called

other nuns of the convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Island of Hares, because of some special necessity, pawned to the above-mentioned Benedict Danoczy a crown of the virgin Margaret, daughter of the late lord Béla IV, illustrious king of Hungary etc., which this virgin Margaret used to wear when in secular attire,¹⁴ and this Benedict Danoczy locked it into a strong and well-bolted chest and finally put that at the head of his bed; and when on one occasion the abovementioned lady Elena, wife of the said Benedict Danoczy, slept in that bed together with the said lady Anastasia, then on that very night these same women heard the firmly bolted chest open of itself three times, with enormous noise, even though it was always firmly locked; whereupon this Benedict Danoczy and lady Elena, his wife, feeling themselves unworthy to keep that crown in their possession, as soon as day broke returned it to the nuns, who redeemed it.

In testimony of which we have granted the issuing of our present letters patent.

Dated the feast day of the blessed apostles Philip and James, in the 1461st year of the Lord.

5

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA

[Óbuda], December 27, 1461

We, the chapter of Buda, entrust to memory and with the content of the present charter make known, to all it may pertain, that, in response to the urgent and legitimate request of the religious la-

Margaret Island Crown discovered in a grave at the cloister in 1838 and attributed first to Margaret and subsequently to her brother, King Stephen V, who was also buried in that cloister. Cf. Erzsébet Vattai, "A margitszigeti korona" [The Margaret Island crown], *Budapest Régiségei* 18 (1958): 191–210; Rózsa Feuerné Tóth, "V. István sírja a margitszigeti domonkos apáca kolostor templomában" [The grave of Stephen V in the church of the Dominican nuns' convent on Margaret Island] *Budapest Régiségei* 21 (1964): 115–31.

tarum dominarum Anne priorisse aliarumque sororum sanctimonialium claustrī Beate Marie virginis de Insula Leporum certos ex nobis, videlicet honorabiles dominos Gallum cantorem et Iacobum de Kaloz, Sebastianum de Paly, Paulum de Bathor, Ladislaum de Sarwar et alterum Ladislaum de Marczelhaza,¹⁵ socios et canonicos nostros ad infrascriptam fassionem earundem audiendam duxissemus destinandos, tunc iidem ad nos reversi nobis consona voce retulerunt in hunc modum, quod ipsi i<n> feria secunda proxima ante festum nativitatis Domini proxime preteritum¹⁶ ad pretactam Insulam Leporum consequenterque dictas dominas sanctimoniales in pretacto claustro degentes accessissent.

Ubi eedem domine Anna priorissa alieque sorores sanctimoniales eiusdem claustrī, seniores scilicet et iuniores coram ipsis personaliter astantes proposuissent et iuxta conscientie earum puritatem confesse extitissent eo modo, quod in dicto earundem claustro erga scilicet sepulcrum olim inclite puelle Margarethe, filie condam domini Bele regis Hungarie etc. incliti regis quarti, que tandem in habitu moniali defuncta et ibidem sepulta extitisset, tale contigisset miraculum, quod cum quedam nobilis puelula annorum quatuor secundo die festi Beatorum Petri et Pauli apostolorum proxime preteriti¹⁷ in claustro earundem sanctimonialium repentina et subitanea tacta fuisset infirmitate, ita, ut quasi ad mortem cepisset angustiari et penitus loquela carere et intellectu.

Astantibus ibidem priorissa et sanctimonialibus cepissent singule monialium priorisse earundem in herbarum ac sanctorum reliquiarum virtutibus puelule medicamen inferre consulere, sed ipsa priorissa omnia recusando confidens tali moddo in gloriosis

^a Possibly corrected later.

¹⁵ These are all well-known members of the Buda chapter. On Gallus [of Bátor], canon (1454–1456), then cantor (1456–68), see Köblös, *Az egyházi középréteg Mátyás és a Jagellók korában. A budai, fehérvári, győri és pozsonyi káptalan adattárával*, 284, nr. 5; on Jacob of Kalász (modern Budakalász) as canon (1458–1467), see *ibid.*, 298, nr. 47; on Sebastian of Pályi (the name of several villages in that period) as canon (1450–62), see *ibid.*, 312, nr. 89; on Paul of Bátor (nowadays Nyírbátor) as canon (1457–1472), see *ibid.*, 284, nr. 6; on Ladislaus of Sárvár as canon (1459–1466); see

dies devoted to God, namely the prioress Anne and the other nuns of the convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Island of Hares, we agreed to send certain among us, namely the honorable gentlemen Gallus the cantor and James of Kalász, Sebastian of Pályi, Paul of Bátor, Ladislav of Sárvár and Ladislav of Marcelháza,¹⁵ our colleagues and fellow-canonists, in order to listen to the confession of the same ladies set out below; and subsequently these same persons, after coming back to us, in unanimous agreement reported how on the Monday before the feast of the Nativity of the Lord of this year¹⁶ they journeyed to the already-mentioned Island of Hares and then went to meet with the consecrated ladies living in the abovementioned cloister.

Thereupon the same ladies—the prioress Anne and the other consecrated nuns of this cloister, both older and younger—appeared before them in person and told and made the following confession according to the purity of their conscience: namely, how it happened that in the cloister of the same nuns, at the tomb of the late and celebrated girl, Margaret, daughter of the illustrious lord, the late king Béla IV of Hungary etc., who died as a nun and was buried at the same place, a miracle happened, as follows. On the second day of the feast of the blessed apostles Peter and Paul of this year,¹⁷ in the cloister of the same nuns, a noble girl, a child of four years, was seized by a sudden and unexpected illness so severe that she was as if in the throes of death, and had entirely lost her power of speech and her understanding.

While the prioress and the nuns were standing around her, some nuns started to suggest to the prioress to bring the little girl some medicine that relied on the virtues of herbs and the rel-

ibid., 314, nr. 97; on Ladislav of Marcelháza (today Marcelová in Slovakia) as canon (1457–1462, 1484), then treasurer/*custos* of the Buda chapter (1463–1484) and chancellor/lector of Titel chapter (1484), see ibid., 304, nr. 66).

¹⁶ December 21, 1461.

¹⁷ June 30, 1461.

meritis annotate puelle virginis Margarethe flexo poplite^a levatisque manibus flendo prorupisset hec verba: supplico tibi, Beata Margaretha, ut pro tui corporis exaltatione impetres a domino Iesu huic puelule sanitatem et instaurationem, quam credo tuis meritis a Deo faciliter posse impetrari. Qua supplicatione facta ipsa puelula ab omnibus circumspicientibus visa fuisset alleviari. Hoc denique viso statim prefata priorissa ipsam puelulam cum festinatione ad sepulcrum dicte virginis Margarethe adduci procurasset, que quidem puelula tunc in manibus ducentis facta fuisset semimortua miro modo ac tandem conventus sanctimonialium ianua clausa circa ipsum sepulcrum lamentabiliter se in oratione prosternens, ipsa puelula maximum fecisset planctum, ut circumvicini eiusdem claustrum audientes mirarentur, quid inibi eam repente contigisset. Sicque ipsa puelula sudari cepisset et angustari, ita, quod per omnes circumstantes moniales eandem contigue^b mori putantes inde cogeretur asportari contradicente tali modo ipsa priorissa, que magis ipsas in oratione confortasset in tantum laborantes, ut etiam missa illius diei perficeretur. Ipsis siquidem monialibus in oratione sic diu tardantibus predicta puelula ab omni sua infirmitate cum reformatione sui intellectus repente et subito convaluisset absque tamen reseratione loquere. Sola demum priorissa cum alia quadam moniali puelulam pro accendenda^c candela accipiens ad habitaculum earundem abduxisset. Interim tamen conventu monialium in oratione erga sepulcrum persistente sicque dum ipsa puelula pro afferenda candela accensa ad sepulcrum adducta fuisset ad legendumque Ave Maria cogeretur.

Eadem puelula tam in eundo ad sepulcrum, quam in redeundo ab eodem loqui nequisset, sed cum candelam accensam tandem manibus propriis adiutorio tamen priorisse ad sepulcrum annectisset, tunc recuperata loquela Ave Maria tribus iteratis vicibus debite depromisset. Hoc maximo miraculo viso priorissa coram toto

^a *originally* poblite.

^b *originally* contiguo.

^c *originally* accedenda.

ics of saints; but the prioress rejected all this. Instead, trusting in the glorious merits of the mentioned virgin Margaret, with bent knees and raised hands and in tears she poured out these words: I beseech you, Blessed Margaret, to obtain from the Lord Jesus, through the exaltation of your body, health and recovery for this little girl, which I believe you can easily obtain from God through your merits. As soon as this supplication had been made, the bystanders all saw the little girl gain some relief. Seeing this, the abovementioned prioress immediately arranged that the girl should be led in haste to the tomb of the said virgin Margaret. She was taken half-dead in the hands of the one who led her; but marvellously, after the door of the nuns' cloister had been closed, the little girl prostrated herself by the tomb, praying lamentably and making such a wailing that all who were near the cloister heard it and wondered what had so suddenly happened to her there.

Then the little girl started to sweat and writhe, so that all the nuns standing around, believing that she would die at any moment, insisted the girl be carried away from there; but the prioress opposed this and urged them to persevere all the more in prayer, to such an extent that their prayers lasted throughout the mass of that day. Thus, after the nuns had been drawing out their prayers in such a way until late in the day, the little girl suddenly recovered entirely from her illness; her consciousness was immediately restored, although her speech did not return. After that the prioress alone with another nun took the little girl to their own quarters to fetch a lighted candle. Meanwhile the entire convent of nuns continued praying next to the tomb. The little girl was led to the tomb, bringing the lighted candle, and was put to reading the *Ave Maria*.

The girl, both while she was going to the tomb and while returning from it, had been unable to speak; but after she had placed the lighted candle on the tomb with her own hands, although with the help of the prioress, she recovered her speech and duly recited three times the *Ave Maria*. Having seen this great miracle, the prioress in front of the whole convent vowed openly at the tomb that she would have the miracle written down and made public. All the nuns of the convent gave thanks to God for his benefits, and with

conventu erga ipsum sepulcrum idem miraculum conscribi facere et propalari^a vovisset evidenter. Totus autem conventus monialium Deo super ipsis beneficiis gratias reddens voce sonora Te Deum laudamus decantasset, sicque puelula omni pristinae sanitati restituta de sepulcro ad habitaculum monialium propria virtute introivisset. Sed tandem ipsa priorissa propter diversa huius regni disturbiorum genera¹⁸ premissum suum votum consummare postergasset.

Postea autem cum iam quarta dominica in adventu Domini proxime preterita¹⁹ instaret celebratura, quedam monialis suis matutinis et orationibus completis in sua cella caput suum ad quiescendum reclinasset, tunc per fenestram ipsius celle a parte orientali quendam splendorem vidisset ingredientem, de eodemque splendore sonum quasi vocem tenere puelle audivisset hunc sermonem bis repetentem: »Surge, quia miracula fient hodie in vobis.«^b Ac illa tremore stupefacta ignorabat, quid hoc esset. Ac tandem vice tertiaria eandem confortando dixisset: »Surge, noli timere, quia miracula fient hodie in vobis, quoniam non implevistis ea, que michi spopondistis.« Illa continuo surgens de sua cella exivisset et mox suam visionem cuidem consorori moniali suo modo revelasset.

Que dum inter se mirarentur, quenam esset visio illa, tunc vidissent quasdam moniales in eodem claustro hincinde cum tristitia discurrentes dicentesque ipsam puelulam infirmitatem pristinam immo graviolem reincidente. Congregatis denique ad eandem puelulam sanctimonialibus querulabantur, quid iterum tam subito eidem puelule contigisset, priorissa itaque non inmemor sui ipsius pristini voti eandem sollicitè ad sepulcrum ipsius virginis Margarethe adduci coegisset, aliis tamen monialibus obicientibus, ne missa Beate Marie virginis, que tunc in aurora celebratura erat, impediretur. Sed aliam medicinam adhibere consuleret, quam tamen puelulam ipsa priorissa propter pristini voti sui dilationem ipsam in-

^a originally propalare.

^b This recalls Luke 5:24–26 (*Ait* [sc. Iesus Christus] *paralytico: tibi dico, surge, tolle lectum tuum et vade in domum tuam. [...] Et stupor adprehendit omnes et magnificabat Deum et repleti sunt timore dicentes, quia vidimus mirabilia hodie.*) Cf. Matt. 9:6–8, Mark 2:10–12.

resounding voices chanted the *Te Deum laudamus*. Thus the little girl, having been entirely restored to her previous health, went from the tomb into the house of the nuns under her own strength. But in the end the prioress, because of various kinds of difficulties in the kingdom,¹⁸ neglected to fulfil the vow she had previously made [about the recording of the miracle].

Afterwards, however, when the fourth Sunday of the Lord's Advent of this year was due to be celebrated,¹⁹ one of the nuns laid down her head to rest in her cell after the completion of her morning prayers; and then she saw a great shining light entering through the window of her cell from the east, and she heard a sound coming out of the same light, like the voice of a young girl, that repeated twice this sentence: "Rise, for today miracles will come to pass among you." The woman was terror-struck and had no idea what this might be. Yet the voice spoke for the third time and comforted her, saying: "Arise, do not be afraid, for today miracles will happen among you, for you did not fulfil what you promised me." She rose immediately and left her cell and at once revealed her vision to one of her fellow-nuns with her own words.

As they were wondering among themselves what that vision could have been, they saw some of the nuns running about the monastery in great sadness and telling how the little girl had relapsed into her previous illness; indeed, it was even more serious than before. The nuns gathered around the girl were lamenting what could have befallen her again so suddenly. Whereupon the prioress, remembering her previous vow, urged that the girl should be quickly conducted to the tomb of the virgin Margaret. But the other sisters objected that this would delay the mass for the Virgin Mary which was due to be celebrated at dawn, so another kind of medicine was suggested. But the prioress declared that the little girl had relapsed into her illness because she had delayed her own previous promise, and for this reason, while beseeching

¹⁸ The turbulent years after the election of King Matthias Corvinus (1458) may have been meant here.

¹⁹ December 20, 1461.

firmitatem reincidisse affirmabat, pro eo ipsa priorissa dicte virgini Margarethe supplicans ad sepulcrum eiusdem cum toto conventu sanctimonialium adducta puelula adisset, ibique in oratione pausantes ipsam puelulam quibusdam duabus mulieribus secularibus, videlicet Susanne de Eghhazasderzenye et Agathe, relicte Dionisii²⁰ de dicta Insula Leporum infra missam erga sepulcrum custodiendam, tenendam et conservandam deputasset. Missa siquidem perfecta puelula de sepulcro ad locum audiendi sermonem cum dictis duabus mulieribus secularibus sana descendisset.

Tandemque sermone peracto pretacte mulieres statum puelule eisdem monialibus taliter narrassent, quod infra totam missam leniter obdormivisset, tandem data benedictione sacerdotali quasi de somno^a exporrecta oculis tervis surgens sanitatem recuperasset, ac si nulla infirmitate gravata fuisset. Hiis perceptis priorissa cum toto suo conventu gratias Deo immensas egisset. Tandem prenarata monialis premissam suam visionem animadvertens hoc miraculum propter premissi voti dilationem fieri recognovisset, quam etiam priorisse et aliis monialibus suo modo revelasset.

In cuius testimonium presentes nostras litteras patentes duximus concedendas.

Datum tertio die pretacti festi nativitatis Domini, anno eiusdem millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo primo.

^a *originally* sumpno.

²⁰ Neither the two ladies nor Denis can be identified. Egyházasderzenye or Derzenye is presently Drežnice in Slovakia. Cf. István Bakács, *Hont vármegye Mohács előtt* [Hont County before the Battle of Mohács] (Budapest, 1971), 109–10.

the said virgin Margaret, she went to her tomb, together with the whole convent of nuns and bringing along the little girl. And there they left off their prayers, while she entrusted the little girl to two secular women, namely Susanna of Egyházasderzsénye and Agatha, the widow of Denis²⁰ from the Island of Hares, so that they would guard and keep her at the tomb during the mass.

After the mass had been finished, the little girl came back healthy from the tomb to the place for listening to the sermon, together with the two said secular women.

Finally, when the sermon was over, the abovementioned women reported on the condition of the girl to the nuns, saying that she had gently dozed for the whole of the mass, and at last when the priest had given the benediction, she had rubbed her eyes and awoken as if from a sleep and risen up, having regained her health as if she had never been afflicted by any illness. On learning these things, the prioress, together with the whole of her convent, gave boundless thanks to God. Finally the abovementioned nun recalled her aforementioned vision and realized that this miracle had happened because of the putting off of the vow promised earlier, and she told her vision to the prioress and to the other nuns with her own words.

In testimony of which we granted the issuing of our present letters patent.

Dated the third day of the feast of the Lord's Nativity of this year, the 1461st year of the same.

6

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA^a

[Óbuda], January 18, 1462

Nos, capitulum ecclesie Budensis memorie commendamus per presentes, quod provida domina Elena, consors Iohannis Kwn de Insula Leporum²¹ coram nobis personaliter constituta proposuit et sponte confessa est in hunc modum, quod cum ipsa quendam filium suum duorum annorum et quatuor mensium in domo sua ad quandam ladulam sedere fecisset et idem puer se inclinando casu inopinato in terram cecidisset, qui quasi mortuus in terra aliquantulum iacuisset, ipsa siquidem domina Elena dictum puerum filium suum arripiens dum ad sepulcrum virginis Margarethe, filie condam illustris domini Bele Hungarie etc. regis quarti^b in claustro Beate Marie virginis in dicta Insula Leporum habitum ducere voluisset, dictus puer, qui quasi mortuus fuerat, statim revixisset.

Datum in festo Beate Prisce virginis et martyris, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo secundo.

7

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA^c

[Óbuda], May 3, 1462

Nos, capitulum ecclesie Budensis memorie commendamus per presentes, quod circumspecti Gregorius Kalanday, Barnabas Kaptas de Igal ac Clemens Zwbor et Matheus de Zegedino necnon honeste domine Margaretha, consors Ambrosii et Swsanna de In-

^a Transcribed in sixth place in the charter of the Buda chapter dated July 24, 1462. Cf. charter nr. 8 following

^b Possibly inserted later.

^c Transcribed in seventh place in the charter of the Buda chapter dated to July 24, 1462. Cf. charter nr. 8 following.

6

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA

[Óbuda], January 18, 1462

We, the chapter of Buda, entrust to memory through the present charter that the provident lady Elena, wife of John Kun from the Island of Hares,²¹ present in person before us, declared and confessed of her own accord as follows. Once in her house she had sat her son of two years and four months on a chest, and that boy unexpectedly leant forward and toppled to the ground and lay seemingly dead on the ground for some time. Then this lady Elena seized the said boy, her son, and would have taken him to the tomb of the virgin Margaret, daughter of the illustrious lord Béla IV, late king of Hungary etc., which is in the cloister of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the said Island of Hares; but the said boy, who had been as if dead, suddenly came to life.

Dated the feast day of Blessed Prisca, virgin and martyr, in the year of the Lord 1462.

7

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA

[Óbuda], 1462, May 3

We, the chapter of Buda, entrust to memory through the present charter that the prudent gentlemen, Gregory Kalanday, Barnabas Kapthas of Igal, and Clement Zubor and Matthew of Szeged, as well as the honorable ladies, Margaret, the wife of Ambrose, and

²¹ We have no information on Elena, but her husband, John Kwn or Kun, was still living in 1473 as an *iobbagio* (tenant) of the nuns on the Island of Hares and participated in some violent actions against the properties of the Buda chapter in the neighborhood (DL 17474).

sula Leporum²² coram nobis personaliter constituti sponte et libere confessi extiterunt in hunc modum, quod in proximis preteritis diebus in claustro Beate Marie virginis in dicta Insula Leporum fundato ad scitum et visum eorum tale miraculum fuisset habitum, quod dum Fabianus demoniacus de Thas²³ ad dictum claustum consequenterque sepulcrum virginis Margarethe, filie condam serenissimi domini Bele quarti^a regis Hungarie etc., que in habitu moniali defuncta in eodem claustro sepulta esset, adduceretur, tunc cingulus ferreus, quem dicta virgo Margaretha vivens in suo nudo corpore ferre solebat,²⁴ collo eiusdem demoniaci fortiter ligatus in duas divisus partes de collo eiusdem bis cecidisset.

Tandem vice tertiaria per quendam fratrem Petrum, monachum eiusdem claustrum ipso cingulo super collum eiusdem demoniaci ligato, ipse cingulus iterato cecidisset. Quo viso idem frater Petrus multiplicatis cum eo laboribus adiurans eum ad nomen domini Iesu Christi et precipiens ei interrogasset, cur ipse cingulus super collum eius non staret, ac ille respondisset, quod misertus esset ei Dominus. Tandem iterum interrogasset, propter cuius merita esset misertus ei Dominus, qui respondisset, quod per intercessionem virginis Margarethe. Interrogassetque vice iterata, quanta haberet merita ipsa virgo Margaretha coram summo Deo, qui cum maximo ululatu clamitasset: »Centum milia, centum milia!« Interim sanctimonialibus et ceteris Christi fidelibus pro eo preces fundentibus facies et lingua eiusdem demoniaci inflamari et de lingua eiusdem quasi scintille exire cernebantur. Quo viso ipse frater Petrus magis ac magis demonium eicere laborans demonium aliquid sibi dari postulasset, ac ille lumen candeles sibi concedens

^a Possibly corrected later.

²² Neither Gregory Kalanday (or Kalondai), Margaret, wife of Ambrose, nor Susanna can be identified. Barnabas Kapthas of Igal possibly lived in Igal, one of the villages of the nuns in the distant county of Somogy; there he served in 1462 and in 1471 as *familiaris* and/or *officialis* (DL 15743, DL 17170) and in 1473 as attorney (*procurator*) of the nuns (DL 17502). He was still alive in 1478 (DL 32729). Clement Zwbor or Zubor and Matthew of Szegeed must have been *iobbagiones* (tenants) of the nuns on the Island of Hares; the former was apparently in their service at least since 1458 (DL 429,

Susanna, from the Island of Hares,²² appearing before us in person, did of their own accord and freely made confession that in the days just past a miracle took place to their knowledge and in their sight within the convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the said Island of Hares: namely, when Fabian of Tass,²³ a man possessed of a demon, was brought to the said convent and thence to the tomb of the virgin Margaret, daughter of the most serene lord Béla IV, late king of Hungary etc., who died as a nun in that cloister and was buried there; then the iron *cingulus* (belt) that the said virgin Margaret used to wear on her bare body while she was alive²⁴ was bound firmly to the neck of the possessed man, but it twice fell apart and dropped from his neck.

Then the *cingulus* was tied a third time to the neck of the possessed man by a certain brother Peter, monk of the same convent; but the *cingulus* fell off once again. Having seen that, this brother Peter multiplied his efforts against the demon, and adjuring and commanding him in the name of the Lord Jesus Christ demanded to know why the *cingulus* could not stay on his neck. But the man replied that the Lord had had mercy upon him. Finally, he [Peter] asked him again because of whose merits the Lord had been merciful to him, and the man replied, because of the intercession of the virgin Margaret. When the brother asked again, how great were the virtues the virgin Margaret had before the highest God, he shrieked at the top of his voice: "A hundred thousand, a hundred thousand!" In the meantime, as the nuns and the other of Christ's faithful were praying for this man, it seemed that the face and tongue of the possessed man were on fire and as if sparks were coming out of his tongue. Brother Peter, seeing this, redoubled his efforts to cast out the demon, when the demon asked for something to be given to him. When the brother gave him a lighted candle, there was a won-

when he is recorded as witness in a case before a public notary) and a resident of Jenő on the Pest side of the Danube, not far from the Island, where the latter lived (at least in 1473: DL 17474). Both villages belonged to the nuns in the Middle Ages.

²³ The man cannot be identified.

²⁴ See charter nr. 2 in the present volume.

fetore mirabili emisso lumineque ipso extincto demoniacus mox Iesus clamitasset. Sicque idem demoniacus mente quieta pacifico-que itinere a demonio liberatus ad propria remeasset.

In cuius fassionis testimonium presentes nostras litteras duximus concedendas.

Datum in festo inventionis Sancte Crucis, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo secundo.

8

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA^a

[Óbuda], July 24, 1462

Nos, capitulum ecclesie Budensis memorie commendantes tenere presentium significamus, quibus expedit universis, quod circumspectus Benedictus Hydeg, dictus civis civitatis Veteris Budensis in personis religiosarum et Deo devotarum dominarum Anne priorisse aliarumque sororum sanctimonialium claustrum Beate Marie virginis de Insula Leporum nostram personaliter veniens in presentiam exhibuit et presentavit nobis quasdam septem litteras nostras in papiro patenter emmanatas tenorum subsequentium, petens nos debita cum instantia, ut easdem de verbo ad verbum transscribi et transsumi ac presentibus nostris litteris privilegialibus redigi faceremus pro eisdem dominabus monialibus ad cautelam.

Quarum prima sequitur in hec verba: [1], alia quoque earum hunc verbalem continet tenorem: [2], tertia denique earum talis est: [3]. Quarta siquidem earum hunc habet tenorem: [4]. Quinta vero earum taliter sequitur: [5], sexta quoque earum

^a Archivio Storico Capitolino (Rome), Archivio Orsini, Pergamene, n. inv. 1868 (old signature: II. A. XVII. n. 42). Original, intact parchment. Its pending seal and cord have been torn off and lost. On the back, in an eighteenth-century hand: *Attestatio miraculorum Beate Margarithę Ungarie regis filię*. Under that, in a different early-modern hand: 1461. Some inscriptions on the back must have been erased. Excerpt: Cesare de Cupis, "Regesto degli Orsini e dei Conti Anguillara," *Bullettino della Regia*

derous stench and the light of the candle was extinguished, and the demon-possessed man cried out immediately the name of Jesus. In this way the demon-possessed man was freed from the demon, and he returned home, traveling peacefully and with a calm mind.

In testimony of which we have granted our present letters patent.

Dated the feast day of the Invention of the Holy Cross, in the 1462nd year of the Lord.

8

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA

[Óbuda], July 24, 1462

We, the chapter of Buda, entrust to memory with the content of this present charter and make known, to all it may advantage, that the prudent gentleman Benedict Hideg, said citizen of the city of Óbuda, representing the pious and devout ladies Anne, the prioress, and the other sisters of the convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Island of Hares, came before us in person and showed and presented to us seven charters of ours, on paper, that we openly issued, of content as below; and he besought us with just urgency to have these charters transcribed and copied, word for word, and confirmed with our present charter of privilege on behalf of the same holy ladies, for a record.

The first charter among them begins with these words [text of nr. 1]; the second contains the following words: [nr. 2]; the third one is such: [nr. 3]; the fourth one has the following content: [nr. 4]; the fifth one runs as follows: [nr. 5]; the sixth of them

Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria III/5 (1914), aprile–agosto–dicembre [punte I–II e III], 218–19 (dated to August 2, 1462).

Online access: <http://archiviocapitolinorisorsedigitali.it/> (wrongly dated to August 24, 1462).

hunc continet tenorem: [6], septima denique et ultima sequitur huiusmodi sub tenore: [7].

Nos itaque iustis et rationabilibus petitionibus prefati Benedicti Hydeg favorabiliter inclinati prescriptas litteras nostras non abrasas, non cancellatas, nec in aliqua sui parte suspectas, sed omni prorsus vicio et suspitione carentes, nichil addendo nilque diminuendo de verbo ad verbum transscribi et transsummi ac presentibus nostris litteris privilegialibus redigi fecimus pro eisdem dominabus sanctimonialibus ad cautelam.

Datum sabbato proximo ante festum Beati Iacobi apostoli, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo secundo suppradicto.

To the right of the notary's stamp, a flower with eight petals, with inscription at the bottom (Iesus Maria): Et ego, Paulus natus Mathei de Beczkow dyocesis Nitriensis,²⁵ sacra imperiali auctoritate notarius publicus, quia prefatorum miraculorum uni,^a videlicet qui taliter incipit, quod dum Fabianus demoniacus de Thass etc. miraculo penes sepulcrum virginis Margarethe de eodem facto et quod Fabianus penes dictum sepulcrum eliberatus fuisset,²⁶ presens fui, fassionique omnium testium in prefatis litteris capituli Budensis nominatorum similiter presens fui, eaque omnia et singula sic fieri vidi et audiui, ideoque hoc presens publicum instrumentum ad petitionem dictarum dominarum sanctimonialium et, ut robur et fides adhibeatur ubique locorum, dictorum testium super fassione in prefatis litteris dicti capituli Budensis conscriptis signoque et nomine meis solitis et consuetis consignavi rogatus et requisitus in fidem et testimonium omnium et singulorum premissorum.

At the bottom right of the charter, without the notary's stamp: Et ego, Benedictus de Wyfalw,²⁷ sacra imperiali auctoritate notarius publicus fassioni dictorum testium similiter presens interfui.

^a *originally* unius.

²⁵ Unidentified.

²⁶ See charter nr. 7.

has this content: [nr. 6]; while the seventh and last goes as follows: [nr. 7].

Therefore we, favorably inclined towards the just and reasonable requests of the abovementioned Benedict Hideg, have had our aforementioned charters transcribed and copied word for word, without erasure or deletion, and without anything that might seem suspicious, but altogether free from any fault and suspicion, nor did we add or shorten them, but issued them together with our present charter of privilege on behalf of the same consecrated ladies, for a record.

Dated the Saturday before the feast day of the Blessed Apostle James, in the 1462nd year of the Lord, as recorded above.

[*The notary's stamp—a flower with eight petals, with inscription at the bottom: Iesus Maria*]: And I, Paul, son of Matthew of Beczko²⁵ of the Nitra diocese, public notary by holy imperial authority, since I was present at one the above-described miracles, namely the one that starts with “When Fabian from Tass, a man possessed by a demon,” etc.—the miracle that happened to him at the tomb of the virgin Margaret, and Fabian having been freed from the demon at the said tomb²⁶—and as I have likewise been present at the depositions of all witnesses named in the aforesaid charters of the Buda chapter, and I have seen and heard each and every thing happen as described; therefore I have attached my usual and customary name and stamp to the present public document, at the request of the said consecrated ladies regarding the testimony of the said witnesses in the abovementioned charters drawn up by the Buda chapter, in order that trust and faith would be accorded them everywhere, as I have been called and requested to do, in confirmation and testimony of every and each point above.

[*To the right of this, at the bottom right of the charter:*] And I, Benedict of Újfalú,²⁷ public notary by holy imperial authority, was likewise present at the testimony of the said witnesses.

²⁷ Benedict was a canon of the Buda chapter (1461–1480) and on occasion dean of it (1465, 1467, 1480), but his activity as a public notary was hitherto unknown. For his career see Köblös, *Az egyházi középírtegy*, 257, 266, 323, nr. 116.

9

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA^a

[Óbuda], October 6, 1465

Capitulum ecclesie Budensis ad notitiam presentes intuentium. Providentia humana litteras adinvenit,^b ut earum patrocinio res, que in tempore aguntur, notitie commendaret singulorum rerumque gestarum notitiam simul et veritatem ita representaret omnibus, ut sicuti actioni rerum presentes sic et absentes rerum inseri haberent. Proinde ad universorum Christi fidelium tam presentium, quam futurorum notitiam harum serie volumus pervenire, quod cum nos habita requisitione religiose domine Anne priorisse claustrum Beate Marie virginis de Insula Leporum honorabiles viros Nicolaum de Abranfalwa²⁸ et Benedictum de Wyfalw, socios et concanonicos nostros e medio nostri ad dictum claustrum misissemus, tunc iidem ad nos reversi nobis retulerunt, quod ipsis feria quarta proxima post festum Beati Michaelis archangeli²⁹ proxime preteritum in ipso claustrum constitutis religiosa domina Veronica de Zegedino professa monialis³⁰ coram eisdem statuta de miraculis illustris puelle Margerethe, filie quarti Bele regis Hungarie olim in habitu moniali defuncte et in ipso claustrum tumulate taliter confessa fuisset, quomodo dum estate preterita pestilentia maxima miserandaque ad has partes regni venisset, vexaretque eas per longa tempora, nec conventum monialium in dicto claustrum intactum reliquisset, ipsaque eadem domina Veronica

^a Archivio Storico Capitolino (Rome), Archivio Orsini, Pergamene, n. inv. 542 (old signature: II. A. XVII. n. 107). Original, undamaged, written on parchment. The pendant seal and the cords are lost. On the back, in a contemporary hand: *Liberavit unam monialem a peste*. Under that, in a different contemporary hand: 1465. Above, in an early modern hand: *Margarita virgo filia regis Ungarie*. On the back there is a further early modern addition, namely the record number that is still in use in the archive and some other archival notes in pencil. Excerpt: Cesare de Cupis, "Regesto degli Orsini e dei Conti Anguillara," *Bullettino della Regia Deputazione Abruzzese di Storia Patria* III/5 (1914), aprile–agosto–dicembre [puntate I–II e III], 228–29 (wrongly dated to October 4, 1465).

Online access: <http://archiviocapitolinorisorsedigitali.it/> (wrongly dated to October 4, 1465).

9

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA

[Óbuda], October 6, 1465

The chapter of Buda brings to the knowledge of those who inspect the present charter:

Human providence has devised written records so that with their help it might bring to each person's knowledge those events that happen in time, and at the same time in order to present to all the knowledge and truth regarding events in such a way that even those who were absent from the events would be cognizant of them as much as those who were present at them.

Hence we wish by this document to bring to the knowledge of all of Christ's faithful, both present and future, to wit: that at the request of the pious lady Anne, prioress of the convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Island of Hares, we sent from among us to the said cloister the honorable gentlemen Nicholas of Ábránfalva²⁸ and Benedict of Újfalu, our colleagues and fellow-canon; and they came back to us and reported that on the Wednesday after the recent feast day of the Blessed Michael the Archangel²⁹ they presented themselves in that cloister, and the pious lady, Veronica of Szeged,³⁰ a professed nun, came to them and told about the miracles of the illustrious girl Margaret, the daughter of King Béla IV of Hungary, who died in the habit of a nun and was buried in that cloister. She reported how during the past summer a great and terrible pestilence came to those regions of the kingdom and afflicted those parts for an extended time; nor did it leave untouched the

^b *originally* advenit.

²⁸ For his career, see Köblös, *Az egyházi középréteg*, 283, nr. 3. As for his place of origin, there were several villages called Ábránfalva (also: Ábrahámfalva, Ábrány) at that time.

²⁹ October 2, 1465.

³⁰ She cannot be identified.

circa festum Beate Prisce virginis³¹ inter alias moniales pestilenticas, quarum *anime* vel *egra trahebant corpora* vel *linquebant*³² oborto^a pestifero apostemate^b cruciaretur. Nec spes ulla sibi daretur de sanitate, sed potius mors ei^c imminere ab omnibus consorioribus iudicaretur. Cumque ad ultimum virus apostematis tam graviter eam penetrasset, ut nec iam passum facere posset, statuens se mori, priusquam eius verenda oculis paterent virilibus medicumque refutans. Tandem prostrasset se in oratione rogans ipsam virginem Margaretham, ut eius intercessione sanaretur ab hiis languoribus sine humano et medicorum iuvamine. Ubi mox completa oratione virus apostematis absque humana arte erupisset, quod suis consorioribus referens et pariter cum eis Deo gratias agens sanitetem tandem pristinam recuperasset et nunc ea plena perfrueretur.

In cuis rei memoriam iuxta declarationem dictorum concanonicorum nostrorum presentes litteras nostras pendentes sigilli nostri munimine roboratas rogati duximus concedendas.

Datum quinto die confessionis prenotate anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo quinto.

To the right side of the notary's stamp, a lily on a two-story stage with an abbreviation of the notary's name: Et ego, Benedictus Petri de Wyfalw, clericus Strigoniensis diocesis, sacra imperiali auctoritate notarius publicus, quia premissae confessioni omnibusque aliis et singulis dum sic, ut premittitur, fiere et agerentur, unacum prenominato Nicolao de Abranfalwa canonico Budensi necnon Thoma Galyas, Simone et Matheo³³ aliisque compluribus inhabitatoribus Insule Leporum presens interfui eaque sic fieri vidi et audivi, ideo ad requisitionem prefate priorisse me subscripsi signoque

^a *originally* ab orto.

^b *originally* apostemato.

^c Inserted above the line.

³¹ January 18, 1465.

³² Vergil, *Aen.* 3.140–41: linquebant dulcis animas aut aegra trahebant corpora.

³³ Simon and Matthew as inhabitants of the Island of Hares cannot be identified, except that Matthew may be the Matthew of Szegeed who was indeed a resident of the Island, cf. n. 21.

community of nuns in the said cloister, but she herself, lady Veronica, around the feast day of Blessed Prisca the virgin,³¹ was wracked by the symptoms of the pestilence, together with other nuns whose *souls were either dragging their sick bodies or had left their body behind*.³² No hope was held out to her of recovery, and all the other nuns judged her death to be imminent.

At last the poison of the abscess had penetrated her so deeply that she could not take a single step. But she refused to see a doctor, determined to die before her intimate parts should be exposed to male gaze. Finally she prostrated herself in prayer, beseeching the virgin Margaret that through her intercession she might be delivered from those torments without human help or the attention of doctors. No sooner had she finished her prayer, but the pus of the abscess burst out without any human intervention. She told this to her fellow-nuns, and together with them she gave thanks to God. In the end she regained her previous health which even now she fully enjoys.

In record of which, we have granted the issue of our present charter, in keeping with the statement of the said fellow-canon, confirmed with the addition of our pendent seal, as we were requested.

Dated the fifth day after the abovementioned deposition, in the 1465th year of the Lord.

Under the text appears the notary's sign (in an oval under the base: B[enedictus] P[etri] d[e] W[yfalw]). To the right side of the notary's sign: I, Benedict, son of Peter, of Újfalú, cleric of the diocese of Esztergom, public notary with holy imperial authority, because I was present and involved in the above deposition and in each and every other matter as they came to pass and as they were done, even as described above, together with the abovementioned Nicholas of Ábránfalva, canon of Buda, and with Thomas Gályás, Simon, and Matthew³³ and a number of other inhabitants of the Island of Hares, and as I saw and heard these things happen as described, hence, in accordance with the request of the abovementioned prioress, I have added this in writing and publicly signed with my customary sign and name this present

et nomine meis solitis presentes consignavi legittime rogatus in fidem et testimonium premissorum.

10

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA^a

[Óbuda], October 6, 1465

Capitulum ecclesie Budensis ad notitiam presentes intuentium. Providentia humana litteras adinvenit^b, ut earum patrocinio res, que in tempore aguntur, notitie commendaret singulorum | rerumque gestarum notitiam simul et veritatem ita representaret omnibus, ut sicuti actioni rerum presentes sic et absentes rerum inseri haberent.

Proinde ad universorum Christi fidelium | tam presentium, quam futurorum notitiam harum serie volumus pervenire, quod cum nos habita requisitione religiose domine Anne priorisse claustris Beate Marie virginis de Insula Leporum | honorabiles viros Nicolaum de Abranfalfa et Benedictum de Wyfalw, socios et concanonicos nostros e medio nostri ad dictum claustrum mississemus, tunc iidem ad nos reversi nobis | retulerunt, quod ipsis feria quarta proxima post festum Beati Michaelis archangeli proxime preteritum in ipso claustro consitutis religiosa domina Elena³⁴ [...] professa monialis | coram eisdem statuta de miraculis illustris puelle Margarethe, filie quarti Bele regis Hungarie olim in habitu

^a Archivio Storico Capitolino (Rome), Archivio Orsini, Pergamene, n. inv. 1384 (old signature: II. A. XXXV. n. 4). Original, badly damaged parchment (large patches and water-damage). On the back in a contemporary hand: *Liberavit unam monialem e peste*. Under that in an early-modern hand: *Contra pestem*. Remarks by other early modern hands (1465; S 72; 17;t 64). Besides pieces of information written on a card without any relation to the content, the envelope of the charter contains a detailed excerpt in Italian with a dating of charter to 4 October 1465 and a reference to another charter signed by the same public notary, Benedictus Hideg (sc. II. A. XXXV. n. 107, see V/1–8 in the present volume), both of them in a twentieth-century hand.

Online access: <http://archiviocapitolinorisorsedigitali.it/> (wrongly dated to 4 October 1465, naming the public notary of the charter, without excerpt).

charter, rightfully asking for trust and attestation of what is recorded above.

10

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA

[Óbuda], October 6, 1465

The chapter of Buda brings to the knowledge of those who inspect the present charter:

Human providence has devised written records so that with their help it might bring to each person's knowledge those events that happen in time, and at the same time in order to present to all the knowledge and truth regarding events in such a way that even those who were absent from the events would be cognizant of them as much as those who were present at them.

Hence we wish by this document to bring to the knowledge of all of Christ's faithful, both present and future, to wit: that at the request of the pious lady Anne, prioress of the convent of the Blessed Virgin Mary on the Island of Hares, we sent from among us to the said cloister the honorable gentlemen Nicholas of Ábránfalva and Benedict of Újfalu, our colleagues and fellow-canon; and they came back to us and reported that on the Wednesday after the recent feast day of the Blessed Michael the Archangel they presented themselves in that cloister, and a pious lady, Elena,³⁴ a professed nun, came to them and told about the miracles of the illustrious girl Margaret, the daughter of King Béla IV of Hunga-

It appears that lines 1–9 and 25–26 and the notarial confirmation are virtually identical to what we read in Charter Nr. 9, by the same hand written on the same day, hence we have used that text to supplement this fragmentary charter, signalled the additions with smaller characters.

^b Cf. no. 9.

³⁴ She cannot be identified.

moniali defuncte et in ipso claustro tumulate taliter | confessa fuisset, quomodo dum estate preterita pestilentia maxima miserandaque ad has partes regni venisset, vexaretque eas per longa tempora, nec conventum monialium | in dicto claustro intactum reliquisset, ipsaque eadem domina Elena circa festum Beate Prisce inter alias moniales pestilenticas, quarum *anime vel egra trahebant* | *corpora vel linquebant*, oborto^a pestifero apostemate cruciaretur. Nec spes ulla sibi daretur de sanitate, sed potius mors ei imminere ab omnibus consororibus iudicaretur.³⁵ | Abiectis medelis humanis, que [...] ad sanitatem [traher]entur, exoraret [...] priorissam, ut ei sepult[ura]... prius merces | et intercessionem sperare se posse [...] sentiens(?) visitare concederet, quia se [...] adiutorio nonnulla [...] manibus ferentium suam^b adimplere | voluntatem. Cumque simul, bis, ter, quater^c adimplevisset et quinto adimpleret [...] tandem [...]sit orationibus [...]rata [...]iis iacentem | reliquissent, ipsaque dolore vexata rogasset consorores pro custodia sibi assistentes [...] rogarentque dictam Margaretham virginem pro eius sanitate et | insuper ibidem emisisset certa vota in orationibus et ieiuniis post etern[...] terra et [...] grata | occur[re]re[...] et dormire sibi videretur, apparuisset ei una virgo in[...]bus elena[...], quam [...] Margaretham virginem | esse et supplicasse ei pro sanitate et [...] meritis, [...] in qua se[...] [...] obsecrasset(?) [...] orationibus suis | statim evigilans e [som]no requisivisset consorores [...] se domina priorissa [...] et [...]tibus [...] cum nulla[...]em venisse, illuc confesse | fuissent, rem eis [...] ordine pandisset. Demum [...] ipsa huiusmodi volu[...] levisset [...] nocte [...] | hiisdem teneretur, languoribus clamasset ad suam quandam consanguineam consorem [...] habitante[...] s[er]et [...] | simul et in tanta [...] frigescenti illa, qua [...] gravata [...] seni [...]. Cum [...] via ea arde[...]sset, | quenam esset, illa nichil ad ea respondisset s[...] annuieris [...] imp[er] [...] pacem(?), quo etiam(?) ea [...]sset | dixissetque premissa verba: confide [...] qua spem [...] sanitatem [...] aperta ianua discessisset. Qua s[...] | se alleviatam sentiens dictam consorem suam e somno excitasset et [...]ent [...] cum ita non esset causa,

ry, who died in the habit of a nun and was buried in that cloister. She reported how during the past summer a great and terrible pestilence came to those regions of the kingdom and afflicted those parts for an extended time; nor did it leave untouched the community of nuns in the said cloister, but that she herself, lady Elena, around the feast day of Blessed Prisca the virgin, was wracked by the symptoms of the pestilence, together with other nuns whose *souls were either dragging their sick bodies or had left their body behind*. No hope was held out to her of recovery, and all the other nuns judged her death to be imminent.³⁵ Rejecting all human cures that [...] [might bring] recovery, she beseeched [...] the prioress that she be permitted to visit [Margaret's] tomb [...] and that she could be allowed to place hope in her intervention [...]

[...] after repeating these [prayers] twice, three times, and four times, at the fifth instance [...] those [...] left her lying there, and tortured by pain she asked her fellow nuns who were present watching over her [...] and that they would beseech the said Margaret for her recovery and in addition she made certain vows of prayer and fasting [...] and seemed to sleep, there appeared to her a maiden [in a dream?] [...]

[from here on the text becomes so fragmentary that it is impossible to make out the full sense. What we can deduce is that the sick nun prayed to Margaret asking through her merits to be cured; probably her fellow nuns or the prioress confirmed that nobody had come to her; her condition became worse and she called for another nun, a relative of hers; her condition became even more critical; having gained some relief she awoke her said fellow nun, who said she had seen no one; then the miraculous moment happened]

[...] and by degrees [...] the sick nun was restored to health and now enjoys perfect health.

^a *originally* ab orto.

^b Inserted above the line.

^c *originally* quator.

³⁵ Up to this point the text of the charter (except for the proper name Elena) is identical with the beginning of Charter No. 9. See the footnotes there.

nec quempiam vidisset | ipsa egrotans rem [... ...]ne ordine pandit
gravas itaque ad[... ...]erentes paulatim [...] egrotans sani-
tati restituta | nunc plena sanitate perfrueretur.

In cuius rei memoriam iuxta declarationem dictorum con-
canonicorum nostrorum presentes litteras nostras pendentis sigilli
nostri munimine | roboratas rogati duximus concedendas.

Datum quinto die confessionis prenotate, anno Domini
millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo quinto.

*To the right side of the notary's stamp, a lily on a two-story stage
with an abbreviation of the notary's name* (B[enedictus] P[etri] d[e]
W[yfalw]): Et ego, Benedictus Petri de Wyfalw, clericus Strigoniensis
diocesis sacra imperiali auctoritate notarius publicus, quia premis-
se confessioni omnibusque aliis et singulis, dum sic, ut premittitur,
fierent et agerentur, unacum prenominato Nicolao de Abranfalwa,
canonico Budensi necnon Thoma Galyas, Simone et Matheo alii-
sque compluribus inhabitatoribus Insule Leporum presens interfui,
eadem^a sic fieri vidi et audiui, ideo ad requisitionem prefate priorisse
me subscripsi, signis^b et nomine meis solitis presentes consignavi le-
gittime rogatus in fidem et testimonium premissorum.

11

CHARTER FROM THE CHAPTER OF BUDA^c

[Óbuda], May 28–June 4, 1467

Capitulum ecclesie Budensis memorie commendamus tenore pre-
sentium significantes, quibus expedit universis, quod religiosus

^a *recte* eaque; cf. no. 9.

^b *recte* signoque; cf. no. 9.

^c Archivio Storico Capitolino (Rome), Archivio Orsini, Pergamene, n. inv. 1406 (old signature: II. A. XXXV. n. 40). Original, badly damaged parchment (large patches and water-damage). The pending seal was lost (the tread left a purple and dark blue mark). On the back, with an eighteenth-century hand: *L(itte)re cap(itu)li Buden(sis)*.

In record of which event according to the deposition of our said fellow-canon we have granted our present charter, corroborated with the authority of our pendent seal attached thereto.

Dated five days after the above deposition, in the 1465th year of the Lord.

Under the text on the right there is the public notary's sign in an oval under the base: B[enedictus] P[etri] d[e] W[yfalw].

To the right side of the notary's sign:

I, Benedict, son of Peter, of Újfalú, cleric of the diocese of Esztergom, public notary with holy imperial authority, because I was present and involved in the above deposition and in each and every other matter, as they came to pass and were done, even as described above, together with the abovementioned Nicholas of Ábránfalva, canon of Buda, and with Thomas Gályás, Simon and Matthew and a number of other inhabitants of the Island of Hares, and as I saw and heard these things happen as described: hence, in accordance with the request of the abovementioned prioress, I have added this in writing and publicly signed this present charter with my customary sign and name, having been rightfully asked for trust and attestation of what is recorded above.

11

CHARTER OF THE CHAPTER OF BUDA

[Óbuda], May 28–June 4, 1467

We, the Chapter of Buda, entrust to memory with the content of this present charter and make known, to all that it may advantage,

Perpendicular to this it is written, perhaps by a fifteenth-century hand (and crossed): *LLXL* (?), above it, probably written later (and crossed): *1467*. In the lower left corner, with early-modern hand (written upside down): *1549*. The envelope of the charter contains a short Italian excerpt by a twentieth-century hand.

Online access: <http://archiviocapitolinorisorsedigitali.it/> (here wrongly under the signature n. inv. 2166, II. A. XXXV. n. 39, without any details)

frater Benedictus, ordinis Premonstratensis³⁶ prepositus Sancti Michaelis archangeli de Insula Leporum | ac discretus Ladislaus presbyter, plebanus parochialis ecclesie de Alkezy³⁷ necnon [...]a domina Agatha genitrix et Michael litteratus,³⁸ frater carnalis prefati fratris Benedicti prepositi, item domina Anastasia, relicta Petri Thewkesi | et Elizabetha, relicta Thome Galyas ac Iohannes Mada-raz et domina Ursula, consors eiusdem necnon Elena Gregorii su- toris et Agnes, Mathei Byro consors in dicta Insula Leporum com- morantes³⁹ in capitulo nostro coram | nobis personaliter constituti de meritis et sepulcro virginis Margarethe, filie condam quarti Bele illustris regis Hungarie in clauastro dominarum sanctimonialium in ipsa Insula Leporum constructo requiescentis infrascripta p[... ...] |

[... ...]. Et primo prefati frater Benedictus prepositus ac do- mina Agatha et Michael literatus fassi sunt in hunc modum, quo- modo circa festum Beate Katherine virginis et martyris in anno secundo preterito⁴⁰ quidam frater Georgius [...] | [...] per con- tinuum dolorem oculorum lumine privatus et per [...] et viros [...] rabilis iudicatus ad dictam Insulam Leporum et dictum claustrum Beati Michaelis archangeli, preposituram scilicet prefati fratris Benedicti prepositi [...] | [...] tus aliis [...]atum prebentibus ad- venisset et suam n[...] et sententiam medicorum eidem Benedic- to exposuisset ac tandem [...] prefati fratris Benedicti prepositi, idem frater Georgius [...] | [...] virginis Margarethe in me- ritis eiusdem virginis confidens devote [...]as quibusdam diebus frequentaret, tunc mox lumen [...] sanitatem pristinam recupe-

³⁶ The Premonstratensian priory was situated in the immediate northern vicinity of the Dominican nunnery. For abbot Benedict, see Jakab Rupp, *Buda-Pest és környékének helyrajzi története* [Topographical history of Buda, Pest, and their environment] (Pest, MTA Történelmi Bizottsága, 1868), 62, Jenő Kiss Kolos, *A margitszigeti Szent Mihályról nevezett premontrai prépostság története* [The history of the Premonstratensian priory named after St. Michael on Margaret Island] (Budapest, Hellas Irodalmi és nyomdai Részvénytársaság, 1932), 45 (= DL 16693, DL 16948). He was still in office in 1469 (DL 12803, DL 12804, DL 17104–106).

³⁷ The parish church of Keszi (today Budakeszi) came under the jurisdiction of the archbishop of Esztergom, as attested by a letter of Pope Boniface IX, dated May 1, 1400. Cf. Elemér Mályusz, ed., *Zsigmondkori oklevéltár* [Chartulary of the Sigismund age], vol. 2/1 (Budapest, MOL, 1956), 33 no. 241—without mentioning the details

that the pious brother Benedict of the Premostratensian Order,³⁶ provost of Saint Michael the Archangel's on the Island of Hares, and the prudent gentleman Ladislás, parish priest of Alkeszi,³⁷ as well as [his?] mother, lady Agatha, and the *litteratus* Michael,³⁸ brother in the flesh of the abovementioned brother Benedict the provost, and likewise lady Anastasia, widow of Peter Tökési, and Elisabeth, widow of Thomas Gályás, and John Madarász and his wife, lady Ursula, and also Elena, wife of the cobbler George, and Agnes, wife of Matthew Bíró, who live on the said Island of Hares,³⁹ appeared before us in person at our chapter and [testified] as follows regarding the miracles and the tomb of the virgin Margaret, daughter of the late Béla IV, illustrious king of Hungary, who rests among the consecrated nuns in the convent built on that Island of Hares.

... And first, the abovementioned Brother Benedict, the provost, lady Agatha and the *litteratus* Michael declared as follows, that around the feast day of the Blessed Catherine, virgin and martyr two years ago,⁴⁰ a certain brother George ... had lost his eyesight after suffering continual pain and ... came to the said Island of Hares and to the said cloister of the Blessed Michael the Archangel, that is, to the priory of the abovementioned brother Benedict, the provost... because [hope] was offered by others... and he told him (the provost) the verdict of the doctors and finally ... this brother George ... putting his faith in the merits of the virgin Margaret, devotedly visited her [tomb] ... on several days. Soon ... he recovered his sight [and] his previous health... and declared the

but recording all of the publications of the charter. This suggests that being the parish priest of Keszi was not an ordinary parish office but rather of high rank. In the light of this it is less surprising to read the second testimony of this charter which reports that the parish priest of Keszi had acted several times as royal envoy.

³⁸ He cannot be identified. The title *litteratus* was possibly only meant to signify "literate," not especially an "educated person."

³⁹ They cannot be identified. They certainly lived in the village on the Isle of Hares, which belonged to the nuns and remained nameless in the sources, and possibly served the nuns.

⁴⁰ November 25, 1465.

rasset, qui accepta [...] | huiusmodi declarasset, sed ei, quam sibi quadam die circa idem sepulcrum [...] et post crebras orationes et fatigas [...]dem obdormienti [...] in sompno apparuisset, que quas[...] | [...] lineo cingere videretur, de quo quidem sompno [...] sanitatem recuperasse sensit.

Item discretus Ladislaus, plebanus de Alkezy fassus est, quod tum^a ipse circa festum Beati Michaelis | archangeli proxime preteritum⁴¹ in certis legationibus regalibus occupatus de [...] suam rediisset, tunc omnia membra eius adeo mirabiliter inflata extitissent, ut ipse ab omnibus eum intuentibus [...] | fieri credebantur. Postquam [...] meritis prefate virginis Margarethe predictum [...] sepulcrum eius ad visitandum se vocasset^b, tamen omnibus membris eius lavatis, ab omnibus languoribus liberatus fuisset et [...] |

Item [...] domina Anastasia, relicta Petri Thewkesi fassa est, quod ipsa in mense Iulio preterito⁴² super pupillis oculorum eius [...] ac [...] in tantum gravata fuerit, ut sine aliorum iuvamine et ducatu [...] | [...] valeret. Tamen postquam iuvamine et ducatu aliorum dictum sepulcrum annotate virginis Margarethe visitasset et ipsam in suum adiutorium, [...] orationibus [...] invocasset, statim ipsa pristine restituta fuisset [...]. |

Item prenominata domina Elisabetha, relicta Thome Galyas fassa est, quod in anno tertio preterito⁴³ in gravissimam infirmitatem et lectum egretudinis incubuisset, cetera pars corporis eius aruisset, unde [...] | [...]ret, ita, ut huiusmodi arida sua parte nulla haberetur sensibilitas [...] adeo graviter torqueretur, ut se per mensem [...] involvere non valeret. Postquam tamen aliorum monitu dictam virginem Margaretham in adiutorium suum | [...] cepisset, mox se demonas habere sensisset et post aliquos dies cum [...]ibus suis dictum sepulcrum visitare potuisset, assiduus orationibus iuxta ipsum sepulcrum insistens per merita ipsius virginis Margarethe [...] | [...] recuperasset firmitatem.

^a recte cum.

^b recte vouisset

⁴¹ September 29, 1466

following... But one day, when he was at the tomb, ... after repeated prayers and privations ... he fell asleep and [Margaret] appeared to him in his sleep, and she was seen to wrap [him] in linen, and from this dream ... he felt that he had recovered his health.

Likewise, the prudent Ladislás, the parish priest from Alkeszi, declared that when, around the feast day of the Blessed Michael the Archangel of this year,⁴¹ he was involved into certain royal legations, and returned from ... to his ..., then all his limbs became incredibly swollen, to such an extent that everybody who saw him believed [he] was becoming ... After [he heard] about the merits of the abovementioned virgin Margaret, he made a vow to visit her said ... tomb; but after he washed all his limbs, he was free from all sickness and

Likewise, ... lady Anastasia, widow of Peter Tőkési, declared that during the past month of July⁴² the pupils of her eyes [were afflicted] and her condition was so serious that she was not able to [walk] without others' help and guidance. But nevertheless, after with the help and guiding of others she visited the said tomb of the already mentioned virgin Margaret and called on ... Margaret ... with prayers, she was immediately restored to her previous [health].

Likewise, the abovementioned lady Elisabeth, widow of Thomas Gályás, declared that three years earlier⁴³ she became gravely ill and lay in her sick-bed; part of her body became very dry, ... to such an extent that ... the part that was dry lost all its sensibility; [in addition,] she was in so great pain, that for a month she could not even turn [in bed]. Nevertheless, later, at the urging of others she started [to invoke] the said virgin Margaret to help her. Soon she started to feel she had some demons and after a few days with her [helpers?] she was able to visit the said tomb; and she persisted in ardent prayers next to that tomb, and by the merits of that virgin Margaret ... she regained her health.

⁴² July 1466

⁴³ In 1464.

Insuper memorati Iohannes Madaraz et domina Ursula, consors eiusdem fassi sunt, quomodo circa festum penthecostes proxime preteritum⁴⁴ quidam Anthonius Magnus piscator, frater carnalis [...] | [...] in piscatura laboraret, in gravem incidisset infirmitatem [...] demonum corpore et extrema vincione in lectis in dicta Insula Leporum [...] graviter torqueretur, ut de [...] | nulla spes haberetur. Acciderat, ut domine sanctimoniales hanc novitatem [...] de consensu sedis apostolice super canonizatione beate virginis Margarethe [...] premissis novitatibus auditis Te Deum laudamus cum [...] | pulsu campanarum in claustro sonore canerent, prefatus Anthonius [...] admirans quesivisset, quidnam is pulsus campanarum et [...] vellent, qui cum superinde edoceretur. Statim [...] ac | iungendo prefatam virginem Margaretham, ut suis meritis et precibus [...]tem et sanitatem impetraret, orasset, ipso facto statim e lecto surgens ac magis et magis gratias agens propriis suis viribus dictum sepulcrum beate | virginis visitasset, unde tandem orationibus fuis gratias agens fortior, quam accesserat, remeasset, nonnullaque alia loca in eadem insula ipso eodem die visitasset, et sic pristino negotio se ingerens sanus permaneret etiam nunc. |

Item pretacta domina Elena, consors Gregorii sutoris fassa est, quod cum circa festum nativitatis Beati Iohannis Baptiste⁴⁵ in anno quarto preterito Iohannes, filius ipsius domine adhuc puerilem agens etatem subitanea fuit | infirmitate preventus, ab omnibus eum intuentibus mortuus censeretur. Postquam ipsa eundem filium suum ad sepulcrum prefati virginis Margarethe deferre voluisset^a, statim oculos aperiens convalere cepisset, tandemque voto completo | idem puer pristinam omnino accepisset sanitatem.

Postremo antedicta domina Agnes, consors Matthei Byro confessa est, quod cum quedam puella Katharina vocata sorore sua hiis proxime preteritis diebus quotidiana [...] | ac ipsa domina

^a recte voluisset

⁴⁴ May 17, 1467.

The abovementioned John Madarász and lady Ursula, wife of the same, declared how around the feast day of last Pentecost,⁴⁴ a certain fisherman, Anthony Nagy, brother in the flesh of [...], while he was fishing, became gravely ill [...] with demons in his body, and in his bed on the said Island of Hares and with extreme unction [...] he was so tormented that all hope was given up for [his life]. It happened that the consecrated ladies [received] this news about the consent of the Holy See regarding the canonization of the blessed virgin Margaret, [...] having heard this news, they sang with full voice the *Te Deum laudamus*, with [...] the ringing of the bells in the convent, and the abovementioned Anthony, marveling [at the sound], asked what the ringing of the bells [meant]. When he learned, at once [...] and joining [his hands] he prayed to the above-said virgin Margaret, that through her merits and prayers she would obtain for him [...] recovery; immediately after this he rose from his bed and giving thanks again and again he visited under his own strength the said tomb of the blessed virgin. From this place, after abundant prayers and thanksgivings, he finally went away stronger than he had come, and that day he also visited several other places on the same island, and thus turning back to his previous profession he has remained healthy even to now.

Likewise, the already mentioned Elena, wife of George the shoemaker, declared that around the feast day of the birth of Blessed John the Baptist four years ago,⁴⁵ her son, John, at that time still a child, was struck by a sudden illness and everybody who saw him thought that he was dead. After that she made a vow to carry her son to the tomb of the abovementioned virgin Margaret, he immediately opened his eyes and started to get better, and finally, after the vow was fulfilled, that boy recovered his previous health in all respects.

Finally, the aforementioned lady Agnes, wife of Matthew Biró, gave her testimony: that when a girl called Catherine, [her sister?] some days earlier [.... became ill (with fever)?...] and this

⁴⁵ June 24, 1463.

Agnes in meritis Sancte virginis Margarethe [...] eandem puellam in festo Sancte Trinitatis proxime preterito⁴⁶ ad sepulcrum eiusdem virginis Margarethe devote detulisset, tunc mox orationibus ibidem | [...] factis, ipsa puella [... ..] soluisset. [... ..].

In quorum omnium premissorum testimonium presentes litteras nostras privilegiales pendenti sigillo nostro con [signatas eisdem] | duximus concedendas.

Datum infra octavas sacratissimi corporis Christi, anno Domini millesimo quadringentesimo sexagesimo septimo.

To the right side of the notary's sign, a flower on a four-square base: Et ego, Petrus natus Pauli Forgach de Gara, clericus Quinqueecclesiensis dyocesis, sacra imperiali auctoritate | notarius publicus,⁴⁷ quia premissarum affirmationi et fassioni unacum prefato capitulo ecclesie Budensis presbiteris [...] | easque affirmationem et fassionem modo premissis fieri vidi et audivi, ideo presentes litteras dicti capituli super affirmatione | et fassione legitime confectas signo et nomine meis consignavi in fidem et [testimonium omnium | et singulorum] premissorum rogatus et requisitus.

⁴⁶ May 24, 1467.

⁴⁷ Forgács's activity is sufficiently well documented. See C. Tóth, *Az esztergomi székeskáptalan*, vol. 2, 62–64; 80 n. 7; 83 n. 19.

lady Agnes, [having faith] in the merits of the holy virgin Margaret, piously took that girl to the tomb of this virgin Margaret on the recent feast day of the Holy Trinity;⁴⁶ then soon after she uttered her prayers, that girl [was relieved from the fever].

In witness of all the above, we have granted our present letter, privileged with our pending seal and signed.

Dated to between May 28 and June 4, the 1467th year of the Lord.

Under the text on the right is the notary's sign with a confirmation clause, as follows:

And I, Peter, son of Paul Forgách of Gara,⁴⁷ cleric of the diocese of Pécs, public notary by the sacred imperial authority, because [I was present] at the above-said depositions and testimonies, together with the said chapter of Buda, and I have seen and heard that these depositions and testimonies were made in the above-described way; I have therefore signed with my name and seal these present charters of the said chapter regarding the depositions and testimonies, which were put together legitimately, having been asked and required, in witness and confirmation of each and every matter recorded above.

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SELECT HAGIOGRAPHY OF SAINT MARGARET OF HUNGARY

Abbreviations:

EP = Editio princeps

AE = Amended editions

TR = Modern translations

The BHL numbers refer to *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis* (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1898–1901; repr. 1992) and *Bibliotheca hagiographica Latina antiquae et mediae aetatis. Novum supplementum*, ed. H. Fros (Brussels: Société des Bollandistes, 1986).

1. LEGENDA VETUS

(= VITA BEATAE MARGARITAE DE UNGARIA ORDINIS
PREDICATORUM) [BHL 5330D]

Written ca. 1274–75. The authorship is debated. Most scholars accept the proposal of Elemér Lovas that the author was Friar Marcellus, the confessor of the saint and prior provincial of the Hungarian Dominicans, but doubts and counter-arguments persist. Besides the life of the saint, this legend contains an abbreviated list of the miracles recorded during the first official investigation of Margaret's sanctity, between 1272 and 1274.

Inc. Ad honorem domini. *des.* ipsam eciam puellam illuminatam presenterunt.

EP – Kornél Böle, ed. *Árpádházi Boldog Margit szenttéavatási ügye és a legősibb latin Margit-legenda* [The canonization process of Blessed Margaret of the House of Arpad and her oldest Latin legend]. A Szent István Akadémia Hittudomány-bölcseleti Osztályának felolvasásai 3/1. Budapest: Szent István Akadémia, 1931.

AE – Albin Gombos, ed. *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungariae*. Vol. III, 2009–2029. Budapest: Szent István Akadémia, 1937–1939.

– Kornél Szovák, ed. In *Scriptores Rerum Hungaricarum tempore ducum regumque stirpis Arpadianae gestarum*, ed. Emericus Szentpétery, vol. II, 685–709. Budapest: Academia Litter. Hungarica, 1938; revised and supplemented by Kornél Szovák and László Veszprémy, Budapest: Nap kiadó, 1992.

TR – *Hungarian*: Piroska Ballér. “Marcellus ‘Boldog Margit élettörténete’” [Marcellus’s Life of the Blessed Margaret]. In *A magyar középkor irodalma* [The literature of Hungarian Middle Ages], ed. Sándor V. Kovács, 783–817. Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1984.

– Ibolya Bellus: “Boldog Margit élettörténete” [Life of Blessed Margaret], in *Árpád-házi Szent Margit legrégebb legendája és szentté avatási pere* [The oldest legend and the canonization process of Saint Margaret of the House of Arpad], translated by Ibolya Bellus and Zsuzsa Szabó, 27–58. Budapest: Balassi, 1999.

– *Czech*: Richard Pražák. *Legenda a kroniky koruny Uherské* [Legends and chronicles of the crown of Hungary], 145–68. Prague: Vyšehrad, 1988.

– *English*: Ildikó Csepregi and Clifford Flanigan—in this volume.

2. INQUISITIO SUPER VITA, CONVERSATIONE ET MIRACULIS BEATAE MARGARETHAE VIRGINIS [BHL 5330]

A slightly rearranged protocol of the second investigation on Margaret’s sanctity by two papal legates, the canons Umberto Bianchi and De la Corra, carried out between June 26 and October 12, 1276. The original is lost, and the surviving seventeenth-, and eighteenth-century manuscript copies are truncated; according to calculations about one quarter of the original testimonies is missing.

Inc. In nomine Domini Amen. *des.* Predictus presbyter Dominicus interpres fuit in dictis predictis.

EP – Vilmos Fraknói, ed. *Inquisitio super vita, conversatione et miraculis beatae Margarethae virginis, Belae IV. Hungarorum regis filiae, sanctimonialis monasterii virginis gloriosae de insula Danubii, Ordinis Praedicatorum, Vesprimiensis diocesis*. In *Monumenta Romana episcopatus Vesprimiensis*, vol. I, 162–383. Budapest, 1896.

TR – *Hungarian*: Zsuzsa Szabó. “Vizsgálat Margit szűznek életéről, magatartásáról és csodatetteiről.” [Investigation on the life, conduct, and

miracles of the virgin Margaret]. In *Árpád-házi Szent Margit legrégibb legendája és szentté avatási pere*, 59–309.

English: Ildikó Csepregi, Clifford Flanigan and Louis Perraud—in this volume.

3. LEGENDA MAIOR

(= VITA SANCTA MARGARITE VIRGINIS)

[BHL 5331]

The legend, for long referred to as the *Legenda Neapolitana* after a copy of it in Naples, was shown to be the work of Master Garinus de Giaco (Garin Gy l'Évêque), *magister generalis* of the Dominican order between 1346 and 1348, which he put together in Avignon ca. 1340 on the basis of the canonization process protocols.

Inc. Regnante sub Domino nostro Yhesu Christo, *des.* Dominus Iesus Christus cui cum Patre et Sancto Spiritu est honor et potestas, virtus et imperium per omnia secula seculorum Amen.

EP – Nándor Knauz, ed. *A nápolyi Margitlegenda* [The Neapolitan Margaret legend], 30–185. Esztergom, 1868. = *Magyar Sion* (1867): 561–90, 641–62, 740–69, 821–34, 920–38; (1868): 321–36, 416–35, 561–72, 641–53, 721–32.

AE – Gombos, ed. *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungariae*. Vol. III, 2481–2525.

TR – *Hungarian:* Viktória Hedvig Deák. “Garinus de Giaco: Szent Margit élete” [Garinus de Giaco: The life of St. Margaret]. In *Legendák és csodák. Szentek a magyar középkorból* [Legends and miracles: Saints from the Hungarian Middle Ages], ed. Edit Madas and Gábor Klaniczay, 181–294. Budapest: Osiris, 2001.

4. LEGENDA MINOR (=LEGENDA DE VITA ET

MIRACULIS B. MARGARETHAE)

[BHL 5332]

This legend, in which the authorship of Garinus and the date of its writing (1340) is explicitly stated in the introduction, has been shown to be an abbreviation of the *Legenda Maior*.

Inc. Legenda subscripta de vita et miraculis, *des.* Dominus Iesus Christus cui cum Patre et Spiritu sancto est honor, virtus, potestas et imperium per infinita secula seculorum. Amen.

EP – *Acta Sanctorum*, 28 Januarii, II, coll. 900–906 (III, coll. 516–22)

AE. – Albin Gombos, ed. *Catalogus fontium historiae Hungariae*, vol. III, 2468–80.

5. VON DEN HAILGEN WIDRIGEN JUNCKFROWEN
SANT MARGRETHEN AIN KÚNGS DOCHTER VON
VNGER JR LEGENT VND HAILIGS LEBEN

This German Margaret legend was prepared for the Dominican nunnery of Töss (near Winterthur), where the Arpadian Princess, Blessed Elisabeth of Töss (1292/95–1337/38) lived. It relies on the *Legenda Vetus* and the *Legenda Minor*, so it must have been written after 1340, probably in the second half of the fourteenth century.

Inc. Got dem himelschen kúng ze lob, *des.* O her Ihesu Christe dess sy dir lob vnd danck gesait. Deo gratias.

EP – Gábor Salacz, ed. *Árpádházi Boldog Margit tössi legendája. A szentgalleni kézirat alapján az überlingeni figyelembevételével* [The Töss legend of Saint Margaret of the House of Arpad, based on the manuscript of Sankt Gallen, taking in consideration also the Überlingen manuscript]. Pécs, 1940.

TR – *Hungarian*: Mária Puskely. “Árpád-házi Szent Margit tössi legendája” [The Töss legend of St. Margaret of the Arpad House]. In *Árpád-házi Szent Margit és ifjabb szent Erzsébet tössi legendája* [The Töss legends of St. Margaret of the House of Arpad and the younger Saint Elisabeth], 33–68. Budapest: Ameko, 1992.

6. SZENT MARGIT ÉLETE

The text of the Hungarian vernacular *Szent Margit élete* [Life of Saint Margaret] was preserved in a copy made by the nun Lea Ráskai in 1510 in the convent on Margaret Island. The legend combines the text of the *Legenda Vetus* with testimonies from the *Acts* of the canonization process. The date of the translation and the compilation is unknown, but most scholars place it to the fourteenth century.

Inc. Ezenkeppen hagyta evket az kyalne, *des.* eltemete evtet nagy tyztesseggel.

EP – György Volf, ed. *Szent Margit élete*. Nyelvemléktár VIII. Budapest, 1881.

AE – Adrienne Dömötör and Katalin Pólya, eds. *Szent Margit élete 1510. A nyelvemlék hasonmása és betűhű átirata bevezetéssel és jegyzetekkel* [The 1510 Life of St. Margaret: Facsimile and literal transcription with introduction and notes]. Régi magyar kódexek 10. Budapest: Akadémiai, 1990.

– Géza Érszegi, ed. “Szent Margit legendája” [The legend of St. Margaret]. In *Árpád-kori legendák és intelmek* [Legends and admonitions from the Árpád age], 110–80. Budapest: Szépirodalmi, 1983. 2nd edition, Budapest: Osiris, 1999, 104–77.

7. FRAGMENTUM LEGENDAE BEATE MARGARITAE
(=LEGENDA PISANA)
[BHL VACAT]

In promoting the recognition of the stigmata of Saint Catherine of Siena, Tommaso di Antonio da Siena “Caffarini” (1350–1434), a Dominican prior in Venice, includes in his *Libellus de supplemento* an extract (chapter 30) of a legend of Margaret of Hungary that he found in Pisa and took with him to the convent of Giovanni e Paolo in Venice – a legend which is now lost. This fourteenth-century fragment found in Italy is extremely valuable because it preserves an account of the stigmatization of Saint Margaret.

Inc. Cum quadam die virgo Margarita, *des.* inde instrumentum publicum confecerunt.

EP. Iuliana Cavallini and Imelda Foralosso, eds. Thomas Antonii de Senis «Caffarini», *Libellus de supplemento, Legende prolixie virginis beate Catherine de Senis*, 176. Rome: Edizioni Cateriniane, 1974.

8. LEBEN, SELIGE WANDLUNG, VERSCHIDUNG
UND WUNDERZEYCHEN DER HEILIGEN JUNKFR
MARGARETHE

A German vernacular translation of the *Legenda Vetus* by the Dominican friar Jorg Valder. A note by him attributes the Latin original to a certain “*pruder Johannes Meister desselbn Ordns*,” which Cyrill Horváth suggested was Johannes of Vercelli, *magister generalis* of the Friars Preachers (1264–1283), an identification brought into question by subsequent research.

Inc. Hie hebt sich an die Vorred von dem Leben, *des.* in der ewigen Seligkeit.

EP – Gedeon Mészöly, ed. “Eine alte deutsche Handschrift aus dem XV. Jahrhundert in der Münchener Staatsbibliothek über das Leben der ungarischen Königstochter, der heil. Margarete (1242–1270), Lateinisch geschrieben von Johannes de Vercellis (XIII. Jhd.), deutsch übersetzt von Georg Walter (XV. Jhd.).” *Nép és Nyelv* (1941): 63–64, 126–28, 215–18, 250–51, 311–12, 348–49, 382–83.

9. A NEW SERIES OF MIRACLES AT THE TOMB
OF BLESSED MARGARET
[BHL VACAT]

Between 1460 and 1467 a new collection of miracles was recorded in eleven charters by the Chapter of Buda. The documents were recently discovered in the Orsini Archives in Rome.

Inc. Nos, capitulum ecclesie Budensis, *des.* in fidem et [testimonium omnium | et singulorum] premissorum rogatus et requisitus.

EP – Bence Péterfi, ed. “A New Series of Miracles at the Tomb of Blessed Margaret”—in this volume.

TR – *English*: Ildikó Csepregi—in this volume.

10. VITA BEATE MARGARITE FILIE REGIS HUNGARIE
[BHL VACAT]

A new version of the Margaret legend prepared by the Dominican master Girolamo Albertucci de Borselli (1432–1497) and included in the hagiographic compendium of his *Cronica magistrorum generalium Ordinis fratrum Praedicatorum*. The text of the legend is based on an abbreviated version of the *Legenda Vetus* supplemented by passages of the *Legenda Maior* and the stigmatization episode of the—now lost—*Legenda Pisana*. Borselli’s text was reworked by his younger contemporary Ambrogio Taeggio, active in the Milan convent of the Friars Preachers between 1485 and 1520, and included in his *Cronicae ampliores ordinis Praedicatorum*, which included a hagiographic compendium titled *De insigniis ordinis Praedicatorum*.

Inc. Anno Domini 1270 migravit ex hac vita virgo venerabilis atque sanctissima, *des.* Margarita de ordine Fratrum Predicatorum que me liberavit.

EP – Florio Banfi and Gábor Klaniczay, eds. “Borselli és Taeggio Margit-legendája” [The legend of St Margaret by Borselli and Taeggio]. In Gábor Klaniczay, “Borselli és Taeggio Margit-legendája Bánfi Florio apparátusá-

val” [The legend of St Margaret by Borselli and Taeggio with the apparatus of Florio Bánfi]. In *Miscellanea fontium historiae Europaeae. Emlékkönyv H. Balázs Éva történészprofesszor 80. születésnapjára* [Miscellanea fontium historiae Europaeae: Festschrift for the 80th birthday of Éva H. Balázs, professor of history], ed. János Kalmár, 19–42. Budapest: ELTE Bölcsészettudományi Kar, 1997.

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Includes persons named in the introductions and the English translations of the documents. Recurrent repetitions by the medieval scribes (such as “King Béla IV” in naming “Margaret, daughter of King Béla IV”) are not included. Ecclesiastical authorities, if not named in the document (such as “the archbishop of Esztergom”), are not included. Persons mentioned by the witnesses in their accounts, identified only by their Christian names are included only selectively. At the names of the witnesses of the 1276 investigation we provide the page numbers of their entire testimony. Footnotes are not included.

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